

**TEXT FLY WITHIN
THE BOOK ONLY**

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_154765

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

EDITED BY

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING

Ohio State University

HANS KURATH

Ohio State University

SAMUEL MOORE

University of Michigan

EDWARD SAPIR

University of Chicago

VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume II, 1932

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

1932

VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated
Mantras of the Veda

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

*Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in The Johns Hopkins University*

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in Yale University*

Volume II
PHONETICS

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA

1932

COMPOSED AND PRINTED AT THE
WAVERLY PRESS, INC.
BALTIMORE, MD , U. S. A.

CONTENTS

Preface.....	11
Abbreviations and Symbols.....	13
Chapter I. Introductory, §§1-43.....	15
Principles of procedure, §§1-5.....	15
Summary of contents, §§6-19.....	17
Prakritic influences, §§20-43 ..	20
Chapter II. Surd and Sonant Mutes, §§44-79.....	26
<i>k</i> and <i>g</i> , §§45-9	26
<i>c</i> and <i>j</i> , §§50-7.....	31
<i>ṭ</i> and <i>ḍ</i> , §58.....	35
<i>t</i> and <i>d</i> , §§59-68	35
<i>p</i> and <i>b</i> , §69.	42
<i>kh</i> and <i>gh</i> , §70.	42
<i>th</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§71-8.....	43
<i>ph</i> and <i>bh</i> , §79.	46
Chapter III. Aspirates and Non-aspirates and <i>h</i> , §§80-124.....	47
<i>k</i> and <i>kh</i> , §81.....	47
<i>g</i> and <i>kh</i> , §82.....	47
<i>g(k)</i> and <i>gh</i> , §83.....	48
<i>c</i> and <i>ch</i> , §84.....	48
<i>j</i> and <i>jh</i> , §85.....	48
<i>ṭ</i> and <i>th</i> , §§86-8.....	48
<i>t</i> and <i>th</i> , §§89-96.....	50
<i>t</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§97-8.....	55
<i>d</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§99-110.....	56
<i>p</i> and <i>ph</i> , §111.	63
<i>p</i> and <i>bh</i> , §§112-4	64
Aspirate mutes and <i>h</i> , §§115-124.....	65
Chapter IV. Interchanges of the Mute Series, §§125-81.....	70
1. Gutturals and Palatals, §§125-34.....	70
2. Gutturals and Linguals, §135	73
3. Gutturals and Dentals, §§136-47.....	73
4. Gutturals and Labials, §§148-53.....	79
5. Palatals and Dentals, §§154-61.....	83
6. Palatals and Labials, §162.....	86

7. Linguals and Dentals, §§163-70	86
8. Dentals and Labials, §§171-81.	90
Chapter V. Interchanges concerning Palatals, §§182-96	96
1. <i>ch</i> and <i>kṣ</i> , <i>ts</i> , <i>ps</i> , §§183-6.	96
2. <i>sy</i> and <i>śc</i> or <i>s(h)</i> plus sibilant, §§187-9	97
3. <i>kṣ</i> , <i>kś</i> , and <i>khṣ</i> , §§190-1.	99
4. <i>j</i> and <i>y</i> , §§192-3.	100
5. Palatal stops and <i>ś(ṣ)</i> , §§194-5.	101
6. Miscellaneous (<i>j</i> and <i>h</i> , <i>kṣ</i> and <i>bj</i>), §196.	103
Chapter VI. Labial Mutes, <i>v</i> , and <i>m</i> , §§197-242.	104
<i>p(ph)</i> and <i>v</i> , §§198-202.	104
<i>p</i> and <i>m</i> , §§203-5.	108
<i>b</i> and <i>v</i> , §§206-19.	109
<i>bh</i> and <i>v</i> , §§220-2.	114
<i>v</i> and <i>m</i> , §§223-40.	115
<i>b</i> and <i>m</i> , §241.	124
<i>bh</i> and <i>m</i> , §242	125
Chapter VII. Interchange of <i>y</i> , <i>r(d)</i> , <i>l(d)</i> , <i>v</i> , and <i>h</i> , §§243-73.	126
<i>y</i> and <i>r</i> , §244	126
<i>y</i> and <i>l</i> , §245	127
<i>y</i> and <i>v</i> , §§246-55.	127
<i>y</i> and <i>h</i> , §256.	134
<i>r</i> and <i>l</i> , §§257-65.	134
<i>r</i> and <i>v</i> , §§266-8	138
<i>r</i> , <i>v</i> and <i>h</i> , §269.	140
<i>l</i> and <i>ḍ</i> , §§270-1.	140
<i>r</i> and <i>ḍ</i> , §272.	141
<i>r</i> and <i>d</i> , §272a	142
<i>l</i> , <i>d</i> , and <i>ṇ</i> , §273.	143
Chapter VIII. The Sibilants, §§274-99.	144
<i>ś</i> and <i>s</i> , §§275-87.	144
<i>ś</i> and <i>ṣ</i> , §§288-92	149
<i>ṣ</i> and <i>s</i> , §§293-4.	152
<i>kh</i> , <i>kṣ</i> , and sibilants, §§295-7.	153
<i>s(ṣ)</i> and <i>h</i> , §§298-9.	153
Chapter IX. Presence or absence of Nasals, Semi-vowels, Liquids, Sibilants, visarga, and <i>h</i> , §§300-87.	155
1. Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra, §§300-12.	155
2. Presence or absence of <i>y</i> , §§313-47.	160
3. Presence or absence of <i>r</i> , §§348-57.	175

4. Presence or absence of <i>v</i> , §§358-71.....	181
5. Presence or absence of <i>s</i> , §§372-7.....	189
6. Presence or absence of <i>visarga</i> , §§378-84.....	192
7. Presence or absence of <i>h</i> , §§385-7.....	199
Chapter X. Consonant Groups, §§388-421.....	201
1. Double and single consonants, §§389-405.....	201
2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant, §§406-16.....	209
3. Simplification of consonant groups, §§417-21.....	212
Chapter XI. Variations between short and long <i>a</i> , §§422-512 ..	216
1. Final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , §§426-77.....	217
(a) absolutely final short <i>a</i> rhythmically lengthened, §§428-49.....	217
(b) absolutely final <i>a</i> varying otherwise with <i>ā</i> , §§450-61.	223
(c) stem-final short <i>a</i> in compounds, etc., lengthened, §§462-8.....	227
(d) other final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , §§469-77.....	230
2. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in verb inflection, §§478-82 ..	233
3. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in noun formation, §§483-96 ..	234
4. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in noun declension, §§497-507 ..	242
5. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , lexical and miscellaneous, §§508-12 ..	245
Chapter XII. Variations between long and short <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> , §§513-69	249
1. Final short <i>i</i> phonetically lengthened, §§514-21 ..	249
2. Final <i>ī</i> in the seam of compounds, phonetically shortened, §§522-4 ..	252
3. Miscellaneous final <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §525 ..	252
4. Noun stems in <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§526-30.....	253
5. <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> in verb forms and in dissyllabic bases, §§531-40.....	256
6. Noun suffixes containing <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§541-3 ..	258
7. Miscellaneous <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§544-5.....	259
8. Final short <i>u</i> lengthened, §§546-52.....	260
9. Final <i>ū</i> shortened, §553.....	262
10. <i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> in noun formation and inflection, §§554-7.....	262
11. Other <i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> , §§558-69 ..	264
Chapter XIII. Qualitative Interchanges of <i>a</i> , <i>i</i> , and <i>u</i> vowels, §§570-628.....	269
1. Short <i>a</i> and <i>i</i> , §§570-96.....	269
In noun formation, §§585-96 ..	275
2. <i>ā</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§597-98a ..	279
3. <i>a</i> and <i>i</i> with shift of quantity, §§599-600 ..	281

4. Short <i>a</i> and <i>u</i> , §§601–18.	282
5. Other <i>a</i> and <i>u</i> vowels, §§619–21.	291
6. Short <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> , §§622–7.	291
7. <i>ī</i> and <i>ū(u)</i> , §628.	294
Chapter XIV. Vocalic Liquids and Other Vowels, §§629–84.	295
1. <i>r</i> and <i>a(ā)</i> , §§631–4.	295
2. <i>r</i> and <i>i(ī)</i> , §§635–40.	297
3. <i>r(ṛ)</i> and <i>u(ū)</i> , §§641–4.	300
4. <i>l</i> and <i>u</i> , §645.	301
5. <i>r</i> and <i>o</i> , §646.	302
6. <i>r</i> and <i>ar</i> , §§647–51.	302
7. <i>r</i> and <i>ār</i> , §652.	304
8. <i>r</i> and <i>ir</i> , <i>ur</i> , <i>ūr</i> , §§653–5.	304
9. <i>r</i> and <i>ra</i> , <i>rā</i> , §§656–65.	305
10. <i>r</i> and <i>rī</i> , <i>rī</i> , §§666–77.	308
11. <i>r</i> and <i>ru</i> , §§678–84.	311
Chapter XV. The <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> Diphthongs and Saṃprasāraṇa, §§685–750.	314
1. <i>i</i> and <i>e</i> , §§686–94.	314
2. <i>ī</i> and <i>e</i> , §§695–8.	317
3. <i>i</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§699–700.	319
4. <i>ī</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§701–2.	320
5. <i>e</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§703–12.	321
6. <i>u</i> and <i>o</i> , §§713–9.	326
7. <i>ū</i> and <i>o</i> , §§720–3.	329
8. <i>u</i> and <i>au</i> , §724.	330
9. <i>ū</i> and <i>au</i> , §§725–7.	331
10. <i>o</i> and <i>au</i> , §§728–32.	331
11. Saṃprasāraṇa: <i>i(ī)</i> and <i>ya(yā)</i> , etc., §§733–8.	333
12. Saṃprasāraṇa: <i>u(ū)</i> and <i>va(vā)</i> , etc., §§739–43.	335
13. <i>aya</i> and <i>e</i> , and the like, §§744–7.	338
14. <i>ava</i> and <i>o</i> , and the like, §§748–50.	339
Chapter XVI. Insertion or Expulsion of Vowels, §§751–98.	341
1. Epenthesis of vowel between two consonants, §§751–65.	341
2. Writing of <i>iy</i> , <i>uv</i> , for <i>y</i> , <i>v</i> , §§766–98.	344
A. final, before vowels, §§774–8.	346
B. non-final, in radical (initial) syllables, §§779–83.	348
C. suffixal <i>y</i> in noun formation, written <i>iy</i> , §§784–7.	349
D. stem final of nouns in <i>i</i> or <i>u</i> , §§788–93.	351
E. in verb forms, §§794–8.	354

Chapter XVII. Metathesis, Haplogy, and Dittology, §§799-813.	357
1. Metathesis, §§799-806.....	357
2. Haplogy, §§807-9.....	360
3. Dittology, §§810-1.....	362
4. Haplogy or dittology, §§812-3.....	364
Chapter XVIII. False Divisions and Patch Words, §§814-50.....	366
1. Compound words divided, without change, §§815-7.....	366
2. Compound words divided, with change in prior member, §§818-9.....	368
3. Compound words divided, with change in second member, §§820-1.....	370
4. Last syllable of longer word replaced by patch word, §§822-7.	372
5. First syllable of longer word replaced by patch word, §§828- 9.....	377
6. Dissyllabic words resolved into two light words, §§830-1..	379
7. Longer non-compounds resolved into several words, §§832-3	381
8. Different divisions between several independent words, §§834-40.....	383
(a) Different resolutions of final-initial vowels, §§835-6..	384
(b) Transference of final-initial consonant, §837.....	386
(c) Further false divisions, §§838-40.....	387
9. Patch words, §§841-50.....	390
Chapter XIX. Rime Words, §§851-7.....	395
Chapter XX. Graphic Variants, §§858-78.....	400
<i>n</i> and <i>r</i> , §§860-5..	400
<i>c</i> and <i>v</i> , §866 ..	403
<i>p</i> and <i>y</i> , §867.....	404
<i>gh</i> and <i>dy</i> , §868.....	405
<i>d</i> and <i>v</i> , §869.....	406
<i>s</i> and <i>m</i> , §870.....	407
<i>t</i> and <i>n</i> , §871.....	408
<i>ṣ</i> and <i>p</i> , §872.....	408
<i>ā</i> and <i>prā</i> , §873.....	409
Others, §§874-8.....	409
Chapter XXI. Sandhi, §§879-996.....	412
Final <i>au</i> and <i>o</i> before vowels, §§885-90.....	414
Initial <i>a</i> after final <i>e</i> and <i>o</i> , §§891-912.....	419
Sandhi of <i>a</i> vowels and <i>r</i> , §§913-9 ..	432
Sandhi of final <i>n</i> , §§920-44.....	435
before vowels, §§921-8.....	435
before consonants, §§929-44.....	438

Change of <i>n</i> to <i>ṇ</i> , §§945–54.....	443
Final <i>s</i> after non <i>a</i> vowels, before initial <i>t</i> , §§955–8.....	447
Final <i>s</i> before initial <i>k</i> and <i>p</i> , §§959–67.....	449
Final <i>r</i> before initial <i>k</i> and <i>p</i> , §968.....	454
Final <i>s</i> before sibilant (plus vowel), §§969–71.....	454
Final <i>s</i> before sibilant plus consonant, §§972–80.....	455
plus surd, §§974–7.....	456
plus sonant, §§978–80.....	458
Initial <i>s</i> varying with <i>ś</i> , §§981–8.....	460
Secondary crasis and hiatus, §§989–96.....	463
Index of Sounds, Sound Groups, and Letters.....	471
Sanskrit Index.....	474
Subject Index	480
Index of Mantras.....	482

PREFACE

This second volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals primarily with Phonetics; included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rime words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* have been described in the Preface to Volume I, *The Verb* (Philadelphia, 1930); which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters: those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and to the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr. Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on Noun Inflection. With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr. Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb). Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance. *RVRep.* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute; that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV., the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in:

pra vācam (9. 35. 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV. 9. 12. 6a, 35. 4a, 'Soma sends forth speech (substance).' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf. *RVRep.* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*:

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA., 'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittiriya the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra* + *añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV.). The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcaḥ* is negligible; TA. must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist; they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus:

ud usriyāḥ srjate (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB.,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together.' (The TB. comm. seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools: *utsacata udgatatvena sambaddhān karoti prasārayatīty arthaḥ*.) The TB. reading is inappropriate; but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB. understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *srj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB. reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate . . . sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *srjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB., Introduction, xv ff., and xxx.

§4. Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking: If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this:

ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ (SV. *durhrṇ°*) RV. SV.

Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV. 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhrṇ°*. This does not mean that the SV. knows more Sanskrit than the RV.; the RV. itself knows the stem *durhrṇ-* (1. 84. 16; 7. 59. 8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant:

etām saṁkṛṣya (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *saṁkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *srjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts. Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5. Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments. At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word. By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6. We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics. Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character. Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grabh* and *grah*.

§7. Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting. The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon).

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant. Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized. The tendency of the Taittiriya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *ḍ* and *l*, or *ḍh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

ś and s; a much smaller number between ś and ṣ; and a very small number between s and ṣ. The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants. Between s and h occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest.

§10. Next, a section on insertion or omission of consonants: first of nasals and *anusvāra*, cases which show a marked tendency to harmonize with a shift in quantity of the preceding vowel. Then of *y*, very numerous but mostly morphological (e.g. words identical in meaning but containing or lacking suffixal *y*). But there are groups of phonetic interest, such as that concerning *y* between vowels as sandhi-consonant or 'hiatus-tilger', and *y* after palatals, or after two consonants. Presence or absence of *r* does not display much interest, but that of *v* includes some cases of *v* initial before vowels, partly as 'hiatus-tilger' after a vowel. Cases of presence or absence of *h* and *s* mostly concern initial *s* before stops, and initial *h* before vowels (a sort of psilosis); those of *visarga* point to the light pronunciation of that sound as word-final.

§11. The consonantal variants are concluded with sections on single and double consonants, on assimilation of consonants (with suggestions of Prakritism), and on simplification of consonant groups.

§12. The treatment of the vowels begins with the variations in quantity of simple vowels. Most important and numerous are those between *a* and *ā*, especially the rhythmic lengthening of final *a*. Much light is thrown on the meaning of this phenomenon; our conclusions can hardly be stated in a few words and can best be deduced from the section itself. The variants between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are in general parallel to those between *a* and *ā*, but much less numerous. The numerous shifts in quality between *a*, *i*, and *u* vowels are mostly morphological or lexical in character. On the other hand those between vocalic liquids and *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are largely Prakritic, and of great interest; most numerous are those between *r* and *a*. The variations between diphthongs and simple vowels, and between long and short diphthongs, while mainly morphological (varying grades of ablaut, and presence or absence of the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation), harbor also some phonetic or dialectic differences.

§13. The variations between *r* and *ar* or *ār*, more rarely *r* and *ir*(*īr*) or *ur*(*ūr*), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts. The phenomena of '*saṁprasāraṇa*' show that the variations of *va*(*vā*) with *u* vowels, of *ya*(*yā*) with *i* vowels, and of *ra*(*rā*) with *r* are mainly morphological or lexical; on the other hand variations of *ri*(*rī*)

and *ru(rū)* with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*.

§14. Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis); the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *w* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*).

§15. Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis: of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining); then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplogy and dittology.

§16. Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson.

§17. A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably.

§18. Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind; they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back.

§19. The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section.

PRAKRITIC INFLUENCES

§20. We have at this point refrained from preliminary illustrations in the set rubrics which have established themselves under our hands. There is, however, one kind of interchange which runs as a red thread thru Vedic tradition, and which is so important that it should receive special treatment and emphasis. We refer to shifts which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech, by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects. (Cf. especially Wackernagel I, p. XVIII, with references there quoted; and for a brief preliminary outline of our materials, Edgerton in *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 25 ff.) The large mass of variants of this kind, clearly pointing to extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language, seems to us one of the most important results of this volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The principle, to be sure, is not new. But it has never before been illustrated so extensively; and the special character of the illustrations, namely the occurrence of double forms of the variants, with and without Prakritic phonetics, makes them especially valuable and interesting. Moreover, some of the rubrics here included are, we believe, now presented for the first time in Vedic phonology. We find, all in all, the most definite proof of phonetic changes not only in the direction of Prakritism, but also (no less interesting) in the reverse direction, 'hyper-Sanskritism,' which latter indicates a rather definite consciousness, on the part of the handlers of the texts, of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects.

§21. Taking up such variations in the order of their occurrence in our book, we find at the very outset a large number of variations between surds and sonants, some of which seem to defy lexical explanation, and to be capable of interpretation only as quasi-Prakritic phonetic variants. (See Chapter II, especially §§47-9, 53, 59, 66, 69.) Thus:

pikāḥ (KSA. *piḡaḥ*) *kṣviṅkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te 'ryamṇe* (KSA. *'ryamṇaḥ*) TS.

KSA. No form but *pika* is known outside of this KSA. passage.

citrā etagvā (TB. *edagvā*) *anumādyāsaḥ* RV. MS. TB. A pure Prakritism in TB.; the comm. does not explain the form. Cf. the next, in which MS. seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this.

diśām devy (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghrīācī* TS. MS. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on *tevy*; if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laletic (nursery) word for 'mother'. But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism. Cf. *mātrk* (for *māḍrk*) TA. 1. 5. 1, and §66.

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

§22. The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism; we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7):

mā naḥ kaścīt prakhān (ApŚ. *praghān*) . . . KS. ApŚ.
svāyām tanū (ApMB.† MG.† *tanūn*) *rtviye* (RV.† *rtviye*) *nādhāmānām*
 (ApMB. *nātha*°, MG. *bādha*°) RV. ApMB. MG.

§23. Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is; but see Wackernagel I p. 252f., who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV. dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, *KZ* 17. 258ff.:

asamḥeyam [perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*?] *parābhavan* JB.: *asambhavyam* *parā*° AV. See §121.

grdhrah śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ (KSA. *vārhīṇasas te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. So the single ms. of KSA.; v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°; the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms. reading. See §122.

kakubham (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣa*°) *rocate* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective *kakuhā* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV., where *kakubha* is not known. See §120.

§24. Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings; the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG.:

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS. °*riyo jyotatām*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ava jyām iva dhanvanah AV. Vait. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanvinah* HG.

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below, §163:

avatasya (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avaṭa*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore.

§26. The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps* (§§183-6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following:

achalābhīh (KSA. *acharā°*, MS. *atsarā°* in p.p., in s.p. *matsarā°*, VS. *rkṣalā°*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. The same word appears as *rcharā* in AV. 10. 9. 23. Either MS. or VS. (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations.

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *kṣ* (§§190-1). Tho the Tait. form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ. has a corruption of it:

idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (ŚŚ. *prakhyā°*) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

§28. There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b. In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival:

saujāmim (ŚG. *sauyāmim*; with both sc. *tarpayāmi*) AG. ŚG.—Cf. AV. 19. 34. 2a, *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih* (mss., wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*, or *yā grtsyas*; see Whitney's note to Transl., and our §192.

§29. The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf. Wackernagel I p. 197; it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5). That between *b* and *v* (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not; cf. Wackernagel I p. 183f.:

uc chvañcasva (TA. *chmañcasva*) *pṛthivi mā ni bādhatāh* (TA. *vi bādhitāh*) RV. AV. TA.

yatra bāñāh (VS. *vāñāh*) *sam̐patanti* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG. Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV. in this word; it is not known which is original.

§30. The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf. Wackernagel I p. 225f.). A few examples out of many may be quoted here; for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274-9:

vi srutayo (AŚ. *visrutayo*, ŚŚ. *viśru°*) *yathā pathaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.¹ And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR. even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow'!). Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary. The contrary is the case in the next:

śukeṣu me (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *harimāṇam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

§31. Much less numerous are the variations between *ś* and *ṣ*; yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288-90):

nainad devā āpnwan pūrvam arṣat (VS. *arṣat*) VS. VSK. ĪśāU. The proper form is *arṣat*; VS. comm. *rṣa gatau*.

§32. There are very few variations between *s* and *ś* (§294):

ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *saṣpi*°) VS. TS. MS. KS.

Thought of the word *sasya* doubtless influenced TS., and cf. *śaṣpa* for the other form (a kind of haplology in each case); see §278.

§33. The later confusion between *kh* and *ś* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense; cf. Wackernagel I p. 136) finds surprisingly little representation here; in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295):

kaṣotkāya svāhā TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU.

§34. There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *kh*, which must be similar in character; see §296 below.

§35. Under presence or absence of nasals and *anusvāra* occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *siha* for *sinha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf. §300):

pūṣṇe 'nghrṇaye svāhā TA.: *pūṣṇa āghrṇaye* (em.; mss. *āprṇaye*) *svāhā* MŚ. *āghrṇi* is regular.

§36. Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (§§338-44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.): *vaiśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

PB. ŚB. The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS. shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*.

§37. In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology. The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pāli* §§5, 6. Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), tho again complicated by other considerations:

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyāi*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS.

ŚB. TB. (See §396.) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to.

§38. There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants; this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid:

abhinne khilye (TB. *khille*) *nidadhāti devayum* RV. AV. TB. This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant; TB. can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khilye* (comm. *khilībhūte*).

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629–45). The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations:

ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ (SV. *durhrṇ°*) RV. SV. The SV. restores Sanskrit vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV.

tejo yaśasvi sthaviṛaṃ samiddham (ŚG. *saṃṛddham*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. Here ŚG. alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v. l. *samiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?).

puraṇḍaro gotrabhid (MS. *°bhr̥d*, TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A hyper-Sanskritism in MS; see §636.

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri°*, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

saṁvatsara ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ (KS. *°bhiṣ cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ. *°bhiṣ cāku-pānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*; and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants. Besides *tvaṣṭṛmantas* (*tvaṣṭri°*) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666–84:

tr̥ṣucyavaso (MS. *triṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS. The adverb *tr̥ṣu* is the only possible form here; the variant of MS. is purely phonetic. *bhr̥mim̐* (TB. *bhrumim̐*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛṇata* RV. TB. The mss. of TB. seem to be unanimous on *bhrumim̐*, an otherwise unknown form.

pruṣvā āsrubhiḥ VS. MS.: *āsrubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *pr̥ṣ°*) TS. KṢ. The form *pr̥ṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait. texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*.

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703–12, 728–32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

avārāya kevar̥tam VS.: *pāryāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*. *sukur̥irā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukar̥irā svopaśā* MS. Several mss. of MS. and its p.p. read *svaupaśā*.

§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744–9, e.g.:

namaḥ kiṅśilāya ca kṣayaṇāya (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.
kṣeṇa is otherwise unknown.

to-to (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§43. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751-65):

tan naḥ paṛṣad (MS. *paṛiṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS. Cf. Wackernagel
 I p. 57.

CHAPTER II. SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44. These are treated in the following order: *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *t* and *d*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh*. (For *g* and *kh* see §82; *t* and *dh*, §97f.; *p* and *bh*, §§112–14.) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change. They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless. It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original.

k and *g*

§45. We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense. In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate; both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools:

athāham anukāminī (MŚ. °*gāminī*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV. 1. 34. 5cd, *yathā mān kāmīny aso yathā man nāpagā asaḥ*. Yet MŚ. (all mss.) is no doubt secondary.

grṇatā naḥ sviṣṭaye AV.: *krṇutaṁ naḥ sviṣṭim* (MS. KS. °*ṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing for us unto well-being'; 'make well being for us.' The meter of AV. is easier, but the *āprī* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54; Keith, *HOS* 18. clxi) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be. The word *grṇatā* is preceded by *grṇata* (other forms of *grṇ*° in the other Saṁhitās); this suggests that *grṇatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jīgatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *cikitnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent', tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jīgatnū* of KS. ('swift') are both reasonable. See RV. 7. 65. 1, where *jīgatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuṇa (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2. 50).

namaḥ kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ MS. KS.: *namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyaś* . . . VS. TS. See §185.

tato na vicikitsati (VSK. ĪsāU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ĪsāU.: *na tato vijugupsate* KU.: *na tadā vicikitsati* ŚB. BrhU. 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away.' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate. The Kāṇva recension of BrhU. has *jugupsate*. Cf. AV. 13. 2. 15b.

dhipsyam vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ MS.: *yad vādāsyann saṁjagārā janebhyah* TB.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyah* TA. Cf. *dāsyann adāsyann uta saṁ grṇāmi* (TA. and AVPpp. *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna uta saṁ grṇāmi* AV. In all these passages *saṁ-gr* seems to mean 'devour, eat', tho doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV. 6. 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1). If 'devour' is right, *saṁ-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning.

§46. We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it. Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*:

ukhām (ApŚ. *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless.' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading; see VV I p. 211.

urvīm gavyām pariśadān no akran AV.: *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV. KS. The original RV., 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).

vadhūr jajāna (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. ŚG. See Whitney on AV. 3. 10. 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagaj*; the European guesses are scarcely better. ŚG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.

imam logam (TA. *lokaṁ*) *nidadhan mo aham riṣam* RV. AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA. *lokaṁ* (after *imam*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here. The comm. in fact interprets it as *loṣṭam* (= *logam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate drśyata iti loko loṣṭaḥ*!). Some mss. and the comm. of AV. read like TA., however.

pary āgāraṁ (AŚ. *ākāraṁ*) *punaḥ-punaḥ* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Only *āgāraṁ* makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form.' The preceding (in AV., preceding but one) *pāda* is *yadi* (*yadīm*, *lelīm*) *hanat katham hanat*.

indrāpāsya phaligam ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śephām alikam* . . . HG. The correct reading is certainly *phaligam*.

mano jagāma dūrakam (PB. *dūragāḥ*) RV. PB. The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*; *dūragāḥ* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next *pāda*, *tan ma āvartayā punaḥ*. This, according to the PB. comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāḥ* does not fit at all).

rājānaḥ satyaṁ kṛṇvānāḥ (AV. *grṇṇānāḥ*, but Ppp. *kṛṇvāno*) RV. AV. Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better.

tasya rathagrtsaś (MS. *°kṛtsnaś*, KS. *°kṛtsaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānī-grāmaṇyau* (TS. *senānī°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The word *ratha°* is a proper name, 'chariot-clever'; *°kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to *°kṛtsna*, which does not fit.

abhūr grṣṭinām (AV. * *v āpīnām* mss., R-Wh. *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *āpīnām*; HG. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG. ApMB. *°pāvā*) AV. (bis) HG. ApMB.: *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr°*, but Ppp. *kr°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. *°pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5; Roth, ZDMG 48. 110. The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyaṇa's ludicrous attempt to justify it).

prāṇān saṁkrośaiḥ MS.: *saṁkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. *°krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *saṁghoṣān* (ms. *°goṣān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA. (§ for ś, loss of r) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant.

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation. At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion. The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools:

nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam Vait.: *nikīrya tubhyaṁ madhye* ApŚ.: *nigīrya tubhyaṁ madhvaḥ* MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ. The passages are unintelligible; *kir*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *ni*, which points, perhaps, to *nigīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvaḥ* in MŚ.).

tena samhanu kṛṇmasi AV.: *tena sann anugrṇāsi* HG. The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note). The individually irreproachable words of HG. mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386.

arepasah sacetasah (etc.) *svasare manyumattamās* (SV. ApŚ. °*mantaś*) *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. *cidākoḥ*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem **cidāku*, is corrupt. *śakma yat te goḥ* MS. KS.: *sagme* (TS. *samyat*) *te goḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS. KS., perhaps correctly and originally. In VS. ŚB. *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma*. But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf. however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*). It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam*. VS. comm., followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goḥ gauḥ* (very simple!). BR. read in TS. *sampātte* with one ms. (p.p. *samyāt*, *te*), but the comm., followed by Weber, Ist. 13. 107, takes *samyāt* as = *samyak*. So also Keith ('to match thy cow'). BR. regard *sampātte* as = *sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel'; they render: 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst'. They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*.

rudra yat te krayī (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible. The reading *giri-* is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat.

idam aham sarpāṇām dandaśūkānām grīvā upa grathnāmi (MŚ. mss. *kṛtsnāmi*; Knauer conjectures *kṛṇatmi*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents.' But *kṛtsnāmi* is not *kṛṇatmi*, and the MŚ. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS. Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumān enaṁ* etc., §48.

Cf. also *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśiḥ* etc., §192.

§48. In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter. We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions:

invakā (MS. °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This name for the constellation Mṛgaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5. 1. 1). The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga*, *gā*.

sā prasūr (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. HG. ApMB. *dhenukā* is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milch cow'. In *dhenugā* there may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow', but the form is essentially Prakritic.

āśuḥ kāṣṭhām ivāśaran (read °*ram* with comm., Ppp., Whitney, and Bloomfield) AV. 2. 14. 5b. All mss. *gāṣṭhām*; *kā°* is emendation. Ppp. also (ms.) *gā°* (em. Barret, JAOS 30. 193, *kā°*); comm. *glāṣṭhām*. *pikah* (KSA. *piḡah*) *kṣvīṅkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te* 'ryamṇe (KSA. °*mṇah*) TS. KSA. The word is always *pika*, except here.

srkāhastā (TS. KS. *srkāvanto*, MS. *srgavanto*, one ms. *srka°*) *niṣaṅgiṇah* VS. TS. MS. KS. The stem concerned is always *srka* 'spear', except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation, perhaps based on these readings.

namaḥ srkāyibhyo (TS. *srkāyibhyo*, MS. *srgāyibhyo*) *jighāṇsadbhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. See preceding.

vīṇāgaṇakino (ŚB. °*gino*) *devair imam yajamānam saṁgāyata* ŚB. ApŚ. Also: *vīṇāgaṇakinah pūrvaiḥ saha sukrdbhī rājabhīr imam yajamānam saṁgāyata* ApŚ.: *vīṇāgaṇaginah purāṇair imam yajamānam rājabhīḥ sādhuḥkrdbhīḥ saṁgāyata* ŚB. Cf. further KŚ. 20. 3. 2. Altho the compound *vīṇā°* does not occur outside these passages, its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it seems that it must contain *-gaṇaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm. on ŚB. and KŚ., both of which implausibly understand *vīṇā-gaṇa* as meaning 'a quantity of [various kinds of] lutes'); cf. Conc. under *gāyatam* . . .

puṇjikasthalā (KS.† *puṇjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpasarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This name of an Apsaras appears in later literature, always with *k*.

pumān enam tanuta ut kṛṇatti RV.: *pumān enad vayaty ud grṇatti* AV. See Whitney's note on AV. 10. 7. 43. *grṇatti* is doubtless a mere corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie', which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt*. More or less the reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *idam aham* etc.

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*; the words are almost or quite ἀπαξ λεγόμενα:

vīryam kuhābhyām (KSA. *gu°*) TS. KSA. A part of the horse's body. For *ku°* the TS. comm. says, *hastayor madhyasamdhī* (cf. *viṣu-kuh*). The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is recorded lexically.

pratikramaṇam kuṣṭhābhyām (KS. *gu*°) TS. KSA.: *ākramaṇam ku*° MS.

Both otherwise unknown; like the preceding they designate a part of the horse's body. Bhāskara, *hastāparārdhamāṇi*; Keith, 'the two centres of the loins'. Cf. *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc.

agne kahya MS. KS. MŚ.: (*agne*) *gahya* TS. Neither in lexs., and neither interpretable. Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking of *gāhya*).

salilah saligaḥ sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā MS. KS.: *lekaḥ salekaḥ sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣāṇā viyantu* TS. ApŚ. All isolated and uninterpretable.

grāmyamañkīradāsakau ApŚ.: *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MŚ.: *vyāghram mañgīradāsa gauḥ* Vait. In Vait. read *mañgīradāsagau*, or possibly with Caland, °*dāsakau*. Two proper names, Mañgīra or Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dās°), are involved.

namo vaḥ kirikebhyo (MS. MŚ. *namo girikebhyo*) *devānām hṛdayebhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya, either epithet remains doubtful, tho *girika*, of course, suggests 'mountain-born' like *giriśa* etc. The possibility of different lexical interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably purely phonetic.

uruka urukasya (ApŚ. *uruga urugasya*) *te vācā vayam sam bhaktena gamemahi* (MS. °*mahy agne grhapate*) MS. ApŚ. Neither form is in the lexs.; *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland). Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?

vi te bhīnadmi takarīm (KS. °*rim*, AVPpp. [Roth] *tagarīm*, AV. *mehanam*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. There is no evidence as to the meaning of *takarī* (°*ri*, *tag*°) except the context and the variant *mehanam*; and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

c and *j*

§50. Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both directions (Pischel, §202). This of itself makes difficult the appraisal of their phonetic aspect in the variants. Moreover all variations produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority of one or the other text. We are unable to discover anything like a concerted movement, either from *c* to *j* or vice versa. But on the whole we have the impression that the main current is from *c* to *j*, and that it is Prakritic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aj* from *ud-ac*).

§51. Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV. itself:

pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati RV. (both)

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior; see *RVRep.* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original:

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK.: *vācaspatir vācam* (VS.*† 9.1, ŚB.*† 5. 1. 1. 16 *vājam*) *naḥ svadatu* VS. KS. ŚB. SMB.: *vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti* (MS. °*tu*) *naḥ* (TB. *te*, Poona ed. *naḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

pavitravantaḥ pari vācam (TA. *vājam*) *āsate* RV. TA. N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

premaṁ vājam vājasāte avantu AV.: *premāṁ vācam viśvām avantu viśve* TS. MS. KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads: *marutāṁ manve adhi no* (AV. *me*) *bruvantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV. 3. 14. 1, 5. 29, 3, 10. 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV. is a banal recast.

vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam VS. ŚB.: *vājam asmiṁ ni dhehi devāyuvam* MS.: *tapojāṁ vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS. a specious lectio faciliior; *tapojām* in TA., as well as the *vip-rāṇāṁ devayā vācas* of RV. 5. 76. 1, prove that the other texts are right.

§52. In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word:

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ. *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ.: *sā saṁnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam* (MG. *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV.† MG. 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this)), or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ. *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātr binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti pratiprasthātā yoktreṇa patnīm saṁnahyati*); *vācam* is simple but secondary.

indraṁ vājam vi mucyadhvam TS. KS. TB.: *indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam* MS. MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajījapata*; cf. *ajījapatendraṁ vājam* VS. ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required; *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched. Cf. *vājajic* . . . and *vājajityāyai* . . . in Conc.

asredhanta itana vājam acha RV.: *adroghāvitā vācam acha* AV. The

poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3. 14. 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible; see Whitney's note.

The *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV. is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *ojasā*;

sam eta viśvā (AV.† *viśve*) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patiṁ divaḥ* AV. SV.—Ppp. evidently means to read *ojasā*; its text, as quoted by Roth, has *viśvā oham ā*. This supports SV., tho the otherwise corrupt Śaunakiya text makes as good sense as its rivals: 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer).' See, however, above under *vācam asme* . . . §51.

§53. There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym: 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV. 1. 95. 7 *uc chukram atkam ajate simasmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 2. 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*:

aviraghnīr ud ajantv (ApMB. *acantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. ApMB. 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. *vyukṣat krūrām ud acantv āpaḥ* ApMB. 1. 1. 7. Weber, *Ind. St.* 5. 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 39 go the length of emending *ajantv* to *acantv*, which is doubtful practice (cf. §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *acantv*, despite RV. 1. 95. 7 above.

samudrād udajani vaḥ (ApŚ. *udacann iṣa*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. Here MS. is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54. There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary; it seems that they divide the honors of originality:

caniṣṭhad (SV. *ja°*) *agne añgiraḥ* RV. SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 74. 11); less with *janiṣṭhad*; tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

sāvitro 'si canodhāḥ (MS. *janadhāyāḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB. Cf. *tuttho 'si janadhāyāḥ* (PB. °*yaḥ*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher).'

The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*; there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough.

§55. In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible:

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA. See §2. *devebhyaḥ tvā devāyuvam* (KS. *devāvyaṁ*) *prñacmi* (so MS. by emendation, mss. mostly *prnaymi*! ApŚ. *prñajmi*) *yajñasyāyuse* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *prñajmi* (all mss. of ApŚ.) is supported by Dhātup. and by *anavaprgṇa* RV. 1. 152. 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p. 117 and doubtfully by Whitney (*Roots*) under *prc*. See however Scheftelowitz, *IF*. 33. 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* 1. 33 (root **parzq*). But the matter is uncertain; the forms with *g, j* may be based on root *prc*, and due to proportional analogy with other 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain forms (e.g., *bhanakti*: *bhagna*: *bhanajmi* = *prñakti*: *prgṇa*: *prñajmi*). —In this connexion also:

upa mā jakṣur (!) *upa mā manīṣā* KŚ. 13. 2. 19, where *jakṣur* is either misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*.

§56. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the reduplication of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns; see §45.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

tato na vicikitsati (*vijugupsate*), etc.

dhipsyam vā saṁcakara janebhyah, etc.

§57. The remaining cases are miscellaneous:

somaḥ sutaḥ pūyate ajyamānaḥ (SV. *suta rcyate pūyamānaḥ*) RV. SV.

Here the original form of root *aj* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV. by *rc*, 'praise'; a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency.

tve kratum api vrñjanti viśve (AV. **prñcanti bhūri*) RV. AV. (both) SV.

TS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind.' The combination *api aprāk* once more AV. 10. 4. 26, and nowhere else. For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOS*. 35. 281.

agne vyacasva (RV. MS. *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV. AV. MS. 'O Agni, make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth.' AV. has a contaminated lectio faciliior; cf. RV. 10. 111. 2 *mahānti cit sam vivyācā rajāṁsi*, and the converse, RV. 8. 12. 24, *na yaṁ vivikto rodasī*; or 10. 112. 4, *yasya . . . mahimānam . . . ime mahī rodasī nāviviktām*.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *prṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV. † *rohanti tejasā*) RV. SV. With metathesis of *c(j)* and *t*.

ud usriyāḥ srjate (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣṇu (ApMB. HG. *ja*°, PG. *jarīṣṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. As an epithet of a garment, *jarīṣṇu* would mean possibly 'much worn' or the like; as an epithet of the subject,

aham (PG.), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age'. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG.) *ja*° seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG. *carīṣṇu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend').

jāmin (KS.† *cam*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *ṣayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmin moṣīr amuyā ṣayānām* AV.—The KS. reading (of a single ms.) should certainly be corrected to *jāmin*.

gharmas triṣug vi rājati (ŚŚ. *rocate*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Hardly belongs here; *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*.

yuktās tisro vimṛjah (comm. *vibhṛjah*) *sūryasya* PB.: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save* [or, *savaḥ*]) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. In PB. the comm. has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhṛjah* 'dividers' (of the sun). But there is little more sense in *vipṛcaḥ*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to *pṛthivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc*. It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR. take it. Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces'; Caland and Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'.

girā ca (AV. *virājah*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP.'s mss. (and his oral reciters) and the comm. *śnuṣṭiḥ* for *śru*°. Whitney adopts *śnu*°, which Ppp. also intends with its *sunīṣṭas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 207). See §865.

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jartṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The original is obscure enough; but MS. is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. Note its loss of final *h* (§384).

ṭ and *ḍ*

§58. We have found practically no variants here; the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p. 217):

viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir īḍe (ApMB. *īṭṭe*) RV. ApMB.

t and *d*

§59. Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable:

citrā etagvā (TB. *eda*°) *anumādyāsaḥ* RV. MS. TB. The comm. on TB.

ignores the word. The etymology of *etagva* (AJP. 17. 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change.

pārāvataghnīm (TB. °*daghnīm*) *avase suvṛktibhiḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. N. *pārāvataghnīm* (sc. *sarasvatīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance'. TB. comm. has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *avadaghnīm*, root *dagh*, something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank').

sa im̐ pāhi ya ṛjīṣi tarutrah (VaradapU. *tarudrah*) RV. AB. GB. TB. NṛpU. VaradapU. Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah*, as if 'tree-cleaving'.

ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam (MŚ. *sūdam*!) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by:

ima udvāsikāriṇa (MŚ. *imā uddhāsīcāriṇa*!) *ime durbhūtam* (MŚ. °*dam*) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

agotām anapatyātām (vulgate with most mss. *anapadyātām*) AV. 4. 17. 6b. Some mss. and the comm. read *anapatyātām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām*. Cf. RV. 3. 54. 18 *yuyota no anapatyāni . . . paśumān astu gātuh*.

yadā rākhātṛyau vadataḥ ApŚ.: *yadā rāghatī varadaḥ* Vait.: *yad adyā-rādhyān vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §§70, 272a. Vait. is thoroly Prakritic.

§60. In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*: *vayaṁ hi vām purutamāso* (AV. °*dam*°) *āśvinā* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *kāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *āśvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV. 7. 73. 1 (*purudaṁsā purutamā*) ? Roth, ZDMG. 48. 107, and Whitney on AV. 7. 73. 1, consider the AV. form, 'having many houses', corrupt.

mā me hārdi tviṣā (MŚ. *hārdim dviṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ. A replica of RV. 8. 79. 8c *mā no hārdi* etc.; *dviṣā* is lect. fac.

sato vaḥ pitarō deṣma VS.: *sado* etc. ApŚ. SMB. GG. In VS. 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you.' The others with lect. fac., 'a seat, O Fathers' etc.; this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *gr̥ha* in the preceding pāda: *gr̥hān naḥ pitaro datta*. Cf. the next. *mukhaṁ sad asya śira it satena* (TB. *sadena*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS. p.p. and VS. comm.); TB. comm. apparently reads *sam asya*. VS. comm. takes *satena* from a stem

sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, 'chāndasaḥ'. TB. *sadena*, taken by its comm. to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya*. Cf. prec.

śivā rutasya (VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*, TS. and v.l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

gāva upāvātāvatam (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. VS. In SV. a form of *upa-vad*; in the others, of *upa-av*. SV. is uninterpretable; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāvaḥ*.

svasāra āpo abhi gā ulāsaran (SV. *udāsaran*) RV. SV. In SV. a form of *ud-ā-sr* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *ula+asaran*.

ya ātrṇatty (ViDh. *āvṛṇoty*, SamhitopB. *ātrṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh. *avidathena*) *karṇau* SamhitopB. VāDh. ViDh. N. *avidathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage. The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt.

yathāpaḥ pravatā yanti TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. The latter is secondary; Jörgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen'. In his note he suggests *pratipadaḥ*, which is not enticing in view of the variant.

agne tān vettha yadi te jātavedaḥ HG. ApMB.: *twān vettha yati te jātavedaḥ* RV. VS. *yadi*, 'if', is lect. fac.

ā vatso jagatā (AG. *jāyatām*, PG. *jagadaiḥ*) *saha* AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *jagadaiḥ* (comm. 'guards', *anugai rakṣakaiḥ*) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows:

īśānaḥ jagadaiḥ saha PG.: *īśāno jagatas patiḥ* AV. TS. KS. ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG. comm. *jagadaiḥ*, *anucaraiḥ*. Cf. prec.

hitvā na ūrjaṁ pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ (AV. *prapadāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying.' AV., doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version).

vanā vananti dhṛṣṭatā (MŚ. mss. °dā; one, *drṣadā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. The corruption of MŚ. mss. is due to thought of *drṣad*, 'mill-stone'. RV. 8. 49 (Vāl. 1). 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense.

But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB. *avarti* 'distress' seems likely to be original.

ā sutrāvṇe (MS. KS. *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvrṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ grṇānāḥ* TS. See §355.

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older; they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older.

§61. In the next group we find different division of the words; but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf. §65):

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB.

Either reading is interpretable; in VS. TB. *madhu*^o goes with *pathā*, in MS. with the object of *ābharan*. We judge that the former is probably original; cf. RV. 10. 24. 6 *madhuman me parāyaṇam madhumat punar āyanam*.

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*) AG. ApMB. MG.: *yena bhūriś carā divam* PG. The original form is that of ApMB. MG., of which AG. is a corruption. PG. changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p. 235); this is connected with the further change that introduces *divam*.

tvaṁ no devatātaye (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV.—Ppp. reads *devatātaye*, indicating that AV. (Ś.) is secondary. It makes, however, a sort of crude sense: 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving.'

arepasah sacetasah . . . cīte goḥ (*citā goḥ, cidākoḥ*), see §47. Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-k*).

jīwann eva prati tat te (so Jørgensen for SMB.; v. l. *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīwann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ. The latter is corrupt.

§62. The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement. They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading. Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables: *ahā neta* (GB. *netar a-*, ŚŚ. *ahād eta*) *sann avicetanāni* AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ.: *ahā ned qsann apurogavāni* (so divide) JB.—This is followed by:

yajñā (JB. Caland, *yajñā*) *netā sann apurogavāsaḥ* (JB. Caland, *avice-tanāsaḥ*) AV. AB. GB. JB.: *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsaḥ* ŚŚ. Gaastra reads GB. as: *yajñā netar asann apuro*^o; and so in the prec., read in GB. *netar asann*. Weber, *Ind. St.* 9. 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV. etc. The true form of the two pādas is: *ahā ned asann avr*^o, *yajñā ned asann apuro*^o, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader.' So

Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 24f., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV. and ŚŚ. are hopeless; but GB. (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense.

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB.), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older:

pari doṣād udarpitah KŚ.: *parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. Preceded in KŚ. by *yo me 'dya payaso rasaḥ*; in ApŚ. by *yan me 'tra payasaḥ*. It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission. Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*; sc. my] fault') from KŚ., and reads *udarpitah*. We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ. to accord with it; *parītoṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect. fac., is clearly what ApŚ. intended.

godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardaḥ (TB. *atardat*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The antique and rare *adardaḥ* (3d sing. imperf. intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB. sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*.

priyo me hrdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) '*si* (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS. MŚ. The latter is simply a lect. fac.

sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ KS. AA.: *anu sapta rājāno ya utābhiṣiktāḥ* TB. The TB. stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*.

yās ca (AV. *yā*) *devīr* (SMB. *devyo*, PG. *devīs*) *antān* (AV. *antān*, PG. *tantūn*) *abhito* '*dadanta* (PG. SMB. *tatantha*) AV. PG. SMB. ApMB.: *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (so em.; mss. *tatantha*) MG. The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi). Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for '*dadanta*. In PG., however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha*. The comm. on PG. (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license. Cf. VV I p. 139f.

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yasminn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti* MS. KS. Of course RV. is original; but *vitataḥ* is found also in the AV. version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā*.

vidad yadī (MS.† *yadi*, TB. ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā ruṇam* (MS.† *saramā-ruṇam*) *adreḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original *yadī* (*yadi*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem. pple. *yatī* (TB. comm.

gachantī) suggested by the final *ī* of *yadī*, and supported by RV. 5. 45. 7 *yatī saramā*. *Saramā*, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler; cf. RV. 10. 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3. 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ. unwisely abandons *yatī* for *yadī*.

yad vo devā atipādayāni (AŚ. °*tayāni*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *ati-pad* and *ati-pat* are synonyms, 'transgress'. TB. comm.: *akaraṇam anyathā-karaṇam cātipattiḥ*. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other).

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK. *ati dyutat*) *savīmani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The VSK. reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p. 128.

śvetāya vaidārvāya (PG. °*darvyāya*, ApMB. HG. °*darvāya*, MG. *vaiṭa-havyāya*) . . . AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The epithet *vaiṭa-havya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.

§64. In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation. Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school:

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV.† Whitney translates AV.: 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all.' Since Ppp. agrees with RV., it is clear that AVŚ. is secondary. But *turaś* is lexically defensible.

tvaṁ rājāsi pradībaḥ (VS. VSK. *pratipat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. *pratipat* is hardly intelligible; Mahīdhara takes *prātipat* *sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents: 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.'

harinasya raghuṣyadaḥ (ApŚ. °*ṣyataḥ*, two mss. °*ṣyadaḥ*) AV. ApŚ. Caland adopts the AV. reading; if ApŚ. really intended °*taḥ*, it simulates a pres. pple. form from a denominative **raghuṣya-*.

agne (Poona ed. *agre*, but comm. *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v. l. °*yan*; not in Poona ed.) TB.: *agre vikṣu pratīdayat* RV. Comm. on TB., groggily: *pratīdayat, pratyekam eva prāptam āsīt* (as if *prati, id, ayat!*).

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):

satyā tā dharmaṇas patī ApŚ.: *satyād ā dharmaṇas* (ŚŚ. and mss. of MŚ.

°ñā) *patī* (Vait. MŚ. *pari*; ŚŚ. omits) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. Caland in his Transl. of Vait. understands *satyādā* as one word (nom. dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ., which is surely wrong in principle. The secondary, ApŚ. is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. Followed by *gandharvaḥ kāmyaṁ vacaḥ*. ŚŚ. has a lect. fac. which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitiousness (*tat*, twice).

balim ichanto vitudasya (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. The AG. attempts to rationalize the obscure *vitudasya* (said by TAA. comm. to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a ἀπ.λεγ. which it does not understand.

§66. The remarkable case of *tevī* for *devī* deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21:

diśāṁ devy (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghr̥tācī* TS. MS. AŚ.

In the pāda *māṭrk kva cana vidyate*, TA. 1. 5. 1d, the comm. (does not read *māṭrk*, as Conc. states, but) interprets *māṭrk* by *māṭrk*; which seems the only possibility.

§67. A few other special cases with problems of their own:

pitvo (VS. MS. *pidvo*, KSA. *bidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. KSA. *kaṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °yāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. None of the forms *pitvo* etc. occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*.

mayāṁdam (MS. MŚ. *mayāntam*) *chandah* VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahīdhara, *sukhaṁ dadāti*; Keith, 'delight-giving.' This is probably right: *mayāṁda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21. 50ff., Wackernagel 2. 1, pp. 204ff.

pariṣītaḥ kveṣyasi ApMB.: *pariṣīdaḥ kleṣyasi* HG.: *parimīḍhaḥ kva gamiṣyasi* PG. The true reading is that of PG., with *ḍh*, and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm. on ApMB. gets fairly close in general sense: *chāndasaṁ dīrghatvam, pariṣītaḥ paribaddhaḥ*.

[*suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV.: *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ. The AV. mss. read exactly as ŚŚ., except that they read *gavom* and *pra ṣudasi*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

§68. In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:

ado (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS. *devi*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV. °*nā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ.: *ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.

iti cid dhi (AV. **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam* RV. AV. (both)

grhā naḥ santu sarvadā (P.G. *sarvataḥ*) ApŚ. PG. HG.

dhātār āyantu sarvadā (TA. TU. *sarvataḥ svāhā*) TA. TU. Kauś.: *sama-vayantu sarvataḥ* SMB.

tato na (KU. *na tato*, ŚB. BṛhU. *na tadā*) *vicikitsati* (VSK. IśāU. KU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. BṛhU. IśāU. KU. See §45. *tato* is certainly older.

pari krośatu sarvataḥ (HG. *sarvadā*) HG. ApMB.

p and *b*

§69. Here occur only a few stray variants:

palgūr (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitorñi balakṣi* (VS. *pal°*, KSA. *balakṣis*, em. by ed. to °*kṣi*) *tāḥ †sārasvatyaḥ* VS. TS. KSA. MS. *balakṣa*, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here. The change to *pal°*, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with *palita*; VS. comm. simply says that *pal°* means *bal°*. *avātirataṁ bṛsayasya* (TB. *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV, TB. Bṛsaya, name of a demon. TB. comm. takes its form also as the name of a demon; it is clearly a corruption of the RV. form.

khajāpo 'jopakāśīnīḥ ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśīnī* HG. The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible.

pitvo (*pidvo*, *bidvo*) . . ., see §67.

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable of *bh* (in *bibharti* etc.) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in *piparti* etc.); they are gathered in §112.

kh and *gh*

§70. Here again are only a few stray variants:

mā naḥ kaś cīt prakhān (ApŚ. *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahi* KS. ApŚ. 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured.' Probably KS. is original; *pra-khān* BR. (Nachträge to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen'. *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*; tho problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning. Prakritic influence is likely.

saghāsi jagatīchandāḥ TS.: *sakhāsi* (ŚŚ. adds *patvā*) *jagacchandāḥ* ŚŚ. MŚ. Cf. *sakhāsi gāyatraṁ chandaḥ* MŚ. (Bloomfield, JAOS. 16.

3ff.) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated lect. fac.; it is clear that *saghā* (stem *saghan*, comm. 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS. ŚŚ. by *śyeno* 'si *gāyatrachandāḥ*, and *suparṇo* 'si *triṣṭupchandāḥ* (ŚŚ. inserting *patvā* both times).

yadā rāghaṭi varadaḥ (ApŚ. *rākhātyau vadataḥ*) Vait. ApŚ.: *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. The form *rā°* appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible. BaudhŚ. 16. 23 reads *rākhandyau* (?), and one ms. of ApŚ. *rākhāṇḍau*.

th and *dh*

§71. Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

§72. In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV., with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV. *dh*. Yet the AV., relatively late and popular, surprisingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV. in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

§73. We begin with cases in which RV. shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*); included is also one case of RV. *viśvadhā*, SV. *viśvathā*:

vi bhānuṁ viśvadhātānat (SV. *viśvathā°*) RV. SV.

adhā jivri (AV. *atha jivrir*, mss. *jirvir*; ApMB. *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB.

adhā (SV. *athā*) *no viśvacarṣaṇe* RV. SV.

adhā (SV. *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi vo made* RV. SV.

adhā (SV. *athā*) *te sumnam imahe* RV. AV. SV. TS.

adhā (TS. MS. *athā*) *te syāma varuṇa priyāsaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.

adhā (TS. MS. *athā*) *śatakratvo yūyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

rudrasya maryā adhā (SV. *athā*) *svaśvāḥ* RV. SV.

§74. Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course

secondary; cf. the similar preference of AV. for the archaic *kṛṇo-* as against *karo-*, VV I p. 116ff.); once in SV. (*ūrdhavadhā* for RV.° *thā*), once or twice in other texts:

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. °*dhā bhuvat*) RV. (10) SV.

athā (AV. *adhā*) *naḥ śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. (10) AV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *athāsmabhyaṁ śaṁ* etc. TS.

athā (AV. *adhā*) *pitṛṇ suvidatrāṇ upehi* (AV. TA. *apīhi*, TS.† *apīta*) RV. (10) AV. TS. TA. Add to VV I §370.

athā (AV. *adhā*) *mano śvasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV. *kṛṇuṣva*) RV. (1) AV. Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV. is secondary as shown by the meter.

athā (AV. *adhā*, MS. KS. *tato*) *no vardhayā rayim* (RV. JB. *gīraḥ*) RV. (3) VS. TS. AV. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. JābU.

athā (AV. *adhaḥ*; comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhaḥ*, Barret, JAOS. 40. 161) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. (10) AV. ApMB.: *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV.

atho (AV. *adhā*) *vayam bhagavantāḥ syāma* RV. (1) AV. KŚ. ApŚ. N.

athā (AV. *adhā*, comm. *atha*) *vayam āditya vrate tava* RV. (1) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *athāditya vrate vayanī tava* ArS. SMB.

athā (KS. *adhā*) *somasya prayatī yuvabhyām* (KS. *yuvā*°, v. l. *yuva*°) RV. (1) TS. KS. N.

athā (MS. *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthaḥ* RV. (2) TS. MS.

§75. Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV. again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th*:

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS.

adhā jīvema śaradāṁ śatāni AV.: *atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam* VSK. And others; see Conc. under *asau jīva*.

adhā (HG. *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no grhān* AV. HG.

adhā (MS. MŚ. *athā*) *pośasya poṣeṇa* VS. MS. KS. MŚ.

adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate grhe VS.: *atha viśve arapā edhate grhaḥ* TS.

athā (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS. †°*nān*, TS. twice †°*nān*, once °*nān*) *indro me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

athā (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

athā jīvaḥ (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*) *pitum addhi pramuktaḥ* (so divide) TS. MS. KS.: *athaitaṁ pitum addhi prasūtaḥ* VS. ŚB.

adhāsya madhyam edhatām KSA.: *athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS. LŚ.: *athāsyaī* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °*tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.

indro marudbhīr ṛtuthā (TS. ApMB. °dhā) *kṛṇotu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB.

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB. ApŚ. ṛjudhā) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. See §157.

§76. Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, *ZDMG* 40. 678ff.; cf. Wackernagel I p. 123):

svāyām tanū (ApMB.† MG.† *tanūn*) *ṛtviye* (RV.† *ṛtvyē*) *nādhāmānām* (ApMB. *nātha*°, but many mss. *nādha*°; MG. *bādha*°) RV. ApMB. MG.

§77. For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older:

avakro 'vithuro (ApŚ. 'vidh°; Kauś. adds 'ham) *bhūyāsam* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

Kauś. That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*; *avidhuro* is clearly secondary.

maiṣāṁ nu gād aparo artham (TB. ApŚ. ApMB. *ardham*) *etam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB.: *mā no nu gād aparo ardham etam* TA. ApŚ. 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part).' *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms; cf. RV. 1. 164. 17.

ābhūr (VS. TS. *ābhur*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °dhiḥ, NīlarU. °tiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Comm. on VS. 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *niṣaṅgathi* as meaning 'embracing' etc.; the other forms are ἀπ.λεγ. Probably °dhi is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °ti is a mere corruption.

paridam vāso adhithāḥ (HG. *adhidhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB. The original (AV.) form is 2 sing. aor. mid. of *dhā*; the personal ending *-thāḥ* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāḥ*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhi*. See VV I p. 39.

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pitṛṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktraḥ* (KSA. *pāṅktaḥ*; but all mss. of both TS. and KSA. *pāṁtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA.† *ma*°) *te pitṛṇām* (KSA.† *pitṛ*°) TS. KSA. We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else. Said to mean 'flying fox'.

indrāvathuḥ (VSK. °*dhuḥ*, KS.* TB. ApŚ. °*taṁ*) *kāvyaṛ* (TB. ApŚ. *karmaṇā*) *daṇṣanābhīḥ* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The subject is the Aśvins; so that VSK. is hardly interpretable. See VV I p. 282.

apa snehitīr (SV. *sn̥hitīm*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110.

§78. In the rest *dh* seems to be the original:

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ.† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *anāmayaḍhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś. The original (AŚ. ŚG.): 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra.' This SMB. converts into the unbelievable: 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra.' At least the comm. takes it thus, seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing. mid. of *mṛ* (one ms. reads *mṛdhā*); *riṣāma* of Kauś. confirms *mṛdh* as original. The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ*), which see in §98. On Kauś.'s reading see §344.

madhavyau stokāv (MS. °*kā*; AV. *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV. *yān*) *rarādha* AV. TS. MS. Several mss. and the comm. on AV. read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends.

adhorāma (HG. *atho*°) *ulumbalaḥ* (HG.† *ulumbaraḥ*) ApMB. HG. *adho*° = *adhas* is obviously correct; HG. mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q. v. in Conc.

dīrghām anu prasitīm (KS. *saṁtīm*) *āyuse dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasṛtīm saṁspr̥sethām* MS. An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ṣe dhām*: °*sethām*).

ph and *bh*

§79. The instances are few and all concern questionable forms: *phalāya*, and, *phallāya* KhG.: *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā* SMB. GG. The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight; their meanings are unknown. The form with single *l* and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is Prakritie for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form *bhallākṣa* which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind. St.* 2.88).

kanātkābhām (AŚ. *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB. AŚ. See §151.

yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā (ApŚ. °*balyā*, v. 1. °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*) *tasyām me rāsva* . . . TB. ApŚ. See §114.

CHAPTER III. ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80. The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended; but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame; and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent; yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*.—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff.

k and *kh*

§81. Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms: *gohya* †*upagohyo marūko* (PG. *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG. SMB. Cf. *grhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss. vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings.

kaṣṭkāya (MahānU. *khakholkāya*) *svāhā* TA. TAA. MahānU. The MahānU. form recurs in the Purāṇas; it is interpreted as *kha-kha-ulka* (!), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is ἀπ.λεγ., and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

g and *kh*

§82. Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times:

sugam (VS. MS. ŚB. *sukham*) *meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. *meṣye*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

sugam (VS. MS. *sukham*) *ca me śayanam ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

g (k) and gh

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt; cf. *yena mahānaghnyā jaghanam* AV. Kauś., where apparently all mss. of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānaghyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney.

yaññasya ghoṣad asi TS. TB. ApŚ.: *goṣad asi* MS. KS. MŚ. TS. comm. 'wealth'; Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear.

yathēyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The words are virtual synonyms.

apūpakrd aṣṭake ŚG.: *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB. Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*; same context; one must be a phonetic corruption of the other. 'O cake-making A.', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'.

c and ch

§84. Two variants, one an onomatopoetic word:

cec-cec chunaka srja . . . PG.: *chad apehi* . . . ApMB. Cf. the English 'skat'.

karṇābhyām (PG. *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB. *cu°*) *adhi* RV. AV. ApMB. PG. A v. l. of AV. with its comm. *cubukād*; one ms. of ApMB. *cibukād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

j and jh

§85. A single variant:

apām naptre jaṣaḥ (KSA. *jhaṣaḥ*) TS. KSA. *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV.), but *jhaṣa* is regular in the later language. The word is of non-Aryan origin.

ṭ and th

§86. These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic. In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets. In nearly every instance the *ṭh* form is proper, or at least more usual. Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation.

kuṣṭhayā (MS. *kuṣṭayā*) *te krīṇāni* MS. ApŚ. Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure; *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically.

naḍibhyah pauñjiṣṭham (TB. °*ṭam*) VS. TB. Also:

namaḥ puñjiṣṭhebhya (TS. °*ṭebhya*) *niṣādebhyaś ca vo namaḥ* TS. KS.:

namo niṣādebhyaḥ puñjīṣṭhebhyaś (MS. °*ṭebhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. The word *puñj°* or *pauñj°* 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*ṭha*, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies.

vaniṣṭum (AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ. °*ṭhum*) *asya mā rāviṣṭa* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.† 5. 17. 9, MŚ. The regular form is *vaniṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation. Knauer (on MŚ.) would emend MS. to °*ṭhum*.

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve (VS. °*ṣṭhīve*) *brhadrathamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpantām*) VS. MS. (Add to VV I §357.) The proper form is *ūrv-aṣṭhīva*, the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhī-vant*, 'knee'.

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona edd. °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari ṇo vrṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād* (p.p. *vā*, *aṣṭāt*) *dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* (read [*a-*] *varṇaḥ*?) MS. As a missile (*heti*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb'. The MS. is entirely corrupt. The Poona ed. of both TB. and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*.

anupūrvam yatamānā yati śtha (AV. *stha*, TA. *yatiṣṭa*) RV. AV. TA. *yatiṣṭa* could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (*yāti-ṣṭá*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yatamānā*) for *yāti śthá*, 'as many as ye be.'

rdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *rdhag utāsamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*ṣṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhravam ayā* (AV. *ayo*) *dhravam utāsamiṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p. 241). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234. Cf. next.

āṣṭa (MS. *āṣṭhāḥ*, KS. ms.† *āṣṭāḥ*, em. v. Schr. *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* . . . TS. MS. KS. PG. See VV I p. 238, and cf. prec.

vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (*paniṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *ti*, whereas RV. (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*.

[*nir aṣṭhaviṣam asmṛtam* GB. Vait. ApŚ. Quoted in Conc. with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB. and Vait. But the Vait. reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p. 119; and Gaastra reads *aṣṭhaviṣam* in GB. without report of variant. Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed. The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhū* 'spit' (cf. *ṣṭhutvā*, ApŚ.)]

§87. In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling. We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper. Both are dubious;

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the p.p. of MS.:

ṣaṣṭim (ŚŚ. *ṣaṣṭhim*) *sahasrā navatim ca kaurama* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. The combination *ṣaṣṭim sahasrā* is very common; see e.g. Conc. thereunder. ŚŚ., if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*.

mā no agnim (p.p. *agnih*) *nirrtir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS.: *mā no rudro nirrtir mā no astā* TA. See VV I p. 93. The forms are doubtful; read *āṣṭām*?

§88. The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ṣ*. Nothing is known about the word *kakuṭha* or *kakkaṭa* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal:

pitvo (*pidvo*, *bidvo*) . . . *kakkaṭas* (*kakuṭhas*) . . ., see §67.

t and *th*

§89. These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged; there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff., 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*; and VV I, especially §§20f., 292ff., 326ff., has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

§90. We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite). They have been listed in VV I p. 23f. In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older; in the last five, at least, the *th* form:

āpura stā . . . ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā* . . . TS. AŚ. Add to VV I l.c.

taṁ sma jānīta (VSK. °*tha*) *parama vyoman* AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

MŚ.: *jānīta smainam* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS.

MŚ.: *etaṁ jānātha* (TB. *jānītāt*, KS. *jānīta*) *pa° vy°* VS. KS. TB

ŚB. Note especially that VSK. *jānūtha* is apparently a blend of *jānūta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānūtha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*.

śivā no bhavata (ApŚ. °*tha*) *jīvase* MS. ApŚ.

śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yaññīyāsah* RV. TA. MG.

aśvā bhavata (AV. TS. KS. °*tha*) *vājinaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.:
devā bhavata vā° RV.

tena krīḍantīś (ŚG. *krīl°*) *carata* (ŚG. °*tha*) *priyeṇa* (AV. *vaśān anu*) AV.
TS. ŚG. PG. ViDh. *vaśān anu* in AV. is due to infection from RV.
1. 82. 3, 10. 142. 7.

devebhyo bhavata (TB. °*tha*) *suprāyaṇāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.
datto asmabhyam (KS. *dattvāsma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāsma°*, SMB. *dattāsma°*)
draviṇeha bhadram AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam*
yac ca bhadram MS.

ye 'tra pitarah . . . bhūyāstha AV. ŚŚ.: *ya etasmiṇ loke . . . bhūyāsta* TS.
TB. A primary ending on a precative form is absurd; yet all mss.
of AV. and ŚŚ. seem to agree on °*tha*; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86.
arālāg udabhartsata (AV. mss. °*tha*) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. reading, aug-
mented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation,
āsannā udabhir yathā, has no standing.

aulaba (HG. °*va*) *it tam upā hwayatha* (HG. °*ta*) ApMB. HG. Several
mss. of ApMB. read °*ta*; in such trash as this it makes little differ-
ence what is read.

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG.: *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ. See note in Stenz-
ler's translation of PG. 1. 16. 22.

indreṇa yujā (TB. *sayujā*) *pra mṛṇūta* (TB. °*tha* [Bibl. Ind. *praṇūtha*])
śatrūn AV. TB. Add to VV I §16.

payasvatīḥ kṛṇuthāpa (TS. °*tāpa*) *oṣadhīḥ śivāḥ* (TS. omits *śivāḥ*) AV.
TS. Followed by:

ūrjam ca tatra sumatiṁ ca pinvata (TS. °*tha*) AV. TS. (Add to VV I §18.)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both; yet both are inconsistent. Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp. readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza, even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutaḥ siñcathā madhu*), where the relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative; see VV I pp. 78f.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads *pinvatha* for °*ta*, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*.

yad āmayati niś kṛtha (TS. MS. KS. *kṛta*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *kṛtha*, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists like *kṛdhi*, is the older reading; *kṛta* lect. fac.

yūyaṁ (MS. *divo*) *vṛṣṭīm varṣayathā* (MS. °*tā*) *purīṣiṇaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.—MS., which borrows *divo vṛṣṭīm* from e.g. RV. 2. 27. 15b, is secondary also as regards °*tā*.

ud irayathā (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ.

§91. About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp. 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89). We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older; in the majority there is little to choose between them:

citrebhir abhraiṛ upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. °*to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by: *dyām varṣayatho* (MS. °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. See VV I p. 241. *yāv* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS.† °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS. *viśvasyādhīpā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† °*tuḥ*), same texts. See VV I p. 228. The unanimity of AV. and KS., partly supported by MS., perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original; we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS. 4. 7. 15. 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'.

tat satyaṁ yad vīraṁ bibhṛthaḥ (MŚ.† °*taḥ*); and, in same passage, *vīraṁ janayiṣyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ*),

te mat prātaḥ prajanayiṣyethe (MŚ. °*te*),

te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathaḥ (MŚ. °*taḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 236.

ghṛtena (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvāprthivī prorṇuvāthām* (VS. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇuvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. ApŚ. MŚ.: also see Conc. under *svarge* (°*geṇa*, *swarge*) *loke* (-*na*) *prorṇuvāthām* etc. (only MS. °*tām*; VS. VSK. TS. KSA. [†*saṁprorṇuvāthām*] ŚB. TB. Vait. °*thām*).

yā rājānaṁ (MS. KS. °*nā*) *sarathāṁ yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. *juṣetām* (and, °*thām*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. (both). Add to VV I §21.

kāmaṁ duhātām iha śakvarībhiḥ AV.: *rāṣṭraṁ duhāthām iha revatībhiḥ* TB. See VV I pp. 25, 224.

purā grḍhrād araruṣaḥ pibātaḥ (TS. °*thaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original. *saṁ* (ApMB. *śaṁ*) *ūdho romaśaṁ hataḥ* (ApMB. *hathaḥ*) RV. ApMB. See VV I p. 24.

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *apṛati*) RV. SV. AV. TB.: followed by,

hato (SV. *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī* RV. SV., and,
hato (SV. *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣaḥ* RV. SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.
yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS. °thām) MS.
 KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in the same stanza:
divi (KS. *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS.†
 °thām), same texts. *abhūthām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have
 a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse. See VV I p. 235.

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other
 verbal endings containing *t* and *th*; or, in the last case, a verbal ending
 with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*:
abhiramayātām (MŚ. °thām!) MŚ. ŚG. YDh. BṛhPDh. The MŚ. form, if
 correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly
 anomalous; see VV I §22.

yāś ca (yā) *devīr* (*devyo*, *devīs*) *antān* (*antān*, *tantūn*) *abhito* 'dadanta
(tatantha), etc.; see §63.

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. *aya(h)sthūṇam*
 (TS. °ṇāv) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. °tau) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS.
 The old loc. sing. in °tā is shifted in VS. ŚB. to a second person dual
 verb, *udithaḥ*.

§93. In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation
 has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscuri-
 ties:

asunītāya (TA. °thāya) *voḍhave* AV. TA. The AV. comm. reads °thāya,
 which is clearly original; °tāya is infected by *asunīti*; cf. Whitney
 on AV. 18. 2. 56.

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nītir, KS.* °dhītam, 38.
 12b† °nītha, MS. °dhīte) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS.
 MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. All forms are rare and dubious. KapŚ. (v.
 Schr. on KS. 8. 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °tim (so also v. l. of KS.).
nīrṛtho (MS. °to) *yaś ca nisvanah* (AV. *nisvarah*) AV. MS. TA. *nīrṛto* in
 MS. is a secondary blend of *nīrṛtha* (old) and *nīrṛti* (common).
svasti nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, but v. l. as RV.) *yonīṣu*
 RV. AB. MG. Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG.; if the reading
 is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding.

ābhur (MS. KS. *ābhūr*, NilarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °dhiḥ,
 NilarU. °tiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU. The last has a corruption;
 see §77.

paktā (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. Comm. on TS., *pākaśīlam*.
 KSA. corrupt, see Keith on TS. 7. 5. 20. 1.

stuto 'si *janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. (LŚ. *pratika*, *stutaḥ*): *tutho* 'si *janadhāyāḥ*

(PB. °yah) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. LŚ. Is *stuto* lect. fac. for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇārati (AV. °ṇā rathī, ŚŚ. °ṇā rayir) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. From RV. 3. 3. 6, 4. 15. 2, 8. 75. 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading.

garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām RV. Conc. would read *cāratām* (gen. pl. of *cārant*); but *carāthām* (gen. pl. of *carātha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*).

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work:

atho (MU. *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanti* TA. TU. MU.

tato (AV. ArS. *tathā*) *viṣvaṇ vyākramat* (AV. *tathā vyākramad visvaṇ*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA.

atho rājann (AV. *uta rājñām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV. TB.

atho pitā (MS. *utāyam pitā*) *mahatām gargarānām* AV. TS. MS. KS.

§95. As regards lexical interchange of *t* and *th*, RV. 8. 13. 27 *harī indra pratadvasū abhi svara* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu*; Sāyaṇa, *viśtīrṇadhana*), or *pratata-vasu*. But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu*. The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc. the two bay steeds, as subject. Cf. the doubtful *kṛtād-vasū* (*kṛta-tad-vasū* with haplology?) in RV. 8. 31. 9; see however Wackernagel, 2. 1 pp. 64, 319; Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages.

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions:

tābhyām (MS. KS. add *vayam*) *patema sukrām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathyāśma sukrasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Dhātup. has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *panthan*. Possibly Kauś. intends *pathyā(h) sma*. In VV I p. 110 we have treated its form as a precativē. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*.

hitvā na ūrjam pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ (AV. *padāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. See §60.

saṁsrāvabhāgā (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *saṁsrava°*, MS. °*bhāgāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*bhāgās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *brhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *brhantaḥ*.

aktaṁ (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG.

viyantu) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. (bis) TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo* 'ktaṁ rihāṇāḥ VS. ŚB. KŚ. *aktaṁ rihāṇāḥ*, 'licking the fat', is certainly original; the KS. *arthaṁ* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS. 31. 11 suggests emending *arthaṁ* to *aktaṁ*. On MS. see §152.

atho mātātho pitā TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *hato hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. See §386.

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV.: *hataḥ krimiṇām kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. See *ibid*.

sarve rādhyāḥ stha (ŚŚ. °yās tu) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

grho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ (AŚ. gr° mi° hi°) AV. KS. AŚ. Here all AV. mss. and comm. read *miṭhaḥ*, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption; RWh. read *mitaḥ* with Ppp. and KS. AŚ.

paritoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ. Read in both *udarpithaḥ*; see §63.

upa yajñam asthita (AV. comm. *astrta*, MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

t and *dh*

§97. Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vr̥dh* and *vrt*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous; but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *vrt* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true:

bhīma ā vāvr̥dhe (SV. *vāvr̥te*) *śavaḥ* RV. SV.

madanti devīr amṛtā rtāvrdhaḥ (Vait. °*vrtah*) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland on Vait. 13. 20 assumes that °*vrtah* (all mss.) is an error.

abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya (AV. *vardhaya*) RV. AV. The AV. is certainly poor, and Ppp. has *vartaya*; see Whitney on 1.29. 1. Cf. next two.

yenendro abhivāvr̥te (AV. °*vr̥dhe*) RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; same conditions. Cf. also next.

abhi somo avīvrtat (AV. °*vr̥dhat*) RV. AV. In next verse to the prec. two; same conditions.

nivarto yo ny avīvrdhaḥ (ApMB. °*vrtat*) HG. ApMB. Oldenberg adopts °*vrtat* for HG.

pumānsam vardhatām (†text is right, despite Conc.) *mayi* ŚG.: *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG.: *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB. 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me'; 'let a male be in me' or the like. ŚG. has a 3 dual active verb. See §840.

Note further the exchange between the old (RV.) adjectives *rtāvrdh*

and *dhṛtavrata* (not concerning root *vṛt*) in: *āvitte* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāprthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* (*dhṛtavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665.

§98. The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt:

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG. Synonyms.

sa mā mṛta (MG. *vṛtat*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ* ŚG.

'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him'; and §78, *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra*, etc. The MG. has a mere corruption, see §225. *ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgadhiḥ* (*°thiḥ*, *°tiḥ*), see §77.

vi te (PG. *tau te*, HG. *vidhe*) *krodham nayāmasi* PG. HG. ApMB. Kirste suggests emending HG. to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation; *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless.

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. Comm. on AV., followed by SPP. in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV. See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap. Whitney, p. xcii.

śriyai (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) ApMB. MG. For the MG. Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc. *vettavai*.

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ. *†adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ. *emi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *adhi* is very inferior in sense.

d and *dh*

§99. This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption. The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text; cf. e.g., Whitney on AV. 11. 1. 23 (*ansadrhī*: *°drī*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples. In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā*. These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it. They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing.

Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100. They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following: *āyurdā asi* ŚŚ.: *āyurdhā asi* TS. JB. AŚ.

āyurdā (MS. KS. °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.

cakṣurdā (KS. °*dhā*) *asi* VS. KS. ŚB.

varcodā asi VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *varcodhā asi* AV. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

varcodā (MS. °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.—All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*cakṣur*, *varco*) *me* (*mayi*) *dehi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent.

§101. There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal: *dā* does not govern the locative of the person, but only the dative. The root *dhā*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of *dā* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected:

†*okhām dadhātu* (MS. *dadātu*) *hastayoḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding *pāda* is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoḥ* being really epexegetic; but also and chiefly because the MS. reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf. *mā no andhe* . . . , §105.

mayi puṣṭim †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭam puṣṭa°*) *dadhātu* (AG. †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB. Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG. is evidently an error.

[*mayi rucam dhāḥ* (KS. †*dhehi*) MS. KS. Conc. *dehi* for KS.]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dāḥ*, MS., recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ.; and in the same text (TS.) all three possibilities in a formula like *āyur me dehi* TS. 1. 5. 5. 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1. 6. 6. 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7. 5. 19. 2 (but, N. B., no **āyur mayi dehi*).

§103. In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another; not infrequently they may very well have originated independently:

rayim me dāḥ (AV. *dhehi*) AV. MS.

ojo dehi KS.: *ojo dhatta* TS. KŚ.: *ojo mayi dhehi* VS. TB.: *ojo me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. ŚB.

balam dehi KS.: *balam dhatta* TS. MŚ.: *balam mayi dhehi* (AV. *me dāḥ* *svāhā*) AV. VS. TB.

saho mayi dhehi (AV. *me dāḥ svāhā*) AV. VS. TB.

prāṇam dhehi (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. See Conc. in the vicinity of these.

vācam dhehi (MS. *me dāḥ*) MS. TA.

annam me dehi (PB.* *dhehi*) PB. (both) LŚ. Kauś.; cf. note on Kauś. 136. 4.

āyur dhehi (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *āyur me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *āyur mayi dhehi* VS. TS. ŚB.: *āyur me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *āyur me dhehi* VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS. TB. ApŚ.: *āyur me dhattam* TB. ApŚ.

śrotram dehi (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.: *śrotram mayi* (KSA. †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS. KSA.: *śrotram me dāḥ* AV. MŚ.

cakṣur dehi (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.: *cakṣur me dhehi* (KS. KSA. *dehi*) VS. KS. KSA. ŚB.: *cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS.: *cakṣur me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. MS.

tejo mayi (AŚ. *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ. *dehi*) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. LŚ. ŚG. ApMB.: *tejo me dhāḥ* (AŚ. *dāḥ svāhā*) TA. AŚ.

varco mayi dhehi VS. TS. PB. ŚB. ApŚ.: *varco me dāḥ* (TA. *dhāḥ*) MS. MŚ. TA.: *varco me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *varco me dhehi* VSK. MS. KS. JB. ApŚ.: *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.

vīram dhatta (AŚ. *vīram me datta*; MŚ. °*no datta*) *pitarah* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ pitaro dhatta* ViDh.: *vīrān me pitaro* (*tatāmahā*, *prata-tāmahā*) *datta* Kauś.

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB. LŚ. *dehi*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. GB. TB. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. *hṛdisprk kratuṣprg varcodāḥ* (MS. °*dhā asi*) MS. AŚ.

§104. Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority:

aśvibhyām pradhāpaya (TA. °*dāpaya*) MS. TA.

apām oṣadhīnām garbham dhāḥ (MŚ. *garbham me dāḥ*) TS. MŚ.

adhi dātre vocaḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: *adhi dhātre vocaḥ* MS. KS.

cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāḥ TS.: *varcodhā varivodhāḥ* MS.: *varcodā varivodāḥ* (TA. *varivodā draviṇodāḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

bhūs (also, *bhuvas*, and *svas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* (MG. *te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG. MG.: *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ sarvaṁ tvayi dadhāmi* (MG. *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. MG.

anādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdata sahaṁjaso (TS. MS. KS. *sīdatorjasvatīr*) *mahi kṣatram* (*varcaḥ*) *kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ* (KS. *dadatīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *iyaṁ vaḥ sā satyā samdhābhūd* (MS. *saṁvāg abhūd*) *yām indreṇa samadhadhvam* (MS. °*dadhvam*) TS. MS.: *eṣā vas sā satyā saṁvāg abhūd*

yām indreṇa samadadhvam KS.: *yām indreṇa samdhām samadhatthāh* (comm. and some mss. *samadhattāh*) AV. Where the noun *saṁdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*; note that in MS. KS. it is replaced by *saṁvāg*; but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p. 128).

astṛto nāmāham . . . ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyām gopīthāya (KS. . . *dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānam pari dade . . .*) AV. KS.

devīr āpo apām napād . . . devebhyo devatra datta (VS. ŚB. *datta*, KS. *dāta*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. . . *taṁ devebhyah śukrapebhyo dāta* MS.

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuḥ smane smānam . . . dehy asmai MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °*pate*) *puṣṭiś . . . asmai punar dhehi* (AŚ. *dhehi* or *dehi svāhā*) AŚ. ApŚ. For *smane smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21. 324.

agnir annādo 'nnapatir . . . mayi dadhātu (TB. *yajamānāya dadātu*) ŚB. TB. KŚ. Similarly nine other formulas with other gods.

[*udgātār devayajanam me dehi* ŚB. ApŚ. (Conc. *dhehi* for ApŚ.)]

§105. The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence; only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original:

rayim devī dadhātu me AV.: *rāyo devī dadātu naḥ* RV.

purumedhaś (SV. °*dhāś*) *cit takave naram dāt* (SV. *dhāt*) RV. SV.

dakṣam dadhāsi (KS. *dadāsi*, v. l. *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *asmabhyam dattām* (AV. *dhattām*; but comm. *dattām*) *varuṇaś ca manyuḥ*

RV. AV.—Ppp. also *dattām*.

vasudeyāya (KS. °*dheyāya*) *vidhate vibhāti* RV. KS. In RV. *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*.

tato no dehi jīvase RV. TB. TA.: *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV. SV. Kauś. *tisro dadhur* (KS. *dadur*) *devatāḥ saṁraranāḥ* VS.† (so for Conc. RV.)

19. 81b, MS. KS. TB. The majority are probably original.

somāya rājñe paridhātavā (HG. °*dā*°) *u* AV. HG. ApMB. As Kirste remarks, HG. is secondary or corrupt; the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts.

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt MŚ. (properly emended by Knauer to *ādāt*, cf. §101): *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo sv*) *asmāns tamasy antar-ādāt* TA.: *mo śvatvam asmāntarādāt* MS.† (corrupt).

pratyādāyāpara iṣvā AV. 10. 1. 27; read *pratyādāyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations.

dhātā dadhātu (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. *dadātu*) *no rayim* AV. TS. MS.† KS.

ApŚ. ApMB. Kauś. See §106, first two variants.

dhātā dadhātu (ApŚ. *dadātu*) *sumanasyamāṇaḥ* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

indreṇa ma indriyaṁ dattam ojaḥ AV.: *asmin nara indriyaṁ dhattam ojaḥ* TS. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *dhattam*.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG.: *āyus te* (AV. *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV. TS.

TA. ApŚ. AŚ. HG. BDh. Cf. *rayim no dehi* . . . §106.

rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe (AV. °ṣī, AŚ. *yajamāṇe*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

iṣam ūrjaṁ yajamāṇāya dhehi (Vait. *dattvā*, AV. *duhrām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.

lokam asmai yajamāṇāya dehi (MU. *dhehi*) TS. KSA. MU.

tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi dadhatī (ŚB. KŚ. *dadatī*) *sarasvatī* ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

dadatī is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda.

asme dhehi (SV. *dehi*) *jātavedo mahi śravaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

krtvī (AV. *krtvā*) *savarṇām adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV. AV. N.

The AV. is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney).

devebhyo (VS. *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS. °*dhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†

pra ṇo (MS. KS. *mā*) *brūtād bhāgadhān* (ApŚ. °*dhām*, MS. °*dām*, KS.

dhavirdā) *devatāsu* (KS. °*tābhyah*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

§106. In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting:

dhātā dadātu (AV. *dadhātu*) *dāśuṣe* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG. N. See next.

dhātā viśvā vāryā dadhātu AV.: *dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe vasūni* TS. MS.

ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

rayim no dehi jīvase ŚŚ.: *rayim no dhehi yajñīyam* MS. Cf. *āyur no dehi jīvase*, §105.

medhām agnir dadātu me (SMB. *dadhātu te*) SMB. ApMB.; cf. *medhām ta indro dadātu* HG., *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh. VS.

tasmai mā devāḥ paridhatteha sarve AV.: *tasmai no devāḥ paridatteha* (KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*, PG. °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ.† *viśve*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh. Comm. on AV. also °*datteha*, called by Whitney a better reading; of this we are less sure.

tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (AŚ. *dāh*) AV. AŚ.

jīwann eva prati tat te dadhāmi (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīwann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ.

udno (AV. ed. *ūdhno*, but mss. *utno* etc.; Whitney transl. reads *udno*) *divyasya no dhātaḥ* (TS. KS. *dehi*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. *dhāta*, explaining by *dhehi* (!).

mahi varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ (KS. *dadatīḥ*, TS. *vanvānāḥ*) TS. MS. KS.

§107. Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. This (originally **dhabh*) produces both *dhīps* and *dīps*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (: *dabh*), is the usual form:

nīndād yo asmān dīpsāc (VS. ŚB. *dhīpsāc*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyah* MS.: *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA. Here *dhīps* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf. §§180, 45).

yaṁ te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ RV.: *yaṁ te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayaḥ* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep. on 8. 5. 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhū*.

rajani (AV. ed. em. *rajjuni*) *granther dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation *rajjuni* is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajani*, is nonsense.

adhi kṣami (SV. *asmin kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyānaḥ* (SV. °*rām dīdyānaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac. infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64. 5, *sudītibhiḥ . . . sve kṣaye . . . vrdhase*, or RV. 5. 23. 4, *eṣu kṣayeṣu . . . dīdihi*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānaḥ*).

yad bañhiṣṭham nātividhe (TB. °*vide*) *sudānū* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense; TB. comm. *nātyantaṁ labhyam*. But the compound *ati-vid* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MS. has °*vide*.

indra darta (SV. *dhartā*) *purām asi* RV. SV. AV. The foolish antonym of SV. is disproved by RV. 1. 130. 10, 3. 45. 2, 6. 20. 3.

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. So also mss. on AV. 7. 83. 2, emended by RWh. to *dāmno-dāmno*. Whitney, Transl., keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp. has *dh-*. But Keith on TS., 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible. At any rate there is no variant. In the preceding verse also the AV. mss. have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh. to *dāmāni*; the variant KS. 3. 8, AŚ. 3. 6. 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu*.]

§108. A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vr̥dh*, which exchange several times; the 'Prakritic' exchange of *r* and *i* also comes in here. In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear:

mā no vidad (KS. *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥jinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *vr̥janā*) *dveṣyā* †*tyā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Cf. Conc. under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*).

hotrāvidaḥ (RV. °*vida*, TB. °*vr̥dha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. On *hotrāvid* cf. RV. 5. 8. 3; *hotrāvr̥dh* is not recorded.

indrartubhīr brahmaṇā vāvr̥dhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *indra r̥bhuhīr brahmaṇā samvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

§109. Remoter lexical variants are the following:

śyenasyeva dhrajato (MS. KS. *dravato*) *añkasam pari* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *dravataḥ* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena*; cf. RV. 1. 165. 2.

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ: *śrutkarṇāya kavaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*, TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. *sūd°* is evidently secondary. Note that in AV. 20. 136. 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index).

taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvr̥dho (HG. *suh̥do*, AV. *suvr̥dhā*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. *suvr̥dhā vardh°*, 'growing with good growth', is original. In HG. there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātaraḥ* ('brothers, friends').

spardhante dhiyaḥ (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS. KSA., into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed).’ So at least the TS. comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of *divaḥ* to *divāḥ* (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of ‘conflicting prayers’ (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff., or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25. 1ff.). The whole verse is obscure.

§110. The rest are obscure if not corrupt:

apa snehitīr (KS. ms. *sniḥiti*, em. v. Schroeder; SV. *snīhitīm*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ* [so divide], KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.—KapS. reads *snehitī ṛmaṇām athaṁdrī*. In RV. ‘He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies.’ Cf. 1. 74. 2. Benfey takes *adhad* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāḥ* as ‘riches.’ The TA. comm. understands *snuhi* as *bhūmau prasrāvaya* (root *snu*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravanaśīlam* (v. 1. *atho*°, as if *atha* = *adhas*+*drā*!). Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?

anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema TB.: *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁ kṣiyema* Vait. Comm. on TB. *adham id, anantaram eva*; but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known. It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā*: *sadam* = *adhā*: *adham*; note that the TB. comm. assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, ‘always’. Cf. VV I p. 195.

upākṛtaṁ śaśamānaṁ yad asthāt (MŚ. *sadhassthāt*, v. 1. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. If *sadhassthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtam*: ‘fetched from home’ or the like.

vanā vananti dhr̥ṣatā (MŚ. mss. *dhr̥ṣadā* and *dr̥ṣadā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. See §60.

ud vaṁśam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

adhā viṣitaḥ pitum addhi prasūtaḥ KS.: *adomadam annam addhi pramuktaḥ* AV. And others, §870. *adomadam* is obscure; we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun).

[*tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB. And others; §325. Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* in RVKh.; but his ms. °*mādyeṣu*.]

p and *ph*

§111. Only in the synonymous roots *guṣp* and *gulph*. Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *guṣp*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph*, *gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*); see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV.* 338, top, where *guṣṭitam* ŚB. 3. 2. 2. 20 is a misprint of that text:

mano yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ. *gulphitam*) MS. ApŚ.

yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ. *gulphitam*) ḥṛdi MS. ApŚ.

viṣṇe vi śya guṣṭitam (some mss. and comm. *gulphitam*) AV.

p and *bh*

§112. These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings: most commonly the roots *pr* and *bhr*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support'. In AV. 3. 5. 4c, *taṁ priyāsaṁ bahu rocāmānaḥ*, we must read *bhriyāsaṁ* with Whitney.

manas tanūṣu bibhrataḥ (TB.* ApŚ.* LŚ. *piprataḥ*) RV. VS. TB. LŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. Both readings in TB. ApŚ.

utem (ŚŚ. *uto*) *āsu mānaṁ piparti* (ŚŚ. *bibharti*) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. One

ms. of ŚŚ. *piparti*, which should perhaps be read even in that text. *taṁ piprhi daśamāsyō* 'ntar udare ŚG.: *taṁ mātā daśa māso bibhartu* ApMB. HG.

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu AV. 13. 1. 1d; Ppp. according to Roth *pipartu* for *bi°*, which must be secondary if Ppp. has *subhṛtaṁ* as indicated by Roth's silence. This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV. 11. 5 (1d, 2c, 4d):

sa ācāryaṁ tapasā piparti (Ppp. *bibharti*),

sarvān sa devāns tapasā piparti (Ppp. *bibharti*), and

śrameṇa lokāns tapasā piparti (Ppp. *bibharti*), all AV. and Ppp.

§113. There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12. 414ff.:

saṁyopayanto duriṭāni viśvā RV. MG.: *saṁlobhayanto duriṭā padāni* AV. *ayupitā* (ApŚ. *alubhitā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to

Vol. 2) *yonih* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§114. Finally two miscellaneous cases:

agner jihvāsi suhūr (VSK. TS. TB. *subhūr*, KS. *supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS. TB. *devānām*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jihvā* best.

yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā (ApŚ. °*balyā*, vv. 11. °*phalyā*, °*bhalyā*) . . . TB. ApŚ. The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown. TB. comm. has a fatuous explanation.

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115. That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e.g. by Wackernagel 1 §218. Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*; and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*). Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l. c., p. 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV. and most of the Gṛhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent; they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS. and KS. RV. and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS., MS., ŚB. and ApMB.—and the RV. sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

bh and *h*

§116. We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah*: *grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance. First, *grah* and *grabh*: *grbhñāmi* (AV. HG. *grhñāmi*) *te saubhagatvāya* (ApMB. HG. *supra-jāstvāya*) *hastam* RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. *jagrbhmā* (RV. *jagrbhmā*, TB. *jagrbhñā*) *te dakṣiṇam indra hastam* RV. SV. MS. TB. Svidh. In VV I p. 252 we have suggested that the form *jagrbhñā* (comm. *vayam grhītavantah*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive. [In the ms. of this section Bloomfield wrote: 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *ṇ* after the labial aspirate.' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form; *jagrbhmā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV. is stupidly altered to *-ñā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *grbh-ñā-ti*.—F E.]

na hy asyā (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma grbhñāmi* RV. ApMB.: *nahi te nāma jagrāha* AV.

hiraṇyapāvāḥ paśum āsu (SV. *apsu*) *grbhñate* (AV.† *grh°*) RV. AV. SV. *savitā* (AG. ApMB. HG. MG. °*tā te*) *hastam agrabhūt* (AV. SMB. MG. °*hūt*) AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.: *devas te savitā hastam grhñātu* AV.

idaṁ rādhaḥ prati grbhñīhy (JB. *grhñīhy*) *aṅgiraḥ* AV. GB. JB. ŚŚ. *bhagas te hastam agrabhūt* (AV. °*hūt*) AV. ŚG. ApMB.

agniṣ te hastam agrabhīt (SMB. °hīt) SMB. ApMB. HG.

aryamā (ApMB. °mā te) *hastam agrabhīt* (SMB. °hīt) ŚG. SMB. ApMB.
oṣadhayaḥ prati grbhñīta (TS. KS. *grhñītāgnim etam*, MS. MŚ. *grbhñī-*
tāgnim etam) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

nākaṁ grbhñānāḥ (TS. KS. *grh°*) *sukrtasya loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
agne brahma grbhñīṣva (MS. MŚ. *grhñīṣva*, KS. *grhīṣva*) VS. MS. KS.
ŚB. MŚ.

apo devīr (VS. ŚB. *devā*) *madhumatīr agrhṇan* (MS. KS. *agrbhñām*,
VS. ŚB. *agrbhṇan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

āpo devīḥ pratigrbhñīta (TS. KS. ApŚ.† °*grhñīta*) *bhasmaitat* VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

devo vah savitā hiraṇyapāṇiḥ prati (MS. MŚ. °*pāṇir upa*) *grhñātu* (VS.
ŚB. *pratigrbhñātū* . . . ; VSK. °*vah savitā pratigrhñātu* . . .) VS. VSK.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

aditis te (VS. MS. ŚB. °*tiṣ te*) *bilam grhñātu* (VS. MS. ŚB. *grbh°*) . . .
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

taṁ vo grhñāmy (MS. *taṁ te grbhñāmy*) *uttamam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
TA.

prati grhñāmi (MS. TB.† AŚ. *grbh°*) *mahate vīryāya* (MS. KS. *mahata*
indriyāya) MS. KS. TB. AŚ.—TB. Poona ed. text and comm.
grbh°.

yasya yoniṁ patireto grbhāya (HG. *prati reto grhāṇa*) ŚG. HG.: *vy asya*
yoniṁ prati reto grhāṇa ApMB.

§117. The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically
synonymous roots *bhr* and *hr*, without other motive than the close
similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here.
parāpuro nīpuro ye bharanti (MŚ. *har°*) AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
SMB.

rātrīm-rātrīm (VS. ŚB.* *ahar-ahar*, AV. TS. *rātrīm-rātrim*) *aprayāvaṁ*
bharantaḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (both): *ahar-ahar balim it te*
harantaḥ AV.

śarma varmedam ā bhara ApMB.: *śarma varmaitad ā hara* AV.

viṣṇuḥ sambhriyamāṇaḥ VS.: *viṣṇur upāvahriyamāṇaḥ* TS.

prāṇāpānābhyām balam āharantī (ApMB. *ābhar°*) SMB. ApMB.
(Other forms, see Conc.)

§118. Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita*
(-dhita) and *-bhṛta* (-hṛta, cf. preceding). Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards
both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approxi-
mate synonyms. Cf. also *-dhita*: *-bhṛta*, §175:

hiraṇye 'smiṁ samāhitāḥ (HG. *samābhṛtāḥ*) RVKh. HG. ApMB. Schef-
telowitz reads °*hṛtāḥ* in RVKh.

devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtāḥ (TB. °bhṛtāḥ) SV. TB.: *devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ* RVKh. But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hṛtāḥ for RVKh.; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone. *gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat* VS.: *gan° nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. And others; §855.

sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam TS. TB.: *sūryāñ* (p. p. °yāt) *śukraṁ samābhṛtam* MS.: *sūrye santaṁ* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhitam* (KS. TA. °bhṛtam) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

yad agne pūrvaṁ prabhṛtaṁ (AŚ. *prahitaṁ*; MŚ. *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ.

§119. Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable; one does about as well as another:

agner jīhvāsi suhūr (*subhūr*, *supūr*) *devebhyah* (*devānām*), see §114.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ.

ŚŚ. According to Roth Ppp. has *cā bhūte*, evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed.

ā tvā subhava (AB. AŚ. *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

samudraṁ na suhavaṁ (AV. *subhuvas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavaṁ*) *tasthivāṁsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṁsam* MS.—AVPpp. reads as MS. except *subhavas*, for which Barret, JAOS 35. 46, reads *subhuvas*. The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB. comm. (*sukhenāhvātum śakyam*).

suhutakṛtaḥ stha . . . AŚ.: *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.: *subhūtakṛtaḥ subhūtaṁ naḥ kṛṇuta* ŚŚ.

§120. In two cases—besides the *grah*: *grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*:

kakubhaṁ (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuhaṁ*) *rūpaṁ vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpaṁ ṛṣ°*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (pratikas, ApŚ. MŚ.).—*kakuha* occurs already in RV., which does not know *kakubha*. Cf. §23.

apām gambhan sīda VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *apām gambhīraṁ gacha* KS. ApŚ.: *apām tvā gahman sūdayāmi . . .* MS. MŚ.

§121. Miscellaneous cases:

brāhmaṇebhyo hy anujñātā (TA. °bhyanu°) TA. MahānU. *hi*: (a)bhi. *asambhavyaṁ* (JB. *asamheyam*, perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*) *parābhavan* AV. JB.

abhi dyumnaṁ (RV. VS. *sumnaṁ*) *devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

nābhimṛṣe (MS. KS. *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
asmān (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso* †*vatā haveṣu* AV.

dh and *h*

§122. Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhi*: *hi*; participle *hita*: *dhita*), partly on lexical changes:

nṛñḥ (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *pāhi śṛṇudhī* (SV. °*hī*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 253.

uṣṇena vāya (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. *ihī*: *edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary.

upasthe soma āhitaḥ (ApMB. *ādhitah*) RV. AV. ApMB. MG. Note archaism in ApMB.

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh (TS. *ānṛhuh*, MS. *ānaśuh*) AV. TS. MS. Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *ānṛhuh* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *ānṛdhuh*; see Whitney's note on AV. 2. 35. 1 and Keith on TS. 3. 2. 8. 3.

grdhrāḥ śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ (KSA. ms. *vārhīṇasas te* 'dityāḥ) TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°, questionably; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23.

harṣamāñāso dhṛṣitā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāñā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. Three mss. of AV. *dhṛṣitāso*; Ppp. ms. *ṛṣamāñāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35. 59f., reads *dhṛṣatā*.

The form *hṛṣit*° is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa*°. *usrāv* (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etaṁ dhūrṣāhau* (VSK. MŚ. °*vāhau*, KS. °*bādhā*) ... VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

gh and *h*

§123. We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*:

arghaḥ HG.: *arghyam* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyam bhoḥ* Kauś.: *arhañīyā āpaḥ* ApG. See §321, end. *arh* = *argh*.

aṅghārīr (ŚŚ. *añhārīr*, all mss.) *asi bambhārīḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. LŚ. The word is obscure, but ŚŚ. looks like a phonetic reduction.

somaṁ te krīṇāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam †*vīryāvantam abhimātiṣāham*

(KS. *vīryāvantaṁ bahvarghaṁ śobhamānam*) TS. KS.: *somavikrayin somaṁ te krīṇāni mahāntaṁ bahvarhaṁ bahu śobhamānam* MS. *taṁ ghed agnir vṛdhāvati* RV. TS.: *taṁ hed agnir vidhāvati* MS. Particles *gha* and *ha*.

vīraṁ hi (read *avīraghnī*?) *vīravataḥ suśevā* MG.: *avīraghno* (ApMB.† °nī) *vīravataḥ* (ŚG. *vīratarah*, HG. °*tamah*) *suvirān* (HG. *suśevān*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

kh and *h*

§124. Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog. With this cf. *asambhavyaṁ* (JB. *asaṁheyam*) *parābhavan* AV. JB., where *asamheyam* may be for *asamkhyeyam*; see §121.

khaṇvakhāṣi khaimakhāṣi madhye taduri AV.: *haimahāṣ haimahāṣ* KŚ. Cf. *haimahāṣ idaṁ madhv* . . . ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

1. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

§125. Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK. affects forms like *tanakmi* for *tanacmi*, *yunagmi* for *yunajmi* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK. is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK. also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel, I §§119ff., especially 121ff., deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

k and *c*

§126. The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cīt*:

samānam ceto abhisamviśadhvam (TB. *keto abhisamrabhadvam*) AV. TB. *ā no agne sucetunā* (TB. ApŚ. *suketunā*) RV. SV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

The *s*-stem *ketas* is *ἄπ.λεγ.*, and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetas* and *keta*, both of which are historically regular. TB. comm. *sahavāsasthānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keta* (perhaps from *ci*, 'pile', rather than *cit*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 66. 4; Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary.

śokāt (TS. *śocāt*) *prthivya uta vā divas pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *śocāt* is *ἄπ.λεγ.* and analogical.

kanīkhunad iva sāpayan TB.: *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. *c-* is again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147. *yatraitān* (VS. ApMB. °*nān*) *vettha nihitān parāke* (SMB. *parācaḥ*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāk-a-*.

nū cit (SV. *nakiḥ*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV. SV. *cit* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred.

atho adhivikartanam (ApMB. °*cartanam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Here the two roots are unrelated: *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie'. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p. 145). The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off'; the secondary, 'untying'. *ima udvāsikāriṇa* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsicāriṇa* . . . MŚ. See §59. The MŚ. reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kr*.

§127. In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK., see §125:

indrasya (MS. MŚ. *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgam somena tanacmi* (VSK. *tanakmi*, MS. MŚ. *somenātananacmi*) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: *somena tvā tanacmīnd-rāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ.

g and *c*

§128. An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with *c* is presumably original:

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (HG. °*bhyācāreṇa*, MG. °*bhyācāre*, AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

k and *ch*

§128a. An isolated lexical variant:

chavīm (KSA. †*kavīm*) *chavyā* TS. KSA. The latter is doubtless original; assimilation to the next word in TS., resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

kh and *ch*

§129. Two variants contain forms of *khid* and *chid*, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7. 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch*. See his references §131b, end, and cf. Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 23, 32.

yataḥ (MS. *yena*) *prajā akhidrā* (MS. *achidrā*) *ajāyanta* . . . TS. MS. KS. *akhidrāḥ* (ApŚ. *aghorāḥ*) *prajā abhivipaśya* KS. ApŚ.: *achinnapatrāḥ* (MS. °*trah*) *prajā anuvikṣasva* VS. MS. ŚB.

g and *j*

§130. The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff.) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y*. Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack. §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack. §130c). The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all.

§131. To begin with, VSK. as we have remarked (and in one case SV.) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127). This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mrj* and *srj* with palatal):

mitrāvaruṇayos tvā praśāstroḥ praśiṣā yunajmi (VSK. °*gmi*) . . . VS.

VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnīm yunajmi (VSK. °*gmi*) *śavasā ghṛtena* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnīṣomābhyām jṣṭām nī yunajmi (VSK. °*gmi*) VS. VSK. ŚB.

vājīnam tvā vājedhyāyai (TS. *sapatnasāham*; KS. *vājīn vājayatyāyai*) *saṁ mārjmi* (VSK. °*gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

vājīnīm tvā vājedhyāyai (TS. *sapatnasāhīm*; KS. *vājīni vājayatyāyai*) *saṁ mārjmi* (VSK. °*gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. Corresponding formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*; see Conc. under *vāji tvā*.

upa tvā kāmān mahāḥ sasrjmahe RV. AV.: *upa tvā kāma īmahe sasrgmahe* SV.

§132. Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *srj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*:

hinvāno mānuṣā yugā (SV. *yujā*) RV. SV.

daivyaṁ mānuṣā yugā RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *viprāso mānuṣā yugā* KS.:

daivam mānuṣā yujā MS. The SV. form of the first variant may be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj*. In this case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neuter plural of *yuga* (cf. Wackernagel I §128a, d). In the second case also MS. may have an adverbial instrumental.

diṣṭāya rajjuserjam (TB. °*sargam*) VS. TB.

prajāpate viśvasrj (MS. °*srg*, mss. mostly *sṛk*, one *srj*) *jīvadhanyaḥ* MS. TB. AŚ.† 2. 14. 12c [also in Conc. under *idam no deva pratiharya*

havyam, read AŚ. 2. 14. 12d] ApŚ.—The ἀπ.λεγ. *rajju*^o seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB. comm. *rajjūnām sraṣṭāram*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *srj* is carried away with the rest; cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *srj*: *srg* see Wackernagel I pp. 173f., 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *srt*; cf. below, §142, *brahman tvam asi viśvasrt* (^o*sṛk*).

§133. Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*; cf. the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhunad* etc.:

nī galgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgulīti* (KSA.† mss. *jalgalūti*, ed. em. *jalgalīti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

§134. The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin: †*prajāyāmasy agrataḥ* HG.: *pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG. Verb forms of *pra-gai* and *pra-jan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG.; see Kirste's note.

sadā yācann ahaṁ girā (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. Comm. on SV. reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for **jyām* = **jiyām*. Very dubious.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ* (most mss. *apa*) *śvetapad āgahi* (so all mss.) MG. See §817.

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (^o*nītir*, ^o*dhītam*, ^o*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. See §93.

2. GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135. A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *ḍ*: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇḍaś ca* ApMB. See §165.

3. GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136. The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

k and t

§137. We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh*; see Bloomfield, *IF* 4. 74ff.; Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV. always has *stabh*, while AV. prefers *skabh*:

jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat (AV. *aska°*) RV. AV.

mahān mahī astabhāyad (AV. KS.† *aska°*) *vi jātaḥ* AV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ.

yaṁ krandaśi avasā tastabhāne (AV. *avataś caska°*) RV. AV. VS. VSK.

TS.: *ya ime dyāvāpṛthivī tastabhāne* MS. KS. AVPpp. (Barret, *JAOS* 35. 44f.)

vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS. *aška°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS. *askabhnād*, TA.

aṣṭabhnād) *rodasī viṣṇav* (°ṇa, °ṇur) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

divaṁ skabhāna KS.: *dyām stabhāna* KS.

§138. There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion:

stuhī sūraṁ vajriṇam apratīkam (TB. *apratītam*) MS. TB. The Bibl.

Ind. ed. of TB. has *apratīttam*, but comm. and Poona ed. text correctly, *apratītam*, 'invincible'. MS. has a mere blunder.

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB.: *prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā* AV. See Whitney on AV. 10. 7. 42.

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jatṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vakṛbhyaḥ*!)

āṭṛdaḥ (MS. °da) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57.

ugro (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG. °jam) *apa* (MG. *upa*-)

sedha (AV. *vṛṇkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

§139. Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*); cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong:

vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena TB.: *saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghṛtena* AV. For *vi-unattu* cf. RV. 1. 164. 47, 5. 83. 8; for *sam-anaktu*, RV. 10. 88. 4, 118. 4. The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic.

devaīr nyuplā (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahitvā* (AV. °*tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Cast forth (KS. impelled, AV. spoken!) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness).' Ppp. reads *mahitvā*, and also *sṛṣṭā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean.

anyām icha pitṛśadaṁ vyaktām (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmim icha pitṛśadaṁ nyaktam* (read °*tām*) AV. Here the assimilated form of ApMB. (with *saṁprasāraṇa*) is clearly secondary.

sarvān it tān anu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ RV.: *sarvam uktam anuvidur vasiṣṭhāḥ* JB. A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB.

iha prasatto (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtaṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. *prasapto* (comm. *prakarṣeṇa samāgataḥ san*, as if from *pra-srp* with Prakritic *a* for *r*) has no standing. AV., tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later *prasanna*.

viviktyai (TB. *vivityai*, read with Pona ed. *vivittyai*) *kṣattāram* VS. TB. *viviktyai*, 'for discernment', is certainly original. TB. comm. *viśeṣa-lābhābhīmānīnyai*: but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi* be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication.

dhātuh katkaṭaḥ (KSA. *kakkaṭaḥ*) TS. KS. Original form unknown; VS. 24. 32 has *kakkaṭa*.

avimuktacakra (v. 1. °rā) *āsiran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.

§140. There are also several cases of variation between *kṣ* and *ts*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff. These variants indeed really belong in that chapter; they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch*. In five out of six cases the writing with *kṣ* (thrice in SV., once in AV., once in MS.) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable.

vṛṣaṇaṁ pṛtsu (SV. *prkṣu*) *sāsaḥim* RV. AV. SV. Here only *pṛtsu*, 'in battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root *pṛc*) is silly.

yat te dītsu (SV. *dikṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV. SV. The RV. has a nom. sg. neut. of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas*. SV. clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt').

yad dītsasi (SV. *yac chikṣasi*) *stuvate māvate vasu* RV. SV. In this case the two forms are practically synonyms; *sikṣeyam* and *dītsēyam* together in RV. 8. 14. 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81. 2.

agnīm (AV. *agnīḥ*) *sruco adhvaṛeṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. *prayaty adhvaṛe*, familiar formula in RV. at the ends of *pādas* (RVRep. 660). Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayaṭsu* = *prayakṣu* (*pra-yaj*), but the form does not really construe. The hymn AV. 5. 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the p.p. leaves it undivided); it is, like most of the SV. readings with *kṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatsu*.

āvitsi (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vid*: *ā-yuj*.

prāsmān ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB. Here, of course, *kṣ* is original; *yutsu* is suggested by *pṛtanāsu*.

§141. There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding. Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations:

tādītṇā (TB.† *°knā*) *śatruṃ* (TB. *°ūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. Conc. *vivatse*, read *vivitse* with Poona ed. text and comm.) RV. TB. *tādīknā* is repeated in the comm. (Poona ed.), which glosses *tādīśān*! It seems that it must mean simply *tādītṇā*.

§142. Finally, a few cases of interchange between *k* and *t* final. All concern the ends of *pādas*. Two concern adverbial forms in *-k* from *añc* stems; a third is simply a matter of external sandhi:

anamitraṃ no adharāt (KS. *°rāk*, VSK. *me †adharāk*) AV. VSK. KS. Equivalent adverbs, one abl. of *adhara*, the other acc. neut. of *adharāñc*. The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād* (*°rāg*) *ā purastāt*.

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

brahmaṇ (MahānU. *brahman*) *tvam asi viśvasṛt* (MahānU. *°sṛk*) TA. MahānU. There is a v. l. *°sṛk* in TA; and as the next sentence begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic. Possibly, however, *sṛt* may be for *sṛt* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *ṛ*; cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment of this root in general, §149a, α. [Delete *brahma tvam asi* etc. in Conc.]

samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.* *sarit*) *śravanti sarito na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §830. *sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB. ApŚ. *abhiṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Altho TB. comm. fatuously glosses by *bhīṣ-ajyatu*, *abhiṣṇāt* (*abhi+īṣṇāmi*) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k:t* enters as a factor. While *abhiṣṇak* is *ḍ.π.λεγ.*, the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary.

Note also: *yaśo bhagaś ca mā riṣat* MG. 1. 9. 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss. point to *riṣak* as the true reading; of course it must mean the same as *riṣat*. Cf. Wackernagel I §260a, β, small print; §277a.

Cf. also AV. 1. 18. 2a: *nir arañim savitā sāviṣat padoh*; so the vulgate;

but all mss. *sāviṣak*, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm. and Ppp. both have *sāviṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK. version of the following; on the subject of final *k:t* see most recently Renou, *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n.; Oertel, *ibid.* 137; and our §272a, *na me tad* etc.; our §145; and *abhiṣyak* for °*ṣyat*, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p. 242, *infra*).

tasyām no devaḥ (MS. *tasyām devaḥ*) *śavitā dharman* (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŚB.† *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK.° *ṣak*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

The next is an error of the Conc.:

[*trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ.: *trivṛd bhuvanām yad rathavṛk* KS. Conc., but read *rathavṛt*; text °*vṛj jīvo*—.]

kh and t

§143. In the single variant following, PG. has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following; Stenzler on PG. 2. 11. 12 translates the AŚ. reading. See his note there, and his critical note.

pari satyasya dharmanā (PG. *sakhyasya dharmanāḥ*) AŚ. PG.

g and d

§144. Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants. The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation:

ā galdā dhamanīnām (ApŚ. *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ. MŚ. N. *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga*-?); *galdā* is Rigvedic (8. 1. 20), but nevertheless obscure. Pischel, *VSt.* 1. 84, and *KZ* 41. 183ff., discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ. MŚ. After him many others; see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 1. 20. The following word in ApŚ. is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*; see §225. Caland leaves the *pāda* untranslated.

yad annam admi (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (etc., §619) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

na vai gāvo maṅgīrasya (KŚ. *mandīrasya*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ. Proper names, of unknown etymology.

rudras (MŚ. *ugras*) *tanticaro vṛṣā* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. KhG.

marudbhīr ugrā ahṛṇīyamāṇāḥ AV.: *marudbhī rudrāḥ samajānatābhi* TS. Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*.

āsmīnn (KS. *ā sim*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

In an obscure ritual verse; MS. doubtless a lect. fac.

§145. In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under *k:t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and *°rāk*, which we met in §142, first variant:

ottarād adharād (TB. *°rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV. MS. KS. TB.

niyudbhir (AV. *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ. †*muñcaḥ*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. [Add to VV I §§25 and 156.] Also:

prayugbhya (TB. *prayud°*) *unmattam* VS. TB. In the first of these two *viyugbhir* is untenable, because the *niyutaḥ* are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4. 140). In the second, *prayugbhyaḥ* of VS. is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahīdhara; Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm. on TB. glosses *prayud°* by *prakarṣeṇa yoddhrdevebhyaḥ*, as if from *pra-yudh*. At TB. 3. 7. 9. 1, ApŚ. 12. 3. 2 occurs *prayutaḥ*, which TB. comm. glosses *prakarṣeṇa somaṁ miśrayantaḥ* (adopted by Böhtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB. reading. But PB. 1. 2. 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up *prayutaḥ*.

ñcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (comm., and Poona ed. text, *śuśrug*) *astu* TB.: *sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ. The latter is not quite certain; the mss. record forms which look towards the TB. reading. But *sasrut* occurs several times in RV. TB. obviously contains root *śru* (comm. *śrotā*); so that apparently *g = k* must stand for *d = t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, β, note, 277a. See also our §283.

mayam (also *gauram*, *gavayam*, *meṣam*, *śarabham*) *te śug rchatu* (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS. actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

triśug (AŚ. *°śrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. *°śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati MS.: *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvati* TA. The subject is *grdhrah* 'vulture'; TA. is correct, and MS. an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g(k)* and *d(t)* have a share.

dadhr̥g (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. *°kṣan*) *paryāṅkhayāte* (TA. *°tai*, AV. *parīṅkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*.

ñ (for *k*) and *n* (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced':
suwāñ nabhrād . . . MS. MŚ.: *svāñ nabhrād* . . . KS.: *svāna bhrājāñghāre*
 . . . VS. TS. ŚB.: *svāna bhrāt* . . . TA.
amāsi sarvāñ (AŚ. *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś. The original is *sarvāñ* (*sarvāñc* 'turned in all directions'); AŚ. secondary.

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest:
grāme vidhuram (HG. *vikhuram*) *ichantī svāhā* HG. ApMB. Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted.
aghadviṣṭā devajātā AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a mere corruption.
deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ tvā TA. ApŚ: *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ tvā* MS. The former is original: 'may I be able to carry thee'. MS. has a slipshod substitute.
yad aghriyata (KS. °*yathās*) *tad ghṛtam* (KS. adds *abhavas*) MS. KS: *yad adhriyata tad ghṛtam abhavat* TS. As Keith says, the TS. etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmaṇa; but the other is certainly original.

4. GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148. Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern *k* and *p*, and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Taittiriya treatment (not mentioned in TPr.) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as *k(g)* in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however *k* before *p*), and before *j*, *d*, and *dh*, see Weber, *ISt.* 13. 109, n. 2; Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii. This applies to TB. as well as TS., but apparently not to ApŚ.:

anuṣṭup (TB. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyai* (MŚ. *pañktaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
anuṣṭup (TS. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS. TS. MS. KSA.
triṣṭub (TS. *triṣṭug*) *graiṣmā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§149. The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV. 11. 2. 25 adds *purīkaya* (comm. *pulī*°). It may be noted that most forms contain both *p* and *k* somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined:

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS.

nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA. *†kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

kulikā devajāmibhyaḥ VS.: *devānām patnībhyaḥ pulikāḥ* MS.

§150. Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *nicumpuṇa* in RV. decides. It may be onomatopoetic:

avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuñkuṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApŚ. N.

nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. In same passage as preceding; nom. changed to voc. in TS. TB. by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§151. Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following; lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them:

kanākābhām (AŚ. *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB. AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ., despite preceding *r*. Comm. on TB., desperately, *kanakavad bhāsamānām rūpavatīm kanyām*. Both forms are hopeless. *bajābojopakāśinī* HG.: *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīḥ* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

kūtanānām (VS. ŚB. *kukūnanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā patmann ā dhūnomi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* (sc. *te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi*) TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoetic, epithet of waters.

śanī te (AV.* *śam u*, TA. *śam u te*, KS. MŚ. *śanī naḥ*) *santv anūpyāḥ* (TA. *anūkyāḥ*) AV. KS. TA. MŚ. *anūkyāḥ* might be considered a purely phonetic variant; it should be remembered that Tait. texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāḥ*, from *anūpa*; so comm., *anūpadeśe bhavā anūkyā āpaḥ*. Formally, however, *anūkyā* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping'?); and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

pūlyāny (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB.: *lājān āvapantikā* ŚG. PG. MG.: *agnau lājān āvapantī* SMB. HG. *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait. preference for gutturals, cf. the prec. and §148.

vanakrakṣam (SV. °*prakṣam*) *udaprutam* RV. SV. 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood'. The onomatopoetic root *krakṣ* also in *krakṣamāṇa*, *avakrakṣin*. SV. °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm., followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'.

aṇṣum (AV. *aṇṣūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ. *gabh*°) *haritebhir āsabhiḥ* AV. KS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh*° is uninterpretable. Caland gives up the verse.

grīvāyām (KS. *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS. *apipakṣa āsan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Original is *apikakṣe*, a certain part of the body. MS. (p.p. *api- pakṣaḥ*) may have been influenced by thought of *pakṣa* (cf. Keith on TS. 1. 7. 8. 3).

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṇ juhomi TS. GB. Vait.: *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā saṇjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. *viśloka* is perhaps a sort of lect. fac., but *viśvalopa* is itself not clear; cf. Keith on TS. 3. 3. 8. 2.

§152. The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate; that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved.

agner (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

yad adya dugdham prthivīm asṛpta (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In MŚ., as in AB. AŚ., the parallel following *pāda* contains *asṛpad*; in TB. ApŚ., *asarad*.

iha prasatto (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtam naḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. See §139.

krāṇā (SV. *prāṇā*) *śīsur mahīnām* RV. SV. And:

krāṇā (SV. *prāṇā*, AV. *prāṇaḥ*) *sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat* (RV. *avīvaśat*) RV. SV. AV. The SV. is really inexplicable; AV. attempts to rationalize it. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 279. On the much discussed *krāṇā* see last *RVRep.* 136.

devair nyuptā (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahitvā* (AV. °*tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

aktam (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu (viyantu) vayah* TS. MS. KS.* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG. And others, see §96. The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small'. It is hard to apply this meaning here; perhaps adverbially, 'daintily'. *asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiṇīḥ* (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś. The riming synonyms *kariṣa* and *purīṣa*; cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 16. 409ff. Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś.

kriyanta (TB. *priyā ta* [so divide]) *ā barhiḥ* (TB. Conc. °*his*, Poona ed. °*hiḥ*) *sida* RV. AV. KS. TB. Preceded by *imā brahma brahma-*

vāhaḥ (TB.† °*ha*). 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB., are pleasing to thee); sit upon the barhis.' [pra so agne tavotibhiḥ] *suwīrābhis* †*tirate* (SV. TS. *tarati*) *vājabharmabhiḥ* (SV. TS. °*karmabhiḥ*) RV. SV. TS. KS. *sugandhim* (AV. *subandhum*) *pativedanam* AV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *sugandhim* *puṣṭivardhanam* (KS. *rayipoṣaṇam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. Vait, LŚ. N. The AV. changes *sugandhim* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*).

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pr* and *gr* (*gir*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *yaj* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *yaj* and *gr* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise); and *abhi-gr* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *yaj* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat. *grātus*); see e.g. RV. 1. 15. 3, 3. 6. 10, 10. 15. 6. On the other hand *yaj* and *pr* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*); see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhlingk* 115ff.; Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 408ff. In the third variant *abhipūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣṭam* which recalls *iṣṭāpūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gr* is secondary. In the second, KS. seems to give the best sense, but may be a *lectio facilior*. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance:

indro yajvane prṇate (AV. *gr*°) *ca śikṣati* (AV. °*te*) RV. AV. TB. *sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prṇāhi* (PG. *prṇāhi*, KS. *tad grṇāhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG. *iṣṭam vītam* (AV. *pūrtam*) *abhigūrtam* (AV. °*pūrtam*) *vaṣatḥkṛtam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. [Delete in Conc. reference to AV. under *iṣṭam vītam* . . .]

§153a. The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf. §§182-6):

somasya drapsam (AV. *bhakṣam*) *avrṇīta pūṣā* (AV. *śakraḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit; it is hard to see any reason for preference.

hṛtsu kratum varuṇo (MS. °*ṇam*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS. †TS. †MS. KS. ŚB.†

5. PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*; the combinations *dy* and *jy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *t* before *i* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156.

c and *t*

§155. Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar*:

yajñasyāyur anu saṁ caranti (AŚ. *tarantu*) TS. AŚ. Cf. *yajñayur anusaṁcarān* TB. ApŚ.

na tad (AV. *nainam*) *rakṣāṁsi na piśācāś caranti* (VS. °*cās taranti*, AV. °*cāḥ sahante*) RVKh. AV. VS. But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh. as VS.

achinnam tantum anu saṁ tarema (TA. *carema*) AV. TA. Comm. on AV. *car*°.

°*śamyāḥ prataratām* (Vait. °*tā*) *iva* (MŚ. *pracaratām iha*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§156. The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt; the first two have interesting phonetic aspects:

sā śamtāti (SV. °*tā*; TB. ApŚ. °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB.

ApŚ. The TB. ApŚ. reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in *-ācī*, fem. to *-āñc* (like *prācī*); so, perhaps, the comm. understood it (*aniṣṭaśamanaprāpikā satī*). But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel. Cf. next.

arciṣātrīṇo nudatam pratīcaḥ AV.: *arciṣā śatrūn dahatam pratītya* AG Here in the secondary AG. we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding.

satyaujasā . . . TS. MS. KS: *sacetasau* . . . AV. See §305. Here we suspect that AV. is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*.

agre (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. *śocataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

jagdhā vitṛṣṭir (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . HG. ApMB. And others, see §634. Oldenberg on HG. assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'.

divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ.: *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.—AVPpp. reads *varcayatā* (: *varcas*).

vācam (RV. AV. *vātam*) *viṣṇum sarasvatīm* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *viṣṇum vācam sarasvatīm* KS. *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*; note that KS. places it next to that word. AV. comm. also has *vācam*.

śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (TB. *vicar°*) RV. TB. The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato*. Comm. regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar*! (*viśeṣeṇa tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*).

yuktās tisro vimrjaḥ sūryasya PB.: *yunajmi tisro viprcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save, or savah*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf. next. See §57.

j and *t*

§157. Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants; the phonetic aspects are faint:

śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB. ApŚ. *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary.

tato yajñas tāyate viśvadānīm KS. MŚ.: *tato yajño jāyate viśvadāniḥ* TB. ApŚ. *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf. e.g. RV. 7. 10. 2, 9. 102. 7, 10. 90. 15. It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss. but one of MŚ. as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect. fac. *jāyate*.

devā no yajñam rtuthā (TB. ApŚ. *rjudhā*) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. *yajñam rtuthā* is supported by RV. 1. 170. 5, 8. 44. 8; but in RV. 2. 3. 7 the two points of view blend in *rju yakṣataḥ . . . yajantāv rtuthā*. They are in fact nearly synonymous.

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamati (etc., §853) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatrqiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

c and *d*

§158. Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*; in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding *vacas*:

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

girā-girā ca dakṣase (KS. *cakṣase*) RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. PB. ApŚ.

sadā (MS. *śacyā*) *paśyanti sūrayaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

NṛpU. and other Up. One ms. of KS. has *sadyā*!

ajaiṣmādyāsanāma ca (AV. °*sanāmādyā*) RV. AV. *ca* and *adya*.

j and d

§159. Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *jy* in the roots *dyut*, *jyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *jyām* and *jman* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence:

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS. *°rīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ava jyām iva dhanvanah SV. Vait. Kauś. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanvinah* HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29.

upa jmann upa vetase VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *upa dyām upa vetasam* AV. Vait. Kauś. The absurd AV. reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism; see Whitney's note.

pavamānah so adya nah RV. VS.: *pav° svarjanah* (*suvar°*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. HG. BDh. In a secondary lect. fac., *dy* becomes *j*.

imam (MS. *imam ca*, VS. TS. ŚŚ. *ya imam*) *yañnam svadhayā* (KS. AŚ. *°yā ca*, MS. *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ. *yajante*, ŚŚ. *bhajante*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

daivyāya dhartre joṣtre (MS. *dhātre deṣtre*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary.

uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāt (HG. *°sāham*; ApMB. *°vādi pṛtanāji*) RVKh. HG. ApMB. If ApMB. is correct (v. l. *°vāji* is recorded) it is a hyper-Sanskritic absurdity; no form of root *vad* can be concerned here.

prati śma (AV. *sma*) *raṁśaso daha* (AV. *jahi*) RV. AV.

ichanto 'paridākṛtān ApMB.: *īpsantah parijāktān* HG. See critical notes on HG. 2. 3. 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable. Oldenberg on HG., 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently understanding *°jāgrtān*.

erum tundānā (TS. *perum tuñjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV. TS. Roots *tuj* and *tud* are practically synonyms. See Whitney on AV. 6. 22. 3, Keith on TS. 3. 1. 11. 8, and cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 1. 45. 4. The AV. comm. reads *tuñjānā*.

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaiḥ MS.: *mā nah param adharam* (MŚ. *†adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. See §836.

j and dh

§160. Only lexical variants:

mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS. *jajanaj janiṣṭham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS. to suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janiṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded: 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son'. Cf. the following similar variant.
oṣadhībhyah paśubhyo me dhanāya (TS. *paśave no janāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ.† MŚ.
athāśya madhyam ejatu VS. LŚ.: *athāśyai* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °*tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *adhāśyā madhyam edhatām* KSA.

y and *d*

§161. This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense). The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f.) on the other.
sūyavaśinī manave (RV. TA. *manuše*, KS. *mānuše*) *daśasyā* (TA. °*syē*; TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.
dīśo (TB. *yaśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇāḥ* (TB. °*ṇām*) TB. AŚ. Note that *d* is followed by *i*.

6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162. Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies. We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS. *kakuc*) *chandaḥ*, where the TS. reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178:

tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyāś carameṇa paśunā krīṇāmi TS.: *parameṇa paśunā krīyase* (MS. *krīyasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Corruption in TS.; see Keith. Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning.

vīty arṣa canīṣṭhaya (SV. *panīṣṭaye*) RV. SV. See §86.

vāyosāvitra (MS. *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *pṛyāḥ*) TS. MS. KSA.

7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163. In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145-7). There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid. §148a; cf. especially §133, note); and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid. §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence. Namely: dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §§218–25); some dialects show the reverse tendency. Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds. Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies. We include also the nasals *ṇ* and *n*, except when *ṇ* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945–54).

§164. We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit. Here first we have three cases of *avaṭa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV. We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3. 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

avatasya (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV.

iṣṭrātāhāvam avatam RV.: *niṣṭrātāhāvam avaṭam* TS. ApŚ.

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. VS.

§165. Next, some demonic names in the Gṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable; it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously: *ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramataṇḍaś ca* ApMB.

manthākako (HG. *maṇḍākako*) *ha vaḥ pitā* HG. ApMB.

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS. KapS. may be due to the preceding *r*.

aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ KS.: *ailabṛdā* (MS. °*mṛdā*, KapS. *īlamṛdā*) *āyur-*

yudhaḥ (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*; MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. See §241.

Cf. also *ahar* (MS. *vahad*, v. l. *vahaḍ*, p.p. *vahaṭ*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*)

ūtibhiḥ VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. See §§272, 272a.

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *paṇ*, *pan*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf. Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 199ff. For attempts to explain *paṇ* as going back to an IE. root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note:

sā me satyāśīr devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatarā paṇyāt paṇyatarā (KS. *panyāt panyatarā*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Cf. Durga on N. 6. 8 (Roth's

Erläuterungen 76 foot).

§166. These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization.

The curious form *paḍbhis* which varies twice with *padbhis* has been explained in this way; this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr. plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 11. 350ff.; *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff.; Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63. 300ff.; Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 228ff.:

uro vā padbhir (Kauś. *paḍbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś. SMB. °*ta*, but Jørgensen °*te*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.

padbhiś (ApŚ. *paḍbhiś*) *caturbhir akramūt* AV. ApŚ. One ms. at AV. 3. 7. 3 also *paḍbhiś*; but Ppp. *pad*°.

§167. In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *vah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual; see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS. has *ḍitya-vāṭ* and *turya-vāṭ* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-vāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*:

paṣṭhavāḍ (TS. °*vād*) *vayah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

paṣṭhavāṭ (TS. °*vāc*) *ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me* (MS. omits *me*, twice) VS. TS. MS. KS.

§168. Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*; in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*:

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

ŚG. HG. *vepiḍhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present.

purovāta (KS. °*to*) *jinva rāvaṭ* (KS. *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS. KS.: *purovāto varṣaṇ jinvar āvrt svāhā* TS. ApŚ. And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapati* etc.; all in TS. 2. 4. 7. 2, MS. 2. 4. 7, KS. 11. 9; all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaṭ* etc. in the same forms. A natural assumption would be that the lingual *ṭ* in MS. is due to an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS. (which divides badly, *jinvar-āvrt* for *jinva-rāvrt*); the dental *t* of KS. might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf. §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass.

vikirīda (VS. °*dra*, KS. °*ḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. KS.: *vyakṛḍa vilohita* MS. Obscure epithets of Rudra; cf. TB. *ati-kirīṭa*. The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS. and MS. The dental of TS. may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

§169. Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions. First, the ritualistic root *īḍ* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV. substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *īḍ* 'revere':

agnim īḍita (SV. *indhūta*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV.

yaṁ sīm (SV. *sam*) *id anya īḍate* (SV. *indhate*) RV. SV.

The same *īḍ* figures along with the similar *vid* (and adjective *vidu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies:

tigmam anīkaṁ viditām sahasvat AV.: *tigmam āyudham vīḍitām* (KS. °*dham īḍitām*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. In AV. *viditām* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *vīḍitām*; certainly KS. *īḍitām* is equally secondary.

dhiṣaṇe vīdū (VS. VSK. *vīdvī*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *īḍite*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vidayethām* (MS. MŚ. *īḍethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *vīdū* or *vīdvī* 'firm'; *vīte* 'pleasant'; *īḍite* 'revered'. KS. is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness. KapS. has *īḍite īḍayethām*.

§170. The rest are sporadic:

pari ṇo hetī rudrasya vrjyāḥ (VSK. °*yāt*) RV. VSK.: *pari ṇo heḍo varuṇasya vrjyāḥ* RV. *heti* and *heḍas* are quasi-synonyms. See the list of very similar formulas, *RVRep.* 573.

divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ.: *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ. †*niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. See §156.

yajñam (KS. *yajñīyā*) *yajñam prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS. † ŚŚ. † °*yaḍbhyaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. The stem *deva-yaj* (in sandhi °*yaḍ*) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary.

sarasvatyā (AV. °*yām*) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; AV. *maṇāv*; SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS. SMB. Jørgensen, *acarkṛṣuḥ*, SMB. Conc. *carkṛdhi*, KS. v. l. *acark*°) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc. of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'); but the AV. (loc. of *maṇi*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone').

aṣṭadhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB. *mūdhuse*) RV. TB. N.

ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīnāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. See §198.

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838. *nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo viyanti susico na vāṇīḥ* MS. KS.

mā no agnim (p.p. *agnih*) *nīrṛtir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS.: *mā no rudro nīrṛtir mā no astā* TA. See §87.

In ŚŚ. 17. 12. 1 *sarvā vinūḍya samṛdyah* (cf. critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals.

8. DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171. Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*; we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff., 122).

dh and *bh*

§172. We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too:

bhadrād abhi (AV. Kauś. *adhi*) *śreyah prehi* AV. TS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV.

brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. *brahmābhi*°) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*) *svāhā* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣāṇaḥ* MG. See Stenzler's Translation of AG. 2. 4. 14 (p. 73, n. 2), and the critical note on MG. 2. 8. 6.

tayor devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ ApŚ.: *tasyām devā adhi saṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB.: *yasyām* (v. l. *asyām*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ.

viśvāvasur abhi tan no grṇātu RV. TA.: *vīrebhir adhi tan no grṇāno* etc. MS.

samānamūrdhnūr abhi (PG. *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS. MS. KS. PG.: *tā ekamūrdhnūr abhi lokam ekam* AV.

tr̥tīye ḍdhāmāny abhy (VS. *dhāmān adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TA. Mahān U. *idaṁ* (PG. *imaṁ*) *taṁ adhitiṣṭhāmi* (PG. MG. *abhi*°) ŚŚ. AG. MG. PG. *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV. *abhi*) *saṁ punāmi* (AV. *punāti*) RV. AV.

na vai śvetasyādhyaḥcāre (AG. *śveś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.

adhi skanda vīrayasva AV.: *abhi kranda vilayasva* ŚG.

ṛṣiṇām putro adhirāja eṣaḥ (AŚ. *avirāja eṣaḥ*; AV. *abhiśastipā u*; VS.

ŚB. *abhiśastipāvā*; TB. *abhiśastipā ayam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. TB. AŚ. SMB. N.

yamo rājābhitiṣṭhati (KS. MŚ. *rājādhi*°) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§173. As the roots *skabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer *śubh* (five times); Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency:

tena mā saha śundhata (AV. *śumbhantu*) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239.

tāni brahmā tu (AV. ApMB. *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*; ApMB. *śaṁsati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

śumbhantām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ AV.: *śundhantām* etc. VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. MŚ.: *śundhatām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

śumbhaṁ mukhaṁ mā na āyuh pra moṣiḥ AV.: *śunddhi* (*sundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

āpaḥ śundhantu (AV. *viśve śumbhantu*) *mainasaḥ* AV. VS. KS. ŚB. TB. *antaḥ śubhrāvata* (SV. *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV.

§174. An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*; this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *śudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd*:

aśūśubhanta (TS. TB. *aśūśudanta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

§175. In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles *dhīta* and *bhṛta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hita* and *bhṛta*, §118:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām dadhātu* TB.

garbha iva (SV. KU., Poley's ed., *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhīṇībhiḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhīṇīṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

§176. Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:

dhartāras (ApMB. *bhar*°) *te* (MG. *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB. ApMB. MG.

bhakṣīmahi (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhuḥkṣīmahi*) *prajāṁ iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anībhrṣṭā apasyuwo vasānāḥ* TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.

saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. °*bhyām adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

nikīrya (MŚ. KŚ. *nigīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ. *madhvaḥ*, Vait. *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ. *sarvā ādhīḥ*) KŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.
avikṣobhāya (KS. °*kṣodhāya*) *paridhīn dadhāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'For non-disturbance': 'for non-hunger'. KS. makes inferior sense.
andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambhaḥ* (TS. ŚŚ. *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha°* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. *andhaḥ* '(soma-) juice': *ambhaḥ* 'waters'.
bhaṇsaso (ApMB. *dhvaṇsaso*) *vi vrhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Here ApMB. is meaningless.

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177. There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*:
vi senābhīr dayamāno (SV. *bha°*) *vi rādhasā* RV. SV. *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra. Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean.

bhūrṇīm (MŚ. v. 1. *tūrṇīm*) *devāsa iha suśriyam dadhuḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: *bhūmidrṇham acyutam pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidrṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Quasi-synonyms: 'establishing', 'saving'.

§178. Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakud*. Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS. and TB. use *kakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf. Weber, *IndSt.* 13. 109, Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii):

kakup (and, *trikakup*) *chandaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chandaḥ* TS.

kakup (TB. *kakuc*) *chanda ihendriyam* VS. MS. KS. TB.

apān napād āśuheman ya ūrmiḥ kakudmān . . . (MS. *ūrmiḥ prqtūrṭiḥ kakubhvān . . .*, KS. *ūrmiḥ pratūrṭiḥ kakudmān . . .*) TS. MS. KS.: *devīr āpo . . . yo va ūrmiḥ pratūrṭiḥ kakunmān . . .* VS. VSK. ŚB. *brhaty uṣṇihā kakup* (TS. *kakut*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

d and *b*

§179. A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks:

ambā ca bulā ca . . . MS. MŚ.: *ambā dulā . . .* TS.; cf. *ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā* TB. 3. 1. 4. 1.

Another lexical variant:

abaddham mano . . . TS. KŚ BDh.: *adabdhām mana* (MŚ. *cakṣur*) . . .
MŚ. ŚG.

t and *p*

§180. These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies:

tiro rajānsi asṛtaḥ (SV. *asṛtaḥ*) RV. SV. Both mean 'unconquerable'.

The RV. version occurs also with accusative *asṛtam*, 8. 82. 9b. *ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpaḥ* (AV. °*sātāḥ*) RV. AV. Cf. RV. 1. 179. 2a, *ye cid dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan*, which confirms the RV. reading, if confirmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV. ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the *ṛta*').

matsarāsaḥ prasupaḥ (SV. °*taḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV. SV. Epithets of Soma. The SV. rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm. *prakarṣeṇa sūtāḥ* [!], *abhiṣūtāḥ*). Benfey, 'zeugend' = *pra-su(t)*, but the comm. is right to the extent of connecting SV.'s word with *su* 'press'. The RV. reading is obscure; cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9. 69. 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *svap*).

vahnīḥ saṁtaraṇo (TA. *saṁpāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Practically synonyms; both 'rescuing'.

devair nyuptā (KŚ. *nutṭā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV. °*tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *vartayatā*) *supeśasā* (AV. MG. *sutejasā*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Nearly synonyms. See §156.

upa (MS. *utā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

mitro (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

sacetasāv (VSK. °*sā*; delete 'MS.' in Conc.) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *sacetasau saretasau* TB.: *samokasau sacetasā arepasau* MS.: *samokasāv* (KS. °*sā*) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś. The TB. has a lect. fac. to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacetasau* (comm. *ekakarmapravartakau bhūtvā*).

yo gopā api (TB. ApŚ. *gopāyati*) *taṁ huve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood.'

suśevam somapitsaru (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *suśīmam somasatsaru* AV.—Ppp. (Roth) *suśevam* (intending *suśevam*) *somapitsalam*. For *suśīmam*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption. Whitney and Keith regard the TS. reading as the correct one; in that case the reading °*pītsaru* would contain dissimilation. But it is improbable that the isolated TS. has the original reading. With Mahīdhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf. *paśu-śā*, *priya-śā*, both RV.); both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd. would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyah MS.: *aditsan vā sanjagara janebhyah* TA. 'Intending to deceive': 'not intending to give'. Others, §45. *āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. KSA. MS. N.: *āsann eṣām apswāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter is wholly secondary; see §820.

ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. In AV. desid. of *ā + ṛdh*; but comm. *ecchamānaḥ*, which suggests that TA. intends *iccha*° (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*). MS. has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*.

tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikitsati (vijugupsate) VS. VSK. ŚB. BṛhU. KU. IśāU. See §45. Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*; see §182.

n and *m*

§181. There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals. Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mi* and *ni*; these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

pratīlāmīti (AŚ. °*nīti*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The verbs concerned are obscure,¹ and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language.

The rest are scattering:

agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ samasanād ekaḥ TS.: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko . . . sanāsanād ekaḥ* MŚ. TS., 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith). Knauer takes the MŚ. form as *sana + a-sana + ad*. Both uncertain. Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned.

mademendram (MS. *maden*°) *yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *maden*°, without justification; the opt. *madema* is probably the original form. The other, with instr.

sg. *madena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence. Assimilation or dissimilation in MS.?

kad va ṛtaṁ kad anṛtam (SV. *amṛtam*) RV. SV. See Benfey's note in his translation of SV., which is obviously secondary.

jīvaṁ (ApMB. *jīvāṁ*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV. *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV. °ram) RV. AV. ApMB. Clearly a secondary effort in AV. to make an obscure passage 'sensible'.

abhīmaṁ (TS. °mām, MS. MŚ. v. 1. °mān) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. 1. °mā) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness'; in the secondary VS. *mahimā* (acc. to Mahīdhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject.

jāmiṁ (KS. †camī) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmiṁ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. The MŚ. is clearly secondary.

akṣāṇāṁ vagnum (MS. †vagnum, AV. *gaṇam*, read *gatnum*) etc., AV. MS. TB. TA. See §832.

piteva putraṁ jarase nayemam (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. See §835.

nen na ṛṇān . . . TA.: *nem na ṛṇān* . . . MS. See §180. Particles *id* and *im*.

śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś (SV. MS. *śra°*) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca †kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182. Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *kṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections.

1. *ch* varying with *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183. These changes are distinctly Prakritic; cf. above, §26; and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss., so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss. we may mention *etatsaṁdaḥ* for *etac chandaḥ* MS. 3, p. 22, n. 3; *āvṛchata* for *āvṛtsata*, ibid. 1, p. 18, n. 7; *itsata* for *ichata* Kauś. 73. 15; *patsaḥ* for *pacchaḥ* Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR., s. vv. *kaputsala*, *ucchādana* etc. The pāda *parivādaṁ parikṣavam*, AV. Nakṣ., is read *parichavaṁ* in many AV. mss.; see Lanman's note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnnā maruto ghṛtena* in 3. 12. 4, with all of R-Wh.'s mss. and most of SPP.'s, tho SPP. reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdā* with three mss. and comm. (Ppp., Barret JAOS 32. 366, has *ukṣantūnā*, emended by Barret to °*ūdā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smat samṛchātai*, TA. 2. 4. 1c, the mss. at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly *samṛtsātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA. reading.—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV. *kṣu*, as for **pśu* (: *paśu*), IF 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184. Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss., concern *kṣ* and *ch*:

vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa sambhṛtata menāyakṣase (TA. °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption. See VV I p. 29.

somā ghoṣeṇa yachatu (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs; *ā-yam* and *ā-vah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither'. SV. is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology.

tāni pūṣānu yachatu (AV. *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV. AV. *anu-yam* 'guide'; *abhi-rakṣ* 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms; but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV. is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics. The RV. original is much more neat and pointed.

achalābhiḥ (KSA. *acharābhiḥ*, MS. *atsarābhiḥ* in p.p., *matsarābhiḥ* in s.p., VS. *rkṣalābhiḥ*) *kapiñjalān* VS. MS. TS. KSA. In AV. 10. 9. 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v. l. *ṛtsarā*, which is supported by Ppp. The word is a name for a part of the horse's body; its original form is quite unknown. Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs. Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f.

§185. For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find:

namaḥ kr̥chrebhyaḥ kr̥chrapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ MS. KS.: *namo gr̥tsebhyo gr̥tsapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. See §45.

In AV. 19.34. 2a the mss. read mostly *jāgr̥tsyas tripañcāśīḥ* (v. l. *yā gr̥°*; Berlin ed. *akṣakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly). For this Ppp. reads (with slight corruption, Barret, *JAOS* 44. 262) *yāḥ kr̥chchrās*. For the true Śaunakīya reading see §192.

§186. For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this:

ichanto 'paridāktān ApMB.: *īpsantaḥ parijāktān* HG. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *īpsa-* by Goldschmidt, *Gött. Nachr.* 1874, 525, note.

2. *sy* exchanging with *ś-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187. In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h*, the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant). All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions. Either reading may be at times the older.

§188. We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*:

stomo yajñas ca (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. TB.

The TB. awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it; comm., *yajñena tvam ārādhaniyaḥ*.—Here the nominative is the original form; in the next two it is secondary to the genitive:

na vai śvetasyādhycāre (AG. *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In AG. the epithet *śveta* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda. Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG. makes good sense; a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes.

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udīthaḥ sūryas ca* VS. ŚB.: *aya(h)sthūṇam* (TS. °*ṇāv*) *udilā* (TS. MS. KS. °*lau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. The Conc. unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB. as an error; it is a nom. sing., replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS. to match the complementary nom. sing. *sūryas* which follows; cf. Edgerton, KZ 43. 110ff.

yad uttaradrāv uparās ca khādataḥ AV.: *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ.

§189. In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant; again the movement may be in either direction:

dyumaltamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV. *supratīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding. Agni is meant both times. See Whitney on AV. 5. 27. 1.

dhiyā marthaḥ śaśamate (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. The SV. has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza; see VV I p. 164.

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG. *riṣat*, mss. mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. Conc. suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArS. No doubt PG. is original ('let glory and fortune find me'). But ArS. makes *yaśo* object; and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive: 'let him find glory of fortune'.

viprasya dhārayā kaviḥ RV.: *viprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV. In SV. the stem *vipra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sutah*, for RV. *kaviḥ*, which is a synonym of *vipra* and which SV. contains in the preceding *pāda*.

somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ RV.: *somaḥ sutah sa madhumān* SV. Like the prec.; the genitives are (so naturally!) made to agree with *somaḥ*.

yunajmi tisro viprcāḥ sūryasya te (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApS. MŚ.: *yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ sūryasya* PB.—MŚ. is clearly corrupt.

mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV. in translating.

3. Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kś*, and *khy*

§190. The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118. Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kś*. For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS., and once in KS., is spelled *kśā*; cf. von Schroeder, Introduction to MS., p. XLIII. In fact the mss. vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition. This writing is also known to the grammarians.

anukhyātre (KS. °*kśātre*) *namaḥ* KS. GB. Vait. KŚ. The *kś* of KS. (both mss.) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*.

vy akhyan (MS. *akśan*) *mahiṣo divam* (AV.* TS. *mahiṣaḥ s(u)vaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The mss. of MS. vary; p.p. *akhyat*. AVPpp. agrees with RV.

indra ṛbhukṣā marutaḥ pari khyan (MS. *kśan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. All mss. of MS. here *kṣyān*; p.p. *khyan*.

anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat (MS. MŚ. *akśat*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. All mss. of MS. *akṣat* or *akṣyat*; p.p. *akhyat*. But most mss. of MŚ. *akśat*.

vikhyāya (MS. *vikśāya*) *cakṣuṣā tvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svaṛ abhivyakhyam (MS. MŚ. °*kśam*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS. KS. MŚ.: *svaṛ* (KhG. *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ. *kśeṣam*) TS. MS. *duścakṣās te māvakṣat* (KS. text with one ms. °*kṣat*, v. l. °*khyat*) MS. KS.: *taṁ te duścakṣā māva khyat* TS.† (so read). Whatever be the writing of KS., the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*.

§191. In the following the reverse condition is found; the readings with *khy* are secondary to *kṣ*:

yaś te agne sumatiṁ marto akṣat (AV. *akhyat*, v. 1. *akṣat*) RV. AV. If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form). *viśvākṣaṁ* (MahānU. °*khyam*) *viśvasambhuvam* TA. MahānU. No doubt *viśvākṣaṁ* 'having eyes all over', is the original; but *viśvākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'. *idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ* (ŚŚ. *prakhyā*°) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Both TB. and TA. comms. derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning(!), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)'; and similarly Caland on ApŚ. Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣai*) 'burning up'. In any case the ŚŚ. (all mss.) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense.

4. *j* and *y* exchanging

§192. The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b; and above, our §§156, 159, 161. The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss.; e.g. in AV. 3. 11. 6 several mss. read *javam* for *yuvam*, and the comm. evidently had this reading before him. Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts. But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case:

uto (ŚŚ. and GB. Gaastra, *uta*) *padyābhir yaviṣṭhaḥ* (AB. *ja*°) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. The Berlin ed. of AV. also reads *javiṣṭhaḥ*, against all mss. There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form; the word can only mean 'swiftest'. But only AB. reads so in the mss., while not only AV. and its Brāhmaṇa, GB., but the independent ŚŚ., have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss., regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology. Similarly in the next:

yajñā (*yajñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*; GB. Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāsaḥ* (*avicetanāsaḥ*); *yajñād eta sann apuro*°; see §62. Again there is no doubt that *yajñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts.

tato ha jajñe (MŚ. *tato 'ham yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *te ha jajñe bhu*° *gopāḥ* PB. Here the reverse change has occurred; MŚ. is clearly secondary.

śataṁ yo naḥ śarado ajītān (SMB. Conc. *ajījāt*, comm. *ajījanat*; PG. *jījān*) TS. SMB. PG. But Jørgensen reads for SMB. *ajīyāt*; comm. *ajīyād ajyāt*, *aja gatīkṣepaṇayoḥ*, . . . *gamayatv ity arthaḥ*. Three mss. of the text read *ajyāt*. See VV I p. 92f.

saujāmim (ŚG. *sauyāmim*), sc. *tarpayāmi*, AG. ŚG. Here *saujāmim* (so v. 1. of ŚG.) is doubtless original. It is a n. pr.

yajñasya hi stha rtvijā (TB. ApŚ. *rtviyau*) RV. SV. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *yajñasya rtvij-* is established from RV. 1. 1. 1 on.

tisro yahvasya (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*, v. 1. *yah°*) *samidhaḥ pariḥmanah* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary.

īśāno vi śyā (= *śiyā*; TS. *srjā*) *dr̥tim* AV. TS. MS. KS. The two forms are synonyms; TS. is secondary.

jāgr̥tsyas tripañcāśīḥ AV. 19. 34. 2a, mss. (v. 1. *yā gr°*); R-Wh. *akṣakṛtyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note. Read either *yā gr̥tsyas*, or better *yāḥ* (or *yās ca*) *kṛtyās*. Cf. §185.

añjanti suprayasaṁ pañca janāḥ RV. MS., 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regalement': *yuñjanti suprajasaṁ* etc., AVPpp. 2. 74. 1 (Barret, JAOS 30. 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense).

§193. Somewhat remoter are the following:

hṛdo astv antaraṁ taj jujoṣat (TA. *tad yuyota*) RV. KS. TA.—TA. secondary.

saṁvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG.

ramayata (KS. *°tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *°taḥ pretam vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

āśum tvājau (ApŚ. *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Corrupt in ApŚ.; Caland translates the KS. reading. Explained in §296.

ya rte (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rte*, P.B. *†yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. *†* 9. 10. 1a, TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG.: *jari cetīd* (mss. *cetīd*, p.p. *cya iti, it*) *abhiśriṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt).

5. Palatal stops and ś(ṣ)

§194. There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency). But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters. The single case of *ṣ* is:

abhy arṣata (AV. Vait. Kauś. *arcata*) *suṣṭutim gavyam ājim* RV. AV. VS. KS. Vait. ApŚ. Kauś. For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *suṣṭutim* see *RVRep.* 523ff. The AV. variant is a lect. fac. (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*).

§195. The rest concern *ś*:

pratyañ janān saṃcukośāntakāle N. in Durga (Roth, Erläuterungen 12, n. 4); *pratyañ janās tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhaḥ* (ŚvetU. and ŚirasU.* *tiṣṭhati saṃcukocāntakāle*) VS. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. Dhātup. has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected. *ayasmayaṃ vicṛtā* (KS. *viṣṛtā*, v. 1. °*dṛtā*) *bandham etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayasmayān vi cṛtā bandhapāśān* AV. The original *vicṛtā* means 'loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from *vi-śr* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.

viśvasya devī mṛcayasya (ŚŚ. *mṛśa*°) *janmanah* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious'. ŚŚ's *mṛś*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form.

prthivyāḥ saṃprcaḥ (MS. MŚ. °*cas*, VS. ŚB. *saṃsprśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *divaḥ saṃsprśas* (MS. *saṃprcas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. The two words are synonyms.

śvitro (MS. *citro*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS. TS. ApMB. Also: *śvitra* (MS. *citra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS. Again the two words are synonyms. Some AV. mss. have *citro* in the first variant; Ppp. ms. *śattro*, Barret JAOS 32. 370 em. *śvitro*.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *varṭayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

agre (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. *śocataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

ūrdhvacitāḥ (MS. KS. °*śritāḥ*) *śrayadhvam* (VS. text †*śna*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm., which glosses *sevadhyam*; ŚB. correctly *śra*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Assimilation to *śrayadhvam* in MS. KS.

mṛśase (SV. *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV. SV. The change from (*pari*-) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *pavase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sātaye* RV. 9. 56. 3.

chliṭipu chliṭṣate ŚŚ.: *aśliṭipu śliṭṣate* AV. (mss.; R-Wh. em. *aśiślikṣum śiślikṣate*). Unknown words.

tanūpāś (TB. Conc. *tanūpāc*, Poona ed. text and comm. †*tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS. TB. The TB. (which obviously reads *tanū-*

napāc) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

6. Miscellaneous

§196. Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *kṣ* and *bj*:

mahnā jinoṣi (MS. *hinoṣi*) *mahini* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N. Synonymous rime-words.

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*haviṣo*, *haviṣā*) *vṛṇānaḥ* (etc.), see §854.

divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. The MS. reading is a riming corruption.

CHAPTER VI. LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197. The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects; and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned; and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

p (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198. Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original; they are listed in the following:

yas tāni (TA. MahānU. *tad*) *veda sa pituḥ* (AV. *sa pituḥ*, most mss. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.: *yas tā vijānāt sa pituḥ* (TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N. 'He shall be Savitar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father'; cf. Bergaigne 2. 104, 108.

abhiśaster avasparat (SV. *avasvarat*) RV. SV. 'Fight away': 'sound away'; in either case 'protect' (SV. comm. *pālayatu*). But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV. 10. 39. 6, 8. 66. 14.

ṛtasya goptrī tapasaḥ paraspī (SMB. °*vī*, MG. *tarutrī*) SMB. ApMB. MG. *paraspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)'. *parasvī* (also in some mss. of ApMB.) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm. *utkrṣṭadhanarūpā*).

spārḥā (TB. *svāruhā*) *yasya śriyo dṛṣe* RV. KS. TB. And: 'spārḥo' (TB. *svāruho*) *deva nīyutvatā* RV. SV. VS. TB. The TB. reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobblingly, once *sūṣṭhu ratham ārūḍhaḥ*, once *svasmād eva prarūḍhāḥ*.

hiraṇyaparnā śakune PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.: *hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG. Practically synonyms. Contrast *darbhahiḥ strṇīta* etc. under §200.

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV.: *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA. The AV. original: 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven'. Poona ed. of TA. reads *jāmi mitvā mā vivitsi lokāt* (v. l. *lokān*).

- Its comm. regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyasi*). But neither reading of TA. really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v*. *nākro makarah kulīpayas* (TS. *kuḷikayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*; certainly rightly. *kūwāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'. *nāpa vrñjāte na gamāto antam* AV.: *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* TB. *ava-prj* is the original; it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving. Note *apa*: *ava* also (§201).
- yatrāsprkṣat* (HG. *yatrā vrkṣas*) *tanuwaṁ* (AV. *tanvo*, HG. *tanuvai*) *yatra vāsaḥ* (AV. *yac ca vāsasaḥ*) AV. ApMB. HG. 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment.' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadi vrkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*.
- yamasya dūtaś ce vāg vidhāvati* MS.: *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi* TA. See §145.
- yunaṁji tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *tisro vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ savah*, or *save*) TS. ApŚ. MS. See §57.
- ajāśvaḥ paśupā vājapastyah* (TB. °*vastyah*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB., *vastyam* *grham* (= *pastyam*, see *RVRep.* 58). This, and the lexical statements that *vastyā* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastyā*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped.
- yat paśur* (Kauś. *yad vaśā*) *māyum akṛta* (Kauś. *akrata*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG. Kauś. A synonym is substituted in Kauś. *sarpadevajanebhyah* (AŚ. *sarva*°) *svāhā* AŚ. AG. Tho the context is different, AŚ. looks suspiciously like a lect. fac.
- śatāpāṣṭhādya* (read, °*ṣṭhā gha*, with both Poona edd.) *viṣā pari no vrñaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. See §86.
- ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. Barret, *JAOS* 35. 88, would keep *pravīṇāḥ*; but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption.
- §199. The one case of *ph.v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement: *īṣāṁ khṛgalyam śavam* MS.: *īṣāṁ khagalyam śapham* ApŚ. Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS. seems to be correct in *khṛgalyam* (cf. *khṛgala*, RV.), for which ApŚ. has a Prakritic *अ. लॆ॒य*.

§200. The *v* reading seems to be original in the following:

vr̥ṣtīm (SV.* *pr̥*°) *divaḥ parisrava* RV. SV. (bis). *pr̥ṣtīm* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates; perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pr̥ṣ*, §680) may have infected the word.

mahyaṁ dattvā vrajata (TAA. *prajātum*) *brahmalokam* AV. TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm. takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license! *yathāpaḥ pravatā yanti* TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. See §60.

iheha vaḥ svatavasah (TA. *svatapasah*) RV. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatavas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts.

tve kratum api vr̥ñjanti viśve (AV. *api pr̥ñcanti bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §57.

divyaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ (AV. *payasaṁ*, KS. VS. TS.* ŚB. *vayasā*, MS. TS.* *vayasaṁ*) *br̥hantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky'; but Ppp. agrees on *payasaṁ* (twice). Once the AV. comm. has the hardihood to say that *payasaṁ* is for *va*° by Vedic license.

payasvan māmakaṁ vacaḥ (AV.* *payah*) RV. AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily. But TS. TB. MŚ. have a further alteration: *payasvad vīrudhām payah*.

amba niṣpara (TS. ApŚ. *niṣvara*, KS. KapŚ. *niṣvara*, MS. *nismara*, p.p. *niḥ*, *smara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The majority (in which we count MS. with *m*) points to *v* rather than *p*; but the word is obscure in all forms.

suvarṇapakṣāya (MahānU. *suparṇa*°) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original; see under next.

darbhahiḥ str̥ṇīta haritaiḥ suparṇaiḥ (KS. †*suvarṇaiḥ*) KS. MŚ.: *hotṛṣadanam haritam hiraṇyayam* AV.: *hotṛṣadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ* TB. ApŚ. *suvarṇa-* is certainly original, as AV. shows; cf. preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hiraṇyaparna śakune* etc., §198.

parivādam parikṣavam (mss. mostly *parichavam*) AV. Nakṣ.: *parivādam parikṣapam* ApMB. The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap. Whitney. The ApMB. can hardly be anything but a corruption; one ms. has °*vam*.

tvaṁ rājāsi pradivah (VS. VSK. *pratipat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. See §64.

tam ajarebhir vr̥ṣabhis tava (ApŚ. *tapa*) *svaiḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. Followed by: *tapā tapiṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV. KS., *tapa tapasva tapasā tapiṣṭha*

ApŚ., which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this *pāda*. Caland understands *tapa* as a voc., 'O Brennender.'

sa bhūmim viśvato (ArS. *sarvato*) *ṛtvā* (VS. *sarvata sprtvā*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. Comm. on VS. *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from *ṛtvā* 'encompassing'.

anupauhvad (ApMB. *anu po 'hva*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayaḥ*) HG. ApMB. In ApMB. *po* intends *vo* (pronoun); HG. is corrupt and obscure. See §732. There is no real variant here, both forms having *p*.

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV. *sprśantām*, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mśrantām*) RV. AV. TA.

jakṣivānsaḥ papivānsaś ca viśve VS. etc.; the text of VS. is misprinted as *papipānsaś*; corrected, p. XXII.]

§201. In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions *apa* and *ava*. So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general: *nāpa vrñjāte* (*nāvaprjyāte*) . . . see §198.

ava (AV. *apa*) *tasya balaṁ tira* RV. AV. Note that RV. has only *ava-tr*, never *apa-tr*.

apa (TA. ApŚ.† *ava*) *bādhātām duriṭāni viśvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. Both familiar.

dviṣantaṁ me 'vabādhasva (Poona ed. °*dhāsai*, but v. l. and comm. °*sva*) TA.: *dviṣantaṁ apa bādhasva* SMB. If the Poona ed. text is right, this should be added to VV I §152.

dhātā samudro apa (AG. 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.

yat tatraino apa tat suvāmi AV.: *yad atraino ava tat suvāmi* TA.

idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasya pāpmānam ava (ApMB. *apa*) *gūhāmi* HG. ApMB.

yad avāmṛkṣac (ApŚ. *apā°*) *chakuniḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yenāpāmṛśatām (SMB. v. l. °*mṛśatām*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛśatām* *surām* PG.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetepad āgahi* MG.

ābhur anyo 'pa (ApMB. 'va) *padyatām* ApŚ. HG. ApMB.: *mātur anyo 'va padyata* ŚG.

sarvān ava yajāmahe KS.† TB. TA. ApŚ.: *sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś. *ava-yaj* is more archaic.

indur indum avāgāt (KS. *avāgan*, MŚ. *upāgāt*, v. l. *apāgāt*) KS. PB. TB. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

ava dīkṣām asṛkṣata (ApMB. *adāstha*) *svāhā* AV. ApMB.: *iyam apa* (v. l. *ava*) *dīkṣām ayaṣṭa* SMB.

apa kṣudhaṁ nudatām arātīm TB.: *ava sedim trṣṇām kṣudhaṁ jahi* Kauś.

§202. To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended; and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB. in the first case:

apāpāco (TB. °*vāco*) *abhībḥute nudasva* RV. AV. AB. GB. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *apāpāco*, clearly correctly.

āyus ca prāyus ca . . . prāñ cāpāñ (ApŚ. *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS. ApŚ.

p and m

§203. The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them.

§204. The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV. texts, *tam* in Tait. texts:

tapasas (TB. *tamasas*) *tan mahinājāyataikam* RV. TB.

mā tamo (AŚ. *tapo*) *mā yajñas tamat* (AŚ. *tapat*); followed by:

mā yajamānas tamat (AŚ. *yajñapatis tapat*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

§205. The rest are sporadic:

kṣumāsi VS.: *kṣupāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm. on VS. 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup. root *kṣmā(i)*, perhaps confused with *kṣubh-*. Is VSK. influenced partly by *kṣip*?

amba niṣpara (*nismara*, etc.), see §200.

yuktās tisro vimṛjah . . . yunaḥmi tisro vipraḥ (*vivṛtaḥ*) . . ., see §57.

namo 'gnaye prthivikṣite (ChU. MU. *prthivī°*) *lokasṛpte* (MU. °*smṛte*, ChU. °*kṣite*) TS. KSA. ApŚ. ChU. MU. And similarly *namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite . . . , nama ādityāya* (*namaḥ sūryāya*, *nama ādityebhyaś*) . . ., each time with MU. alone reading *lokasṛpte*. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that *lokasṛpte* is original; Deussen renders MU. 'Weltgewährer', seemingly having °*sṛpte* in mind.

āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu (AV. *sṛśantām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ. †*ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG. See §78.

viśvā sṛdho (AV. *mṛdho*) *abhimātir jayema* RV. AV. TA.

b and v

§206. This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*; see Wackernagel I §161. The mss. are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not occasionally written *v* (*pivāmi*, for instance, for *pibāmi*). This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, KZ 12. 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. 'The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207. Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are:

carmevāvādhus (TB. °*bādhus*) *tamo apsv antaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB. understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed. of TB. has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm. even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitavantah*.

devīm aham nirṛtiṁ bādhamānaḥ (TS. *vandamānaḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS. doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS.; but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedaḥ* AV. KS.: *yatra-yatra jāta-vedaḥ sambabhūtha* (TB. *sambabhūva*, but Poona ed. text and comm. °*tha*) TB. ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV. (19. 3. 1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*; mss. almost all *bibhṛto* or *bibhrato*, tho the comm. reads *vi-*, and so both editions. All three mss. of KS. *bi-* (vv. 11. *bibhṛto* and *bibhyato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛtō* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf. next.

atandrāso yuvatayo vibhṛtram (TB. Conc. *vibhartram*, Poona ed. text and comm. *bibh*°) RV. TB. Cf. preceding; here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB. comm. *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhṛ*).

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB. °*padā babhūva*) ApMB. HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB. mss. is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, Introd., xvi.

usrā (MŚ. *usrāv*) *etaṁ dhūrvāhau* (KS. *dhūrbādhā*) . . . VSK. KS. MŚ. Others, §122.

yāv (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhr̥to* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS. °*thah*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

[*tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ. text, *balam*) *sahaḥ* AA. ŚŚ.: *tuje janā* (ArS. *jane*) *vanam svaḥ* AV. ArS. This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balam* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ.]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*.

Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vadh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV.) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV. on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādh* (and perhaps of *bandh*). In several variants, VS. texts (particularly VSK.) seem to favor *badh*; but contrary instances occur:

dviṣato bādho (MŚ. *vadho*) 'si VS. KŚ. MŚ.

mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn (VSK. *badhīn*) *mā suparṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

twayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK. *ba°*, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā me dīkṣām mā tapo nir vadhiṣṭa (KŚ. *ba°*) TS. KŚ. MŚ.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hataḥ (VSK. *rakṣo* 'muṣya *tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (SMB. ŚvetU. °mino, Jörgensen °mito for SMB.) *vadhīḥ* (TAA. SMB. *badhīḥ*; but Poona ed. of TAA. and Jörgensen's of SMB. both *va*°) RV. TS. MS. KS. TAA. ŚvetU. SMB.: *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno vadhīḥ* VS.

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB. *avartyai †vadhā*°) VS. TB. (so Poona ed.)

nātārīd (TB. °rīr) *asya samptim vadhānām* (TB. *ba*°, but Poona ed. *va*°) RV. TB.

ayanam mā vivadhīr (TAA. *vība*°, but Poona ed. text and comm. *vīva*°) *vikramasva* TA. TAA.

Cf. also the following, in which MS. is surely corrupt (see §260). Apparently MS. MŚ. understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA. has a form of *vr̥dh*:

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vr̥dhānaḥ (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.

§210. Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength'?). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root *vr̥*:

indro valam (MS. *balam*) *rakṣitāram dughānām* RV. AV. MS.

tvaṁ valasya (AŚ. *balasya*) *gomataḥ* RV. †1. 11. 5, SV. AŚ.

bibheda valam (AV. AŚ. *balam* but many AV. mss. *valam*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

ud valasyābhinat (but all mss. °nas, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ.: *ud balasyābhi nas* (read *balasyābhinas*) *tvacam* MŚ. The form *abhinas* is for *abhinat*, 2d person imperf., with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s*. This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhinas*.

yo gā udājad apa (MS. *api*) *hi valam* (MS. *balam*) *vaḥ* RV. MS.

indro yad abhinad valam (GB. *balam*, but Gaastra *valam* with most of his mss.) RV. AV. SV. AB. GB.

sa bibheda balam (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *valam*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

§211. There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīvas* etc., have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit. Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity:

pīvo vr̥kka udārathīḥ RV. KS.: *pībasphākam udārathim* AV. In AV.

Shankar Pandit prints *pībasphākam* (comm. *pīvasphākam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss. Ppp. has *pivassākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 191, em. *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam*. Cf. Whitney on AV. 4. 7. 3, 3. 17. 3, and Index Verborum of AV. under *pīb°* and *pīw°*.

prapharvyāṁ ca pīvarīm VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *pībarīm ca prapharvyam* AV. (comm. *pīw°*; Ppp. according to Roth reads like VS. etc. except *prapharvyāṁ*).

neva māñse na pībasi AV.: *naiva māñsena pīvari* PG.—SPP. with some mss. and comm. reads *pīvasi* in AV.; so also Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 205). PG., tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc. sing. fem. of *pīvan*).

§212. In the root *vṛh* or *brh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *brh* 'be great' etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf. §215). Later, *brh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vṛh* is the real reading of all texts; Weber erroneously prints *brh*- in TS. against nearly all his mss.

ādityās tvā pra brhantu (most mss. *vṛh°*) . . . TS.: *viśvebhyas tvā devebhyah pra vṛhāmi* . . . KS.: *ādityebhyas tvā pra vṛhāmi* . . . MS. Add to VV I §312.

vasavas tvā pra vṛhantu (TS. ed. *brh°*, most mss. *vṛh°*) *gāyatreṇa chandasā* TS. ApŚ.

§213. There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*): *bandhura*; RV. always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep.* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole': *trivandhuro* (TB. *triban°*; Poona ed. *trivan°*, comm. *triban°*) *manasā yātu yuktah* RV. TB. (in Conc. by error, TS.) MS.

ā yāhy ārvāṇ upa vandhureṣṭhāḥ (GB. AA. *ban°*; but Gaastra and Keith in both *van°*) RV. AB. KB. GB. AA. ŚŚ.

pra nūnam pūrṇavandhura (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *°ban°*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB, LŚ.

ratham hiraṇyavandhuram (TA. *sahasraban°*; but Poona ed. text and comm. *°van°*, with v. l. *°ban°*) RV. TA.

trivandhureṇa (KS. *triban°*) *trivṛtā rathena* RV. KS.

§214. In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original:
vahiṣṭhebbhir (MS. *ba*°) *viharan yāsi* (TB. *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona ed. text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. The word can only mean 'swiftest', root *vah*.
etad brahmann upavalhāmasi (AŚ. *apa*°, LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in LŚ. It is perhaps a form of *vrh*, §212.
cappam (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālah* (KS. *vārah*, TB. *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The word means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra*. The converse of this in the variant *kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ (vāla*°), where properly *bāla* 'child'; §215.

Original *b*

§215. In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original. The VS. texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209). First, three cases in which etymology proves *b* the older::

savitṛprasūtā brhaspataye (PB. LŚ.* *†vrh*°) *stuta* GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Twice in LŚ., once printed *vr*° and once *br*°, but comm. both times *vr*° which must be correct (since quoted from PB. which has *vr*°).— On the other root *vrh*, 'tear', see §212.

kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ (ApMB. *vāla*°) PG. ApMB. Both must intend *bāla*, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat* 'spoil' (treat as a child).

ya ābabhūva (PB. *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāḥ*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. Tho PB. comm. repeats the incredible *āvababhūva*, it is doubtless corrupt.

§216. In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown:

yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (MS. TB. TA. *cakara*) *kilbiṣāṇi* (TA. *kilb*°, but Poona ed. *kilb*°) AV. MS. TB. TA.

viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt AV. MS.: *sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (VS. °*kilb*°, LŚ. *eva kilb*°) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.

kṛte yonau (KS. *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS. ŚB. *vījam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

basto (VS. *vasto*) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

dhamanti bākuraṁ (JB. *vā*°) *dṛtim* RV. JB.

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217. In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS. texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *paḍbīṣa* or *°vīṣa* 'fetter'. It is always spelled with *b* in RV., which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form *°viṣa*, *JAOS* 51. 170:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya paḍbīṣāt* (VS. *°vīṣāt*, LŚ. † *ṣaḍviṣāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

saṁdānam arvanam paḍbīṣam (VS. MS. *°vīṣam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. *yac ca paḍbīṣam* (VS. MS. *°vīṣam*) *arvataḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Here the sole ms. of KS. has *°vīṣam*.

§218. Two variants contain the word *bāṇa* or *vāṇa* 'arrow', both Rigvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner:

yatra bāṇāḥ (VS. *vāṇāḥ*) *saṁpatanti* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG.

viśalyo vāṇavān (TS. *bā°*, MS. *bāṇavan*, KS. *bāṇavān*, NilarU. *vāṇavān*) *uta* VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU.

§219. The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin: *māgadhaḥ puṁscalī kīlavaḥ klībo* ... (VSK. *puṁscalī klīvaḥ kīlavo* ...) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. *klība* appears to be commoner.

digbhyo vaḍabe (KSA. *vaḍave*) TS. KSA. *baḍabā* and *vā°* are also found. *dṛvāsi* VS.: *dṛbāsi* KŚ.: *drubāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed; said to mean 'piercing' (root *dṛ*).

kṣatrasyolbam (VS. TB. *°vam*, but TB. Poona ed. *°bam*) *asi* VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both common; RV. knows only *b* (once). *viśvarūpā śabalīr* (KS. *śavaly*) *agniketuh* TS. KS. PG. *b* is commoner.

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS. *°dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ°*, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Rare and obscure.

subīraṇa (HG. *suṁvīriṇaḥ*) *srja-srja* (ApMB. adds *śunaka*); and, *śunām agraṁ subīraṇaḥ* (HG. *suṁvīriṇaḥ*) HG. ApMB. Anomalous name of a dog-demon. The ApMB. mss. are discordant.

aulaba (HG. *°va*) *it tam upā hwayatha* (HG. *°ta*) HG. ApMB. In same context as the preceding.

bh and *v*

§220. These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior:

viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS. *°nā vicaṣṭe*) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo*

bhuvanā vicaṣṭe AV. Cf. *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV, and *abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV.

devānām viṣṭhām (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi tasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe* MŚ.

mandrābhibhūtiḥ (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur . . .* TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *asṛṇmukho rudhīreṇābhyaktaḥ* (TA. °*avyaktaḥ*) MS. TA. *abhyaktaḥ* 'smeared', is clearly original. TA. comm. understands *a-vyaktaḥ* (not *ā-*), explaining *īdṛggjātīr iti nīscetum aśakyah*.

§221. The participles *ābhrtam* and *āvrtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other; see Whitney on AV. 6. 125. 2:

vanaspatibhyaḥ pary ābhrtam (MS. *āvrtam*) *sahaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

apām ojmānam pari gobhir āvrtam (AV. *ābhrtam*), same texts. SPP. with some mss. and comm. *āvrtam* for AV.

§222. The rest are sporadic:

yamīr yamasya bibhryād (AV. *viṛhād*) *ajāmi* RV. AV. *viṛhād* is unintelligible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense. See Whitney's note.

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV.: *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣṭy anu taṁ ravasva* ApŚ. See AJP 27. 413; Caland on ApŚ. 7. 17. 2.

adrñhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles'. The MŚ. assimilates the last word in meaning to *śarkarābhis*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'.

bharisaso (ApMB. *dhvanisaso*) *vi vrhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176; *dhva°* has a sort of assonance to *bha°*.

v and *m*, phonetic changes

§223. This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects. Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper JAOS 13. xcvi ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note.

§224. The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first. They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions; but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds. First, with original *v*:

uc chvañcasva (TA. *chmañ°*) *prthivi mā ni bādthathāḥ* (TA. *vi bādthithāḥ*)

RV. AV. TA. And:

ucchvañcamānā (TA. *ucchmañ°*) *prthivī su tiṣṭhatu* (TA. *hi tiṣṭhasi*) RV.

AV. TA. (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332.) See Wackernagel I §177.

suśīmaṁ somasatsaru AV.: *suśevaṁ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*)

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. Attempts are made to explain *suśīmaṁ* as *su-sīman*, or from root *śi* with suffix *ma*; but while some such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is essentially phonetic.

jyog jīvema sarvavīrā vayaṁ tama MG. (all mss.): *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayaṁ tava* RV. AV. SV. MS. SMB. HG. ApMB.: *mā riṣāmā vayaṁ tava* Vait. GB. AVPpp. (Barret, JAOS 26. 278). The formula *vayaṁ tava* 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced in MG.; was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible **vayaṁtama* (as if superlative to *vayaṁ*)?

ā tvam (GB. *ātman*, Gaastra *ā tvam* with v. l. *ātman*; LŚ. *ā svam*) *indrāya pyāyasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ.; its edition is very untrustworthy.) The converse corruption in Kauś. 65. 15, where four of seven mss. read *devā tvā* for *devātmā*.

anamīvāsa idayā (MS. *anamīmāsā idayā*, but p.p. °*vāsaḥ*, *idayā*) *mad-antaḥ* RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. *anamīmāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a case of assimilation; but it may be only a misprint which escaped the editor's attention. The *pratika* occurs as *anamīvāsaḥ* later in MS. 4. 12. 6 (197. 8).

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *mahaḥ*, all mss.; ed. em. *vahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ.

§225. On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following, the *v* forms being often mere corruptions; cf. JB. *pratītaṁ devebhyo juṣṭam ha vyavasthāt*, where °*havyam asthāt* is pretty certainly intended: *ā galdā dhamanīnām* MŚ. N.: *ā galgā dhavanīnām* ApS. *dhamanī* 'vein' is correct; indeed the whole *pāda* is corrupt in ApŚ., see §144. Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu)* = *dhāv* 'run' may have flitted thru the mind of the ApŚ. redactor.

agne yāhi dūtyaṁ mā riṣanyaḥ (TB. *dūtyaṁ vāriṣanyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. *vāriṣanyaḥ mā rīriṣaḥ* (= *māriṣanyaḥ*!).

punar dātām (TA. *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. 'Let them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life.' The

preceding pāda is *tāv asrabhyam dṛśaye sūryāya*; perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = *dattām* (*dattau prayachatām*). There is no accent on *dattāv*.

sa mā mṛta (MG. *vṛtat*, one ms. *mṛtam*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ* ŚG. *mṛta* is required: 'may he not die'.

sarasvatyā adhi manāv (KS. *mānā*, SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (*acarkṛṣuḥ*, *carkṛdhi*, see §170) KS. TB. ApŚ.: *sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṛṣuḥ* AV. The mss. of SMB. which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption.

brhaspatiḥ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramṇātu* (TS. ApŚ. *raṇvatu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. And:

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *raṇva*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here the verb stem *raṇva* of the Tait. school is based on the adjective *raṇva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm. on TS. 1. 3. 7. 1, *raṇva ramanīyam kuru*. See VV I p. 121.

v and *m*, lexical variants

§226. Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep.* 553ff. Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole.

§227. Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives, interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself:

sīdantu manuṣo yathā RV.: *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV. SV. LŚ. In *RVRep.* 60ff. the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior:

manuṣvad (TB. *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV. TB.

etat wātra (LŚ. *etat tān*) *pratimanvāno* (AŚ. °*vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ.† LŚ. *asmin*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Thinking in reply': 'offering, presenting in return'.

purutrā te manutām (AV. *vanvatām*) *viṣṭhitām jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. 'Take note of': 'acquire'; *jagat* is subject in RV. etc., object in AV. See VV I p. 266.

suvīlasya manāmahe (SV. *va*°) RV. SV. 'Have in mind, purpose': 'desire'.
ūrjam bibhrad vasuvaniḥ (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ.* *vaḥ sumanāḥ*, ApŚ.* *vaḥ suvaniḥ*, ApŚ.* *vasumanāḥ*) *sumedhāḥ* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive': 'well-minded' or 'minded to wealth'. Note three different readings in ApŚ. AVPpp. has *vasumatih*. Epithet of an owner of a house; all epithets fit well enough, but the readings with *man* may be assimilated in meaning to the following *sumedhāḥ*.

§228. In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in *ūrm*- and *ūrv*- (*urv*-) interchange; perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and not lexical; cf. *ūrmilā*, in the Rāmāyaṇa personified as sister of Sītā, probably connected with Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain', which is associated with *sītā* 'furrow' among the geniuses of the field PG. 2. 17. 9; see JAOS 13 p. xcvi:

nama ūrvyāya (MS. *namā ūrmyāya*) *ca sūrvyāya* (TS. MS. *sūrmyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS.: *namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca* KS. Mahidhara on VS. derives from *urvī* 'earth' with *ū* by Vedic license, or alternatively from *ūrva* 'submarine fire'. Keith adopts the first interpretation. Neither is plausible, and *ūrmya* is probably the true form; *ūrvya* possibly merely a phonetic equivalent.

utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK. °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The combination *ūrmi madhumat* 'honeyed flood' is frequent: RV. 4. 57. 2, 58. 1, 7. 47. 2, 96. 5. The vocative *ūrva* in TS. is, as Keith remarks, probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean'). This vocative seems further corrupted into the common adjective *arvan* in VS. VSK.

rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) *svādityā aditaye syāmānehasaḥ* (ApŚ. *aditaye 'nehasaḥ*, ŚŚ. *ādityā anehasaḥ*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚB., 'in the vastness of the Rudras'; ŚŚ., 'in the favor of the Rudras'. ApŚ. seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other two; *ūrmyā* 'night' (RV.) gives no chance for intelligent interpretation.

§229. In two variations of the roots *mand* 'rejoice' and *vand* 'extol', each is once prior:

mandadvīrāyendave RV.: *vandadvīrāyendave* SV.

maghavan vandiṣīmahi (TS. MS. KS. LŚ. *mand*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

§230. The noun *medhā* (*medhas*) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective *medhya*, vary with *vedhā* (*vedhas*) 'pious', or with *vedya* 'well-known': *vedhām aśūsata* (SV. *medhām āś*°) *śriye* RV. SV.†

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *śrutkarnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

§231. Somewhat similarly, the word *medin* 'ally' is replaced by a slovenly *vedin*, if Scheftelowitz's ms. of RVKh. is to be trusted (note also the corruption *kṛṇvo* for *kṛṇmo* in the ms. of AVPpp.):

asya (KS. and RVKh. Scheftelowitz, *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, Scheft. em. *kurmo*; KS. *kṛṇmo*; AVPpp. ms. *kṛṇvo*, for *kṛṇmo*) *harivo medinam* (RVKh. Scheft. *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh. TS. KS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret, JAOS 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV. Cf. §263.

§232. The words *mayas* and *vayas*, practically synonyms, exchange in two associated formulas:

hayo dātra edhi vayo (VSK.† ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahātre* (ŚŚ. °*grhāte*) VS. VSK.† ŚB. ŚŚ. And, in same passage:

prāṇo dātra edhi vayo (VSK. ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahātre* (ŚŚ. °*grhāte*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. In two accompanying formulas all texts read *mayo*; VS. ŚB. vary the expression with *vayo*.

§233. In two cases the syllables *sama* are changed to *sava* on faint lexical suggestions issuing from the root *su* in the context:

sahasrasamam prasutena yantaḥ PB. TB. ApŚ.: *sahasrasavaprasavena yantaḥ* MŚ.

tasmā u adya samanā (SV. *savane*) *sutam bhara* RV. AV. SV.

§234. The rest are sporadic:

śrīṇānā apsu mṛñjata (SV. *vṛñjate*) RV. SV. Subject is *somāh*: 'are purified in the waters'. It is hard to see other than phonetic reasons for the SV. alteration of this pāda, which occurs twice in RV. Possibly, however, SV. means 'are worked, operated', assimilating the idea to the sphere of the *barhis*; cf. Bloomfield, JAOS 35. 273ff.

achā ma (SV. Svidh. *va*) *indraṁ matayaḥ svarvidaḥ* (SV. *svaryuvaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh. Change of person as in *indro vaḥ* (AV. *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS., or in the persons of the verb, VV I §§290, 307. For others of this sort see our future volume on Pronouns.

amba niṣpara (*nisvara*, *niṣvara*, *nismara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.; see §200.

ṛdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. *ayāḍ*) *ṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*ṣṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhrwam ayā* (AV. *ayo*) *dhrwam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. The AV. is clearly a phonetic variant or corruption (comm. and Ppp. *utāśamiṣṭhāḥ*). See §86.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. ApMB. HG. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Injuring': 'moving'. In AVPpp. we find *varcayatā*, a sort of *vox media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt.

yuktās tīsr vimrjah . . . : *yunaḥmi tīso viprcāḥ* (*vivrtāḥ*) . . . , see §57.

§235. In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words. In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter; the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge:

ā raśmīn (RV. *raśmīn*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. *svaśvah*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Tho TB. is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others; comm. *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya miśrīkuru*.

drapsaś caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *prthivī* in all later texts against RV.

kauberakā viśvavāsaḥ HG.: *miśravāsasaḥ kauberakāḥ* ApMB. (probably original).

avimuktacakra (v. l. °rā) *āsiran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā āśināḥ* HG. ApMB. *sa me mukhaṁ pra mārksyate* (ApMB. *vekṣyati*) PG. ApMB. 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth.' Probably PG. is original.

āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu (AV. *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.—Ppp. (Roth) *viśanta*.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB.: *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG.†: *adho vadādharo vada* HG. ApMB. certainly original; the first form of HG. unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad*.

vṛtrasyāsi (KS. *mitra*°) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. °*nakāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*nakāsi*) VSK. †S. ApŚ. Secondary change in KS.

anu tvā hariṇo vṛṣā (ApŚ. *mṛgaḥ*) AV. ApŚ.

aṣāḍhāyā sahamānāya vedhase (TB. *mīdhuṣe*) RV. TB. N.

mitro (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

pra haṁsāsas ṛpalam manyum (SV. °*lā vagnum*) *acha* RV. SV.

kalpantām te (TA.* *me*) *diśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA.* *śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both)

§236. Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words. Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense:

utem anamnamuḥ TS. MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ: *uteva namnamuḥ* KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ.

athem ava sya (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivīyāḥ* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.

The original is *ava sya* 'set free'; AV. secondarily brings in the familiar notion of *iyam* . . . *prthivī* (in genitive form).

tuvi-ṣvaṇasaṁ (TS. JB. *tuviṣ-maṇasaṁ*) *suyajam ghṛtaśriyam* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. The RV. supports its reading by numerous instances

of *tuvi-ṣvan* (-i, -as), whereas *tuviṣ-* does not occur in compounds.

viśvavidam (AV. °*vido*) *vācam aviśvam-invām* (AV. *aviśva-vinnām*) RV. AV. The AV. change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128.

manmā dīdhyānā utā naḥ sakhāyā MS.: *anvādīdhyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā* TB. See the context, quoted VV I p. 163; note that the preceding *pāda* ends in *m*.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. °*tyā*, TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV. °*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The sūtra texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense: 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'.

bharatam uddhareṁ anuṣiṇca (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The TB. comm. says that *īm* (in *uddhara-īm*) is for *īmam*: *chāndaso 'yam mavarṇalopaḥ*. The corrupt MŚ. reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*.

vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām AV.: *pītā virājām ṛṣabho rayīṇām* TB. See §359.

v and *m* in inflectional endings

§237. Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc. sing. and nom.-acc. dual; between nom.-acc. dual and gen. plur.; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss.; thus in Kauś. 60. 19 two mss. read *manthantām* for *manthantāv*; and in Kauś. 71. 1 all mss. *aṁśo rājā vibhajātīmām agnī*, where the ed. emends *īmām* to *īmāv*.

ṛtena (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṁśa* (MG. *vaṁśaḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Roth quotes Ppp. as *sthūṇā dhi*.

aya(h)sthūṇam (TS. °*ṇāv*) *udilā* (MS. TS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. For the VS. ŚB. form see §188.

putraḥ pitarāv (AV. °*ram*) *avrṇīta pūṣā* RV. AV. The original dual refers to the Aśvins; AV. has a stupid simplification.

yena striyam (PG. *śriyam*, ŚŚ. *striyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*, ŚŚ. *akurutam*) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. The ŚŚ. is secondary and poor.

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇāṁ yat (TB. TA. *ṛṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsara-sām anudattānrṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni*). MS. is hopeless; see VV I p. 282.

idaṁ vatsyāvaḥ (AG. *vatsyāmo bhoḥ*) AG. HG. See VV I p. 249; others on the same page and on pp. 263, 276.

adhr̥ṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. 'Having terrible strength': 'terrible in strength'.

v and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238. On this subject cf. Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910. The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants. If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular; otherwise the *m* form. In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels; cf. Sturtevant, *AJP* 50. 360ff., *TAPA* 60. 33ff. The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels; and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position. In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts. Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later. The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant*. Variants occur in the readings of individual mss.; thus at AV. 19. 42. 3 *śutrāmṇe* for *śutrāvṇe*, and at Kauś. 89.1 four out of seven mss. *manvabhiḥ* for *manmabhiḥ*. We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation.

§239. We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*; once, *varī*):

udyan nakṣatram arcivat (TB. °*mat*) RV. SV. TB. Note that RV. also knows *arcimat*.

tapur yayastu carur agnivān (AV. KS. °*mān*) *iva* RV. AV. KS. N. *agnivān* is read by AVPPP.; *agnimant* not in RV. This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory.

pūṣā jñātīmān . . . ŚG.: *pūṣā jātivin* (read *jñāti°*) . . . Kauś.

ṛtīyasya savanasya ṛbhumato (ApŚ. °*syarbhu°*) . . . *brhaspativato* (KŚ. °*mato*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The majority show *vat* after *i*.

indram ādityavantam . . . *vājavantam* *brhaspatimantam* (AŚ. °*vantam*) *viśvadevyāvantam āvaha* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here only AŚ. has *vant*,

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmaṇa text has *mant*; *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant*. But cf. next.

tāsv adhvaryo (ŚŚ. °*yav*) . . . *vājavate brhaspativate* (ŚŚ. °*mate*) *viśvade-vyāvate* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *brhaspati-vate*; but this time the older Brāhmaṇa text reads *-vate*. Note that AŚ. belongs to the school of AB., and ŚŚ. to that of KB. (cf. prec); the two schools seem to have affected different forms.

puṣpavatīḥ (TS. ViDh. *puṣpā*°) *prasūvarīḥ* (AV. KS. °*sūmatīḥ*, TS. °*sūvatīḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ViDh. The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem. of *van*; according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric. It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS. by the still irregular *vatī*, which looks like a blend of the other two.

apām napād . . . *kakudmān* (MS. *kakubhvān*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *devīr āpo* . . . *kakunmān* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. See §178.

hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ. [read] *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. See AJP 27. 415.

tveṣaṁ cakṣur dadhīre codayanvati (RV. °*mati*) RV. TB. ApŚ. Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here; *codayan-mati* in RV. is a compound with the noun *mati*: 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel. TB. comm., accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte (karmaṇi)*.

§240. The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms:

nṛṣadvā (SV. °*mā*) *sīdad apām upasthe* (SV. *apām vivarte*) RV. SV. *sadman* (also RV.) is in the mind of SV.

kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne (TB. °*mne*) RV. TB. N. The otherwise unquoted form of TB. plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman*: *svadhāvan*).

ādityānām patvānv (PB. °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA.† *ehi*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB. Both forms are Rigvedic; cf. next.

āyoḥ patmane svāhā KS.: *āyoḥ patwane svāhā* ApŚ. Cf. prec.

kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV. *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV.

mitajñavo varimann (TB. °*vann*, but Poona ed. *mitajmavo varimann*) *ā prthivyaḥ* RV. MS. TB. *varivan* is not recorded, unless here.

varṣmā (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, KS. *drāghvā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KapS. *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The curious TS. form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*.

[*āpataye tvā paripataye grhṇāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS. adds *śakmane*) *śak-varāya śakvana* (KS. *śakmann*) *ojiṣṭhāya* VS. KS. ŚB.: *tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā ojiṣṭhāya* MS.: *tanū° śakvarāya śakmann ojiṣṭhāya* VSK. In KS. the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'.

abhihiyā bhāsā brhatā suśukvaniḥ RV.: *dr̥ṣe* (MS. *dr̥ṣā*) *ca bhāsā brhatā suśukvaniḥ* (KS. *°vabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikvan* 'able' (RV.); the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel.

avavyayann asitaṁ deva vasma (TB. ApŚ. *vasvaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. explains *vasvaḥ* as acc. sing. of an agent noun, *vāsayitāram āchādakam*. The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvaḥ* as voc. of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB. must be deleted.

prathamāya januṣe bhuwaneṣṭhāḥ (ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhāḥ*, AŚ. ed. *bhūmaneṣṭhāḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Ppp. has *bhūm°*. The ŚŚ. reading makes good sense: 'thou shalt lead the world'. AVŚ. has *bhuwane-ṣṭhāḥ*.

m and *b*

§241. The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v*. A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *brhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical; see, provisionally, the Conc. under these words.

parā dehi sāmulyam (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *sāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain'. Apparently ApMB. is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted'. See §607.

asaṁbādham badhyato (many AV. mss. *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *°veṣu*) AV. Kauś.: *asaṁbādḥ yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS. Sense and text tradition require *madhyato*. The form *ba°* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādham* (so Whitney); it is in any case a corruption. This is immediately followed by:

yasyā udvataḥ pravataḥ samam bahu (MS. *mahat*) AV. MS. Synonyms; cf. *brhat*: *mahat*, referred to above. But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.

aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ KS.: *ailabrḍā* (MS. °mṛdā; KapS. *īlamṛdā*) *āyuryudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*, MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahīdhara on VS. desperately, 'bringers of food' (:bhr̥taḥ!).
anuṣṭub (°tum) *mitrasya*, see §412.

m and *bh*

§242. The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical:

indra ukthebhir mandīṣṭhaḥ (ŚŚ. *bhand°*) SV. ŚŚ. Cf. next; the roots are quasi-synonyms.

divas (*divaḥ*) *prṣṭhaṁ* (PB. *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānaḥ* (PB. *mand°*) *suman-mabhiḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Practically synonyms.

sarvaṁ taṁ (AV. *sarvān ni*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāṁs tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*, MS. †*mṛsmṛsā*, v. l. *mṛśmṛsā*, VS. *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS.

savitā bhr̥tyām (KS. ms.† *manyām*) TS. KS.; von Schroeder emends to *bhr̥tyām*.

aciṣyāma (p.p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vr̥jane viśva ūti* MS.: *abhi ṣyāma vr̥jane sarvavīrāḥ* RV. KS. Corruption if not misprint.

yuktās tisro vimr̥jaḥ (*vibhr̥jaḥ*) . . ., and others, see §57.

CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243. Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *ḍ* which we add at the end of the chapter.

y and *r*

§244. Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption:

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °*yai*) *rṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KS. AB.

ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV. Roots *ir* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'.

śaṇḍikera (PG. *śauṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalah* PG. HG.: *śaṇḍerathas śaṇḍikera ulūkhalah* ApMB. Fanciful names of demons.

vāyosāvitra (MS. *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

saṁvatsarāya paryāyiniṁ (TB. *paryāriṇiṁ*) VS. TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning.

ny aśvinā hr̥tsu kāmā (ApMB. *kāmāṇ*) *ayaṁsata* (AV. *araṁsata*) RV. AV.

ApMB. *nī-yam* 'settle', and *nī-ram* 'rest'.

prāṇasya vidvān samare na dhīraḥ TS. MS.: *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīraḥ* AV. Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'juncture'.

apo (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv acāriṣam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ.

ApMB. MG.: *apo anv acāriṣam* (JB. *ṭacārṣam*) TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.:

apō divyā acāyīṣam AV. *anu-car* 'follow after': *cāy* 'fear, revere'.

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhr̥jāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Stönnner on SMB. understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady'. Is HG. Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf. Pali *ayyo*.) One ms. of ApMB. also *cāyyo*. All very doubtful.

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajaḥ* AA.: *yasyedam oja*

ārujah ŚŚ. Obscure in all. ŚŚ's *ārujah* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA. seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu) jah*. Or ŚŚ. may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*; *ojah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*.

gohya †*pagohyo marūko* (PG. *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG. SMB. See §81. *sadā yācann aham girā* (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. See §134.

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV. *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV. AV. See §184.

antah śubhrāvatā (SV. *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV. See §173.

vijye †*vivye vikṣipet* (p.p. *vi-kṣepe*) MS.: *vijre vikṣipe vidhame* MŚ. (Read *vikṣipe* in MS.) According to Knauer (note on MŚ.) these words are vocatives of cow-names. No etymology for **vijyā* or **vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.

vaniṣṭhor hrdayād (AV. **udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

agor arir (SV. *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV. SV. Wholly different words and constructions.

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. *bhūyaś* and *bhūriś* are different suffixal formations from the same root.

śukraṁ te (TA. **vām*) *anyad yajataṁ* (TA. **raj°*) *te* (TA. **vām*) *anyat* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. TA. (both) AŚ. Svidh. N. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *yajataṁ* for *raj°*, but with v. l. *raj°*, which the comm. also reads; he has a labored and worthless explanation.

y and *l*

§245. Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *lubh* or *lup* on the other. The two instances of *yup*: *lubh* have been quoted in §113, which see. The other is:

mṛtyoh padam (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. *°ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

y and *v*

§246. Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements; among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §254.

§247. We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV. texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittiriya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV. schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait. texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges euphonically the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf. §§338ff.), precisely as e.g. in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāyi* etc.) The *vin* of Tait. texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*; e.g. *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV.) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e; Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp. 211ff.; Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *ṛṣabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e:

nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś (TS. °*vibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namaḥ śṛkāyibhyo (TS. °*vibhyo*, MS. *srgāyi*°) *jighāṁsadbhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namo rudrāyatātāyine (TS. °*vine*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

pītāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (TB. ApŚ. °*vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namaḥ* VS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Also with *pitr̥bhyaḥ* and *prapitāmahebhyaḥ*.

ūrjasvatīḥ svadhāyīnīḥ (TS. °*vinīḥ*) TS. KS.

§248. Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal; it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait. texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking:

araṁgamāya jagmaye (TB. ApŚ. *jāgmave*) RV. SV. TB. Ap., Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait. texts, for regular *jagmi*. *duvasyave* (TA. *duvasvate*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* MS. TA. Stems *duvasyu* and *duvasvant*; but MS. has v. l. *duvasvate*.

ojasvinī nāmāsi TS. ApMB.: *ojasyā nāmāsi* MS. Again Tait. texts with *v*.

atharya pitum me pāhi VS. ŚŚ.: *atharva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ. †*pāhi*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf. RV. *athari*, *atharyu*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait. texts (to be sure also in AŚ.).

tapyatvai svāhā TS.: *tapatyai svāhā* KSA. TA. Stems *tapyatu* (RV.) and *tapatī*. Poona ed. of TA. *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*.

ye te agne meḍayo (KS. °*vo*) *ya indavaḥ* TS. KS. Here TS. has the regular *i*-stem *meḍi*, while KS. substitutes an otherwise unknown *meḍu*.

puñse putrāya vettavai (ŚB. [so, for Conc. ŚG.] BṛhU. *vittaye*, MG. *kartavai*, KS.† and v. l. of MG. *kartave*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB.

tvaṁ no devatātaye (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. N. See §61.

śrudhi śruta śraddhivāṁ (AV. *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. The anomalous RV. form is, as it were, explained in AV.

viśvacarṣaṇiḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS. Again AV. eliminates a rare hieratic form.

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (AV. *baladāvā na ehi*) RV. AV. 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV. p.p. *mā, ā, ihi*): 'come to us, giving strength'.

namo hradayyāya (KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (KS. *nīveṣyāya*) *ca* TS. KS.: *namo nīveṣyāya* (p.p. *nī°*) *ca hṛdayāya ca* MS.: *namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca* VS. Anomalous forms seemingly from *hṛd* and *hṛdaya* (but cf. §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake'). Stem *hradavya* quoted Pāṇ. 6. 1. 83, Vārtt. 2, Pat.

idā manuṣvad (AV. mss. *manuṣyad*) *iha cetayanṭī* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. The mss. reading of AV. is supported by APr. 4.65 (comm. *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney. The APr. comm. looks in the right direction; it is a blend of *manuṣvat* and *manuṣya*-.

namaḥ sūtāyāhantyai (TS. °*hantya*, MS. KS. °*hantvāya*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. *a-hanti*, 'not smiting': *a-hantya* = *a-hantva* 'not to be smitten'.
arāyo ṭasmān abhiduchunāyate TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate* RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ. The stem *a-rāy-a* (:rai) is bahuvrīhi, *a-rā-van* karmadhāraya. Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smān* in ApŚ.; it seems indeed that the syllable *yo* is inherited from the RV. form of the pāda.

vasuraṇvo (MahānU. °*ṇyo*) *vībhūr asi* TA. MahānU. *raṇya* is from root *raṇ*; as to *raṇva* we must remember the quasi-root *raṇv* (see last variant in §225). Both comms. have fatuous explanations; that on MahānU. divides *vasur aṇyo* (= *stutyah*!).

etena tvam atra śīrṣaṇvān (MŚ. *tvam śīrṣaṇyām*, Conc., but Van Gelder's ed., 6. 1. 2, *śīrṣaṇyān*) *edhi* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The KS. ApŚ. reading alone makes sense: 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy head'. The MŚ. form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a phonetic variant for °*vān*.

unnetar un non (read *no*) *nayonnetar vasvo abhy un nayā naḥ* AŚ.: *unnetar vasiyo na un nayābhi* (KS. *vasyo 'bhy un nayā naḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. The AŚ. form may be felt as acc. pl. of *Vasu* (n. pr.), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for *vasyo* (*vasiyo*): 'lead us unto welfare'.

§249. In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular *varīyaḥ* for *varivaḥ*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u* of *uru*:

asmabhyam indra varivaḥ (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyam mahi varivaḥ sugam kaḥ* RV.

sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ (AV.* *varīyaḥ*) *kṛnotu* RV. AV. (both) TS. KS. GB. Here Ppp. has *varivaḥ*; one ms. of GB. *varīyaḥ*, which, it seems, ought to be read in GB. in accord with AV., unless GB. quoted from Ppp.

tvaṣṭā no atra varivaḥ (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *kṛnotu* AV. TS.

§250. In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending, while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final:

yābhīr indro vāvṛdhe vīryāya (AV. *vīryāvān*) RV. AV. N. 'Increased unto heroism': 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'.

gārhapatyaḥ (ŚŚ. °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK. *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamaḥ* VS. VSK.

ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Objective gen. varying with possessive adjective. *prajananaṁ vai pratiṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās* (MahānU. *sādhuprajāvāns*) *tantum tanvānaḥ* . . . TA. MahānU. But most mss. of MahānU. agree with TA.; the ed. follows one ms. and the comm.

namaḥ śaṁgave (TS.† *śaṁgāya*) *ca paśupataye ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Wackernagel, II. 1 p. 315, plausibly takes *śaṁgāya* for *śaṁgayāya*.
sa ghā (TB. *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed.) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā*
 (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§251. In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations; see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

pra stomā yanty (SV. *yantv*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted:
brahmaidad upāsvaitat (MahānU. °*syaitat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. The reading of TA. is uncertain; see VV I pp. 45, 125.

[*madhye pośasya* (AG. °*sva*) *ṛmpatām* (MG. *puṣyatām*, AG. *tiṣṭhantīm*)
 AG. ŚG. MG. For *pośasva* read °*sya* with Stenzler's Translation.]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs:

manve (ArS. *manyē*) *vān dyāvāpṛthivī* (ArS. adds *subhojasau*) AV. ArS. Vait. See VV I p. 125.

§252. We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*:

tam u tvam (SV. *tava tyam*) *māyayāvadhiḥ* RV. SV.

tvam (KS. *tyam*) *hy agne agninā* RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. JB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.

imam ū (MS. *u*, p.p. *ū[m]*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *tyam asma-bhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§253. Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *i* 'go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *av* as a verb of motion; see Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV* 123ff.:

āpo agre viśvam āvan AV.: *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS. MS. KS. *yan mahatīr*)
viśvam (TA. *garbham*) *āyan* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA.
 'Went (rushed?) into the all'; AV. is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'.

ati setuṁ durāvyam (SV. *durāyyam*) RV. SV. The derivation of the RV. form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9. 41. 2. The SV. form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *i* ('hard to cross').

ayebhyaḥ (TB. *ave*^o) *kitavam* VS. TB. *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original; note that *av-* occurs in a Tait. text (see §247); is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm. 'to helpers'). Tho *aya* may not be derived from root *i*, the variant belongs to this group.

§254. Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant. In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):

rṣiṇām putro abhiśastipā u (VS. ŚB. °*pāvā*, TB. °*pā ayam*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB.

tanūpāvanas (AV. *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapojāḥ* (AV. *tanūjāḥ*) AV. AB. AŚ. *tanūpāvan* = *tanūpā*.

svarvaj (AV. *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayaṁ svasti* RV. AV. KB. TB.

satyam (SV. ApŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV. SV. ApŚ. The RV. original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas.

utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvaḥ (TB. *vicāyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original has *vi-ca-āvaḥ*; *vicāyaḥ* (comm. *viśeṣeṇa pūjāyuktāḥ*) is ἀπ.λεγ., corrupt, and untranslatable. See Kaegi, *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165.

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. The PG. reading is clearly secondary.

nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo vi yanti susico na vāṇiḥ* MS. KS. The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough; VS. etc. may have a lect. fac.

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838.

praty eva (ŚŚ. *pra tveva*) *grbhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

§255. The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both): *ghṛtam ghṛtayone* (MS. *ghṛtavane*) *pīva* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Home of ghee': 'rich in ghee'; *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV.).

anuvāsi (VS. *anuvā*, MS. *anuvāya*, GB.† Vait.† *ahnānsi*, em. Vait. ed. to *anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS. *rātryā*, MS. KS.† Vait.† *rātriyai*) *tvā* (VS. MS. omit) *rātrīm* (VS. MS. KS.† *rātrīm*) *jīva* VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait. (pratika in GB.) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants. The lexicons take them as containing the

roots *vā* and *yā*. But note that MS. presupposes a stem *anuva*, with short *a*.

trātāram indram akr̥nor avadhyam (VSK. *ayudhyam*) VS. VSK. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. Synonyms; note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v*. Something like the reverse process in Pāli *āvudha* = Skt. *āyudha*.

āvitsi (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vid*: *ā-yuj*. Other interchanges of *vi*: *yu* in §805.

nādyā śatruṃ nanu (ŚB.† *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB. Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vi*: *yu*).

rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. The startling change in TB. is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the prec. pāda. Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

śaṃgayī (MS. ŚB. °*gavi*, TB. °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīvadānū*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *gaya* 'chattels': *go* 'cow'.

somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. Substantially synonyms. *spardhante dhiyaḥ* (TS. KSA. *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. See §109.

sarasvatyai yaśobhagīnyai (KS. *veśabha*°) *svāhā* VS. KS.

bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (TS. KS. °*dgrāvā*, MS. °*drāyāḥ*, MŚ. °*drāyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The Maitr. texts obviously secondary. *malmalābhavantīm tvā* (N. °*ūṭiyā*, corrupt) *sādayāmi* TS. MS. KS. TA. N. *rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

dhuñkṣāgneṇī (VSK. vv. ll. *dhuñkṣyā*° and *dhuñkṣvā*°) VS. VSK. MS.: *agnaye dhūñkṣṇā* (KSA.° *ṣā*) TS. KSA. Wholly obscure words.

nikīrya (MŚ. *nigīrya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ. *tubhyaṃ madhye*, MŚ. *tubhyaṃ madhvah*) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ. A desperate passage; see §47.

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha TA. Bibl. Ind.; *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. Comm. on TA. *duruṣṣaha duḥkham utkarṣeṇābhībhava*; comm. on MahānU. *duruṣvahā tvam, duṣṭam uṣvaṃ* (!) *dāham hanti*. The word seems to be *durasyuha* (°*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'.

aśvān anaśṣato (KS.† ApŚ. *anaśyato*, MŚ. Van Gelder *anaśvato*, without v. l.) *dānam* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Poona ed. of TA. reads *anaḥṣato*, v. l. *anaśyato*; the comm. *ayaḥṣaphān*, with v. l. *anaśato*. Obscure.

revatī ramadhyam (MS.* °*lir amedhyam*) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. The variant of MS. is corrupt; see *AJP* 27. 403. But the reading of the ed. is an emendation; mss. °*ramadhyam*.

ayuktāso abrahmatā vidasāma (RV. *yad asan*) RV. VS. ŚB. *vi-dasāma*, taken by Mahīdhara as from *vi + das* 'fail'.

y and h

§256. A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions. Cf. Weber, *ISl.* 4. 224:

dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ (SV. *hitah*) RV. SV.

saṁ sravantu diśo mahīḥ (HG. *mayi*) ApMB. HG.

endram vagnunā vahata PB.: *vagnunendram hwayata* TB. ApŚ. Note the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hwayata* to the middle in *vahata*. PB. comm. glosses *āhwayata*.

yamīr yamasya bibhryād (AV. *vivrhād*) *ajāmi* RV. AV. See §222.

taṁ ahaṁ punar ādade KŚ. PG.: *imaṁ taṁ punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham) HG. (plainly corrupt).

hinwāno hetrbhir yataḥ (SV. *hitah*) RV. SV.

snuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text °*nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. 'ham asmi) TB. AŚ.

r and l

§257. Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic; the same word is spelled with *r* or *l*. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258. There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts. The RV., especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r*. In the RV. itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru:plu*, *mruc:mluc*, *car:cal*, *pruṣ:pluṣ*; the words *puru:pulu*, *aram:alakam* [despite Wüst, in *Ehrendge W. Geiger* 185ff., which does not convince me—F. E.], *sahamūra:sahamūla*, and the intensive stems *jargur:jalgul*. Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhi Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded: Pischel §259, and cf. Wackernagel I p. 215f., Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30f. This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms. readings of one and the same text.

§259. The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel: MS. 3. 7. 9 has *āśvavāra* and *āśvavāra* against *āśvavāla* and *āś°* in the corresponding passages of KS. 24.8 and KapS. 38. 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS., p. xv). PG. 1. 15. 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG. 1. 14. 4 *glapsa* (GG. 2. 7. 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleṅgha* for *preṅkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh. 1. 11. 31. 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *jvar* and *jval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsāgara (5. 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka*, *bahura*, etc.). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rigvedic Brāhmaṇa; and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV. one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB. passage in question, 2. 20. 14 (also in AŚ. 5. 1. 15), containing *bahuramadhyam*, imitates RV. 10. 42. 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(h)*.—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33. 196, that MS. has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Maitr. texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS. *āśvavāra* above in this section, and *kharvās* (to be sure with v. l. *kha°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

§260. The very small group of lexical variants is now given first; one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt:

te no 'gnayaḥ paprayaḥ pārayantu (MŚ. MG. *pāla°*) TS. TB. PB. ApMB.

MŚ. PG. MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated; both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *paprayaḥ*, related to *pārayantu*.

adhi skanda (Ppp. *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. 'Play the hero': 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vīd°*). See §272.

dhik tvā jāraṁ parasya janasya nirmārjmi . . . MŚ.: *dhik tvā jālmi* . . .

LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction.

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §209. *gulbadhānaḥ* is not divided in p.p.; it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc.) = *guh*, 3 pl. aorist.

§261. The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV., but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV., or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB. (§259):

aśrīrā (AV. ApMB. *aślīlā*) *tanūr bhavati* RV. AV. ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV., which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

aśrīram (TB.† *aślīlam*, both edd.) *cit kṛṇuthā* (TB.† *°thāt*, comm. and Poona ed. text *°thā*) *supratikam* RV. AV. TB.

samūdham (VSK. *samūlham*) *asya pāṇsure* (SV. *°le*) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The *l* form is regular after RV.; the *r* form in RV. only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts. *mā tad bhūmyām ā śriṣan* (VSK. v. 1. *śliṣan*) *mā tṛṇeṣu* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. *aśleṣā* (*āsreṣā*) . . . below, §265.

andhāhīn (TS. *°he*, KSA. *°heh*, em., ms. *°he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS. KSA. *°gudā*, VS. *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS. p.p.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The RV. knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf. however *sthavira*).

anu no mārṣtu (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣtu*) *tanvo yad viriṣtam* (VS. TS. KS.† ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *viriṣtam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

capyam (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālah* (KS. *vārah*, TB. *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV.; cf. however *aśvavāra* in MS., §259.

devāṇśo yasmai tvede tat satyam upariprutā (ApŚ. *apariprutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* in RV., only very rarely so later.

aśloṇā (comm. *aśroṇā*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svarge* AV.: *aśloṇāṅgair ahrtā* (read *ahrutāḥ* or *°tā* with Poona ed.) *svarge* TA. *śroṇa* chiefly RV.

§262. Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV. as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV. goes RV. one better in its hieratic *r*; but both RV. passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh*: *labh*, which in RV. always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later:

utālabdham (AV. *utārabdhān*, Ppp. *utāl°*) *spṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ*; followed by: *ālebhānād rṣṭibhīr yātudhānāt* (AV. *utārebhānān rṣ° yātudhānān*) RV. AV.

The AV. is secondary and corrupt in its construction; see Whitney's note.

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *śukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita*: *lohita*, of which again RV. has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra*: *kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole:

śukrāya svāhā VS. MS. ŚB.: *śuklāya svāhā* VS. MS.

peśo na śukram (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS. samh. mss. *aś°*) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

varuṇāya rājñe trayo rohitālalāmāḥ (TS.† misprinted *rohito-la°*; KSA. *lohita°*) TS. KSA.

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV.: *hataḥ krimīṇām kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

§263. Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b). In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānaḥ* of MS., see §260:

asya kurmo (RVKh. *kulmo*, AVPpp. ms. *kṛṇvo*) *harivo medinam tvā* RVKh. TS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret, JAOS. 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV.: *iha kṛṇmo harivo medinam tvā* KS. Scheftelowitz p. 112 reads for RVKh. *iha kurmo ha° vedinam tvā*. But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms. reading *kutso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kulmo*.

upappravada (RVKh. *upapla°*) *maṇḍūki* RVKh. AV. N. Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapra°* in RVKh., this time with his ms. The form intended is *upa-pra-vada*, cf. *ā-vada* in next pāda. The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a ms. corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavasva* in the second half stanza.

antarikṣam puritātā (TS. *purī°*, MS. *pulī°*, KSA. *pulī°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. The *r* forms are commoner.

satatam tu śirābhis tu MahānU.: *saṁtatam śirābhis* (Poona ed. *śil°*, but v. l. and comm. *śir°*, gloss *naḍibhiḥ*) *tu* TA. No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded.

§264. Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare. Here, first, eight passages containing *sarira* or *salila* 'ocean'. That MS. invariably has *salila*

cannot be considered significant (cf. §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV.; neither RV. nor AV. knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV. texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism:

aśvam jajñānam sarirasya (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *prapīnam* (MŚ. v. 1. °*am*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS.

KS. MŚ.: *prapyātam* etc. TS. ApŚ.

viḥhrājamānaḥ sarirasya (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA. °*yāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

vyacyamānam salilasya (VS. KS. ŚB. *sarirasya*, TS. TA. *bhuvanasya*) *madhye* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

sariram chandaḥ VS. KS. ŚB.: *salilam ch°* TS. MS.

sarirāya svāhā VS.: *salilāya tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *salilāya svāhā* ŚB.

sarirāya (MS. TA. *salilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB. TA.

sarire tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS. KS. ŚB.: *salile* etc. MS.: *salile sadane sīda* TA.

§265. The rest are miscellaneous:

kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (MS. *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS. MS. The *l* form is commoner.

aśleṣā (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. In MS. p.p. *aśl°*; KS. may intend either *a-* or *ā-*. The word regularly has *l*. Cf. *mā tad bhūmyām* etc., §261.

adhorāma (HG. text *atho°*) *ulumbalaḥ* (HG. †*ulumbaraḥ*) ApMB. HG. The word (usually *udum°*, probably related to *udumbara*, *uḍ°* 'fig-tree') appears in RV. AV. etc., always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG., which may show dissimilation to preceding *l*. Cf. §273.

muḍgās ca me khalvās (MS. *kharvās*, v. 1. *khal°*) *ca me* TS. MS. KS. A kind of grain; the *r* form not found elsewhere. Note that it occurs in MS. (cf. §259).

achalābhiḥ (KSA. °*rābhiḥ*, MS.[*m*] *atsarābhiḥ*, VS. *ṛkṣalābhiḥ*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184.

r and *v*

§266. These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance. We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved. In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīva-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood: *udādāya prthivīm jīradānum* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*nuḥ*; VS. ŚB. *jīvadānum*)

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

śaṁgayī (TB. °*ye*, MS. ŚB. °*gavī*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva*°) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§267. The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

avakrakṣiṇaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ yathājūram (SV. *yathā jūvam*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ageless': 'swift'.

ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśāntām (KSA. *viś*°) RV. TS. KSA.† 'Graze on': 'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac.

purū reto dadhire sūryaśvitaḥ (AV. °*śritaḥ*) RV. AV. KS. The AV. is secondary and not very intelligent; 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapŚ. (see note on KS.) has °*śrtaḥ*, evidently intending °*śritaḥ*.

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

pāti priyaṁ ripo (and *rupo*) *agraṁ padaṁ vēḥ* RV. (bis): *pāty agnir vipo agraṁ padaṁ vēḥ* ArŚ.

dūredṛśaṁ gr̥hapatim atharyum (SV. *athavyum*) RV. SV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The SV. form is desperate. Benfey suggests *atharv-yum* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff.). In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned.

aśvinā gharmaṁ pātani hārdvānam (TA. *hārddivānam*, read *hārdi*° with Poona ed.; LŚ. *pātam aharvyānam*, MS. *pibatam hādrānum*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. The MS. corruptly mouths over an obscure form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*.

hitvī (SV. *hitvā*) *śiro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (MŚ. °*retām*; AŚ. corruptly °*bhavatām*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (KS. TB. °*ṣu vr*°) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ* ViDh. See §359.

mīśravāsasaḥ kauberakāḥ ApMB.: *kauberakā viśvavāsaḥ* HG.

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *devā* (*agne*) *jarasaṁ* (*haviṣā*, °*ṣo*) *vṛṇānah* (etc.), see §854.

asmān (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso †vatā haveṣu* AV.

varuṇāya riśādase (KSA. *vidase*) . . . TS. KSA. So the ms. of KSA.: but von Schroeder emends to *riśādase*.

§268. In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned: *ugram ojiṣṭham tavasam* (SV. *tarasam*) *tarasvinam* RV. AV. SV. Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV.

vātajavair (HG. *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaiḥ* MS. HG. Either assimilation in MS., or avoidance by dissimilation in HG. of the banal sequence *vātajavair* . . . *manojavaiḥ*. Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS. is secondary.

dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: *bhūmidrñham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidrñho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāv°* after *acyutaḥ*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e.g. *ajuryam jarayantam*, RV. 2. 16. 1).

r or *v* and *h*

§269. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf. §266:

aredatā (KS.* *ahed°*, so ed., but ms. *īdatā*; read probably *ared°* with v. Schr. on KS. 32. 3, n. 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ. *gamyāt*, TS. *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ahedatā* (ŚŚ. *ahel°*) *manasedam juṣasva* AŚ. ŚŚ. The root *reḍ* in Naigh. 2. 12 is followed immediately by *heḍ* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'.

sahamānā sahasvatī (PG. *sarasvatī*) PG. ApMB. HG. *sarasvatī* is a blunder.

taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā (ApMB. *°dho*, HG. *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. See §109.

tā (tāv) ehi (eha, iha, MG. eva) . . ., see §§578, 888.

sa ghā (TB. *sadyā*, Poona ed. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

l and *ḍ*

§270. It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *ḍ* and *ḍh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāṣkala recensions of the RV. to *l* and *lh*. This variation is ignored in the Conc., because it is carried out with mechanical completeness. Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts; Wackernagel I §194. This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completeness as in RV., in two texts, VSK. and ŚŚ.; and also in the twentieth book of AV. These cases are recorded in the Conc., but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK. and ŚŚ. alone. Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.

It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N. seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV. occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV. in those parts of AV. 20.

§271. The list follows:

idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ. MŚ.: *idaivāsmān* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastām vratena* RVKh. AV. Vait. But Scheftelowitz reads *idaiva . . . ghṛtena* for RVKh.

aidamṛdā yavyudhaḥ KS.: *ailabrḍā* (MS. °mṛdā, KapŚ. *īlamṛdā*) *āyur-yudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*; MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. See §241. *ādityā rudrā vasavas twelate* (AB. *twel°*, for *twed°*; GB. Gaastra *†tenute*, with all mss.) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

aṣṭrām tādam pratīnāhā (ApŚ.† *tālam pratīnāham*) MS. ApŚ.

yad devī devaheḍanam (VSK. TA.* °helanam, but TA. Poona ed. both times °heḷ°, with v. l. °heḍ°) AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. (bis) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. BDh. GDh.

nahy anyam baḍākaram (AA. *balā°*) RV. AA. AŚ. But Keith reads AA. *baḷā°* (as is read in RV.).

aśrathnan dṛḍhāvradanta vīḍitā RV.: *avradanta vīlitā* (fragment) N. *indraś ca mṛḍayāti* (AV. ŚG. *mṛl°*) *naḥ* RV. AV. ŚG.

īḍe (ŚŚ. VHDh. *īle*) *dyāvāprthivī pūrvacittaye* RV. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. VHDh.

īḍenyo (AV. ŚŚ. Vait. *īlenyo*) *namasyaḥ* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait. *krīḍantau* (N. *krīl°*) *putrair naptṛbhiḥ* RV. AV. N.

yad vīḍāv (AV. *vīlāv*) *indra yat sthire* RV. AV. SV. Svidh.

vīḍu (AV. Vait. *vīlu*) *cid ārujatnubhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. Vait.

vīhi sūra (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāsam* (AV. °lāsam) RV. AV. KS. TB. N.

vauṣaṭ (ŚBK. ŚŚ. *vauṣal*) AB. GB. ŚB. ŚBK. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ.

vy āṇaḍ (AV. *ānal*) *indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ* RV. AV.

ḍ and *r*

§272. The same change occurs sporadically also between *ḍ* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *ilā*, or *irā*; the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf. also *ahar divābhīr ūtibhiḥ*, §360; here MS. has (for *ahar*) *vahad* (cf. next §), but one ms. *vahaḍ* and p.p. *vahaṭ*.

irāvati (KS. *idā°*) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

idā (ŚŚ. *ila*, MS. MŚ. *idā*, ApŚ.* *ira*, in the same passage with **idā*) *ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

ḍṛñhasva vīdayasva (MS. *vīr*°) *su* TS. MS.: *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV.; *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. See §260.
vīruc chapathayopanī AV.: *vīḍu chapathajambhanīḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a clear corruption of the AV. reading, which Caland adopts.
vareṇyakraṭūr (AV. °*tur*, ApŚ. *īdenya*°) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vīreṇ-yah kratur indrah suśastīḥ* RV. See §§383, 554.

d and r

§272a. On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in *GGA* 1931 236ff., especially 239f., and his article in *Ehrendge für Wilhelm Geiger* 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introd. to *Mahābhāṣya*, on Vārtt. 9, p. 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yarvāṇas*, *tarvāṇas*, for *yadvāṇas*, *tadvāṇas*; and to Wackernagel I p. 212. Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB. °*rīr*) *asya samṛtiṃ vadhānām* (TB. *ba*°) RV. TB., where a difficult 2d person sing. is substituted for a 3d person (cf. VV I p. 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. ChU. 4. 1. 2 *pradhākṣīr* for °*ṣīd*, Oertel, *ll. cc.*) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in *ZII* 8. 289f.) are:

mayi rāyo mayi rakṣaḥ MS. 4. 9. 13: 134. 5, for which the Conc. suggests *dukṣaḥ* for *rakṣaḥ*: *mayi dakṣakratū* TS. ‡2. 5. 2. 4, ApŚ. AG. HG.: *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ.
na me tad upadambhiṣar dhrṣir brahmā yad dadau MS. (originally °*dambhiṣad rṣir*°, Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 10 *infra*): *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) *rṣir brahmā yad dade* ApŚ. (bis). Here the ApŚ. form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (= *k* for *t*), see our §142.
yadā rāghaṭī varadaḥ Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *ydd adyārā-dhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following: *ahar* (MS. *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *vahaḍ* (*vahaṭ*); see §360, and the preceding §272. The MS. is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic.

dadhīr (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayānsi* RV. SV.
balim ichanto vitudasya (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. 1. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (Ma-hānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yai) ṛṇayā na īyase (SV. īrase) RV. SV. KS.
AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV.

l and *d* and *ṇ*

§273. By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *ṇ* and with dental *d*; these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding. (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here; but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages *harikṇikā*, fem. of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ. to *hariklikā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*; but the characters are graphically much alike:

tāsām ekā harikṇikā (ŚŚ. °klikā) AV. ŚŚ.

harikṇike (ŚŚ. °klike) *kim ichasi* AV. ŚŚ.

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*:
urūṇasāv (TA. *uru*°) *asutrpā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulum*°)

RV. AV. TA. AŚ. See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm., fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*!). See *adhorāma* etc., §265.

nī nivartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB.

Both ἄπ. λεγ.; obscure epithets of Indra. KS. looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.

CHAPTER VIII. THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa*: *koṣa* (cf. §289, end), *śrambh*: *srambh*, are really never determined; and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13. cxvii ff.; Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p. lx; Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

ś and s

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges; and first those in which ś takes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *śru*; the Pet. Lex. goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *śru* in that sense: *śam yor abhi sravantu* (MŚ. *śra*°) *naḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. KS. TB. TA.

ApŚ. MŚ. HG. So Conc. from Knauer's report of mss.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads *sra*° for MŚ. without v. l.

vi srutayo (AŚ. *visru*°, ŚŚ. *viśru*°) *yathā pathaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ. *visru*°.

dadhi mantham pariśrutam (ŚŚ. *manthām pariśrutam*, one ms. °*śrutam*) AV. ŚŚ.

ā twā pariśrutaḥ (MG. °*sṛtaḥ*, mss. °*sṛtam*; AG. °*śritaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. † °*āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *emām* (ŚG. *enam*) *pariśrutaḥ kumbhaḥ* (ŚG. *kumbhyā*) AV. ŚG.—AVPpp. *ā twā pariśṛtaḥ*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32. 366 °*śritaḥ*. The readings of AG. MG., tho certainly secondary, make sense.

pratyañ (VS. TS. ŚB.* TB. °*yañk*, MS. †* and KS. v. l. °*yak*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (AV. text *ati hrutaḥ*, VS. †* MS. *atīsrutaḥ*, KS. v. l. °*śrutaḥ*) AV. VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ. The true reading of AV. is °*drutaḥ*, see Whitney's note.

§276. The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally; see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified:

śam ūdho romaśam hataḥ ApMB.: *sam ūdho romaśam hataḥ* RV.

Comm. on ApMB. takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*; see Winternitz, p. xx.

§277. The rest are sporadic:

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. ŚG. MŚ. SMB. *Sṛma* is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS. it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to *Sṛma*, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf. *Sṛpa*, *Sṛmara*, and *Sṛmala*, names of Asuras (Harivaṇśa, see Pet. Lex.). ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle.

āstām jālma (KS. *jālma*) *udaram śraṇśayitvā* (KS. *sraṇs°*) AV. KS. Both edd. of AV. read thus; some mss. *śraṇs°* and some *sraṇś*, none the 'correct' *sraṇs°*.

śam te hiraṇyam śam u santv (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. Metathesis of *ś* and *s* in ApMB.; see Winternitz, p. xvi. *somaś caturakṣarasyāsrīvīr* (MS. *°śrīvīr*) *nakṣatrāṇi* MS. KS. A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrīvī* except here in MS.

peśo na śukram (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS. all saṁhitā mss. *aśitam*, ed. em. *asitam* with p.p.) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

ā śīrṣṇaḥ śamopyāt AV.; comm. and Ppp. *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf. however Bloomfield, SBE 42. 255 (*keśam opyāt?*).

śvāvṛt tat HG. Kirste suggests *sv-āvṛt*; the context gives no help in interpretation.

madhu vaṇśiṣīya AV. Read *vaṇs°*: cf. JAOS 13. cxviii, and Whitney on AV. 9. 1. 14.

§278. In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś*:

śam te hiraṇyam śam u santv (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277; and for other *sam*: *śam*, §§276, 280.

[*agnim ca viśvaśambhuvam* RV.† AV†. KS. TB†. ApŚ.†. No variant; correct Conc.]

śimāḥ (VS. *simāḥ*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.* *śamyantu*) *śimyantāḥ* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. TS. KSA.† The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

occurring in the same pāda; is the *s* of VS. due to dissimilation?

Mahīdhara = *sīmāh*, glossed *rekhāh* or *maryādāh*.

parṇaśado (ŚŚ. °*sado*) *jaritaḥ* (AV. Vait. °*daḥ*, om. *jar*°) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

Vait. Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf'. ŚŚ. possibly understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *sad*).

viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve (KS. *śūrāh*, ApŚ. *sūrāh*) AV. KS. ApŚ.

The latter can only intend *śūrāh*. Other cases of these two words, capable of lexical explanation, §284.

yam eva vidyāḥ śucim (VāDh. *sucim*) *apramattam* ViDh. VāDh. N.

śukeṣu me (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *harimāṇam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. 3 of SPP.'s mss., comm., and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 26. 228) read *śukeṣu*.

mrgasya srtam (HG. *śrtam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB. HG. (vv. ll. *srtam* and

śrtam in ApMB.) Kirste says 'probably *srtam*'. More likely

śrtam is intended in both texts. It is a question of ill-omened sounds (*śakunai ruditaṁ ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG.).

'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss.' For *śru*: *sru* cf. §§275, 283.

pred u harivaḥ śrutasya (SV. *sutasya*) RV. SV. TS. The word refers to

Indra; SV. is perhaps thinking of Soma. Benfey abandons it and translates the RV.

namaḥ śaṣpiñjarāya (TS. *sasp*°) *twiṣimate* VS. TS. MS. †KS. See next.

ye vaneṣu śaṣpiñjarāḥ KS.: *ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *sasp*°) VS. TS.

MS. MG. See prec. Except in TS. the word is always written *śaṣp*°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplology, Wackernagel I p. 279). Perhaps TS. gets its *s* by confusion with *sasya* 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf. Wackernagel I. c., Keith on TS.

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV.

ApMB. HG. Comm. on ApMB., *śakārasya sakārah*; cf. Winternitz p. xvi.

krīḍī (VSK. °*lī*) *ca śākī cojjeṣī* (ApŚ. *sākī* †*corjiṣī*, v. l. °*jīṣī*, *ca*) VS.

VSK. ApŚ. Name or epithet of one of the Maruts. Doubtless 'mighty', root *śak*; so Mahīdhara; and *sākī* seems incapable of other interpretation.

jīmūtān hṛdayaupasābhyām (VS. °*śena*; VSK. v. l. °*sena*) VS. VSK. TS.

MS. KSA.

na jyotiṁṣi cakāṣati Suparn.: *jyotiṣaṁ na prakāṣate* RVKh.

tṛṣṭam piṣitam asyate AV. 5. 19. 5b. Whitney accepts Zimmer's emendation *aśyate*.

yad asṛavan paśava udyamānam AV. 7. 66. 1. Read or understand

aśṛavan with SPP., comm., and Whitney.

sarau parṇam ivādadhat AV. 5. 25. 1. Read or understand *sarau* with Whitney.

§279. In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original:

ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣīlikā (MS. *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. The p.p. of MS. reads *suṣīliketi suṣi-likā*, suggesting that VS. has the true reading. But *śuśulūkā* occurs once in RV. Both meaning and original form are obscure; folk-etymology may have been at work; Sāyaṇa thinks of *śiśu* and *ulūka*; in RV. it is associated with *ulūka*.

grāmyamañkīradāśakau ApŚ.: *grāmyaṁ mañgīradāśakau* MŚ.: *vyāghraṁ mañgīradāśa gauḥ* Vait. Obscure proper names; see §49.

§280. In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important. While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms. Thus the words *saṁ* and *śaṁ* each make sense in these passages; cf. §§276, 278: *śaṁ abdhyah* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *saṁ adbhyah* (supplying *śundhasva* from the preceding) KS.

maṇḍūkyā su saṁ ṭgamaḥ (TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu śaṁ bhwaḥ* AV. The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily.

yat ta āsthītaṁ śaṁ u tat te astu TB.: *yat te viriṣṭaṁ saṁ u tat ta etat* Vait. 'That shall be all right for thee': 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'.

§281. When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer. Thus in three cases of the roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁ-viś*, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments:

teṣv ahaṁ sumanāḥ saṁ viśāmi (AŚ. *viśāti*, for °*ni*; MG. *vasāma*) AŚ.

ApŚ. HG. ApMB. MG. See Knauer's note on MG.

amāvāsyē saṁvasanto (MŚ. °*viśanto*) *mahitvā* AV. TS. MŚ.

tasyāṁ devā adhisamvasantaḥ TS. TB.: *tasyāṁ devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV.: *tayor devā adhisamvasantaḥ* ApŚ.: *yasyāṁ* (v. 1. *asyāṁ*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ.

§282. The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *ās* 'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages. The *ās* forms all occur in RV., the *aś* forms in SV., which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhīr āśāte* RV. 8. 31. 6 and 1. 144. 6:

sahasrasthūṇa āśāte (SV. *āś°*) RV. SV.

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

yatrāmṛtāsa āsate (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

§283. The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*; in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *śru*, cf. §§275, 278:

ṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (comm. and Poona ed. text *śuśrug*) *astu* TB.: *sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ. See §145. *sasrud* is an em. for mss. *sasrad*, *saśrud*, *suśud*; Conc. suggests *suśrud*, but *sasrut* occurs in RV., and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps *susrut* should be read in MŚ.

ḍṛṣe ca (MS. *ḍṛṣā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (RV. *śuś*°, KS. *suśukvabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §240.

§284. The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice; cf. *viśve devā* etc., §278:

śūro (TB. *sūro*) *na mītrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu* RV. TB. The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'.
vīhi śūra (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāśam* (AV. °*lāśam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. N. The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero'; TB. transfers it to an address to the sun.

§285. The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in ś, some of them rather remote in form:

sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyaḥ (TA. *śarva sar*°, some mss. add *sarvaśarvebhyaḥ*; MahānU. *sarva sarvebhyaḥ*) MS. TA. MahānU. Sc. *namaḥ*: 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm. on MahānU. *sarvātmaka*]), to all (the Rudras)'. MS. has v. l. *śarvataḥ* for *sarvataḥ*. Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic.

sarvān agnīn (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. *huve*, AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. AB.

kalpantām te (TA. **me*) *diśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA. **śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both) *viśve devā nātīvidhyanti sarve* (KS. *śūrāḥ*, ApŚ. *śūrāḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ.

See §278.

§286. The root *sūd* varies with *śudh* and *śubh*; cf. §174, and note AV. *radantaḥ śuddham uddharet* AV. 20. 136. 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Index Verborum):

asūśudanta (MS. KS. *aśūśubhanta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātarāḥ śundhayantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:

yena striyam (PG. *śriyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. *°tām*, ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*)

ŚŚ. SMB. PG. GG. *strī* is certainly original.

śumbhānas (KS. *stam°*) *tanvaṁ* (TB. *tanuvaṁ*, SV. *†tanvāṁ*) *svām* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

svām tanvaṁ (TS. TB. *tanuvaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *āśīśret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. 'Enlivened': 'entered into'.

śunaṁ ma iṣṭam . . . : svaṁ ma (ma idam) iṣṭam . . ., see §353.

tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB.

yad anena haviṣāśāste tad aśyāt (AŚ. *asyām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he obtain that': 'that (is) in this (offering, sc. *hotrāyām*)', or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words are *tad ṛdhyāt*). Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām ṛdhed dhotrāyām*.

śakma yat te goḥ KS. MS.: *sagme te goḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *samyat te goḥ* TS. See §47.

tasthau nākasya sānavi (SV. *śarmaṇi*) RV. SV.

apāvṛṇod duro aśmavrajānām (MS. *asmadrathānām*) RV. MS. TA.

śvātrāḥ pītā (ViDh. *snātāḥ prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpaḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh.

sadā (MS. *śacyā*) *paśyanti sūrayaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NṛpU. GopālU. VasuU. SkandaU.

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB. *asthām*) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. Poona ed. text and comm. *aśyām* for TB.; see VV I p. 86.

aryo naśanta (SV. *naḥ santu*) *saniṣanta* (SV. *†°tu*) *no dhīyaḥ* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.

āśuṁ jayantam anu (KS. *yā saṁjayantam adhi*) *yāśiṣ vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Even the original version is obscure.

ā sutrāvṇe sumatim āvrṇānaḥ AV. Perhaps originally *āśutrāvṇe*; see §355.

ś and ṣ

§288. Here the total number of variants is much smaller. More-over many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following ś seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically: *nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat* (VS. *arṣat*) VS. VSK. IśāU. The word clearly means 'going' (root ṛṣ); VS. comm. *ṛśa gatau*. Cf. however *anarṣarātīm* (*alarṣirātīm*) . . . §292.

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (MS. v. 1. °bhūt, ApŚ. °bhūvam) MS. ApŚ.: *abhi-
ṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. 1. °bhūvam) MŚ. (quoted from unedited mss.;
probably only a textual error).

§289. We find ṣ for proper ś, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, Śaṇḍa or Ṣaṇḍa. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with ś:

śaṇḍāya (VSK. ṣa°) *tvā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

nirastah śaṇḍah (VSK. MS.† *4. 6. 3 ṣa°) VS. VSK. MS. (bis) ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

apanuttau (KS. °tā) *śaṇḍāmarkau* (MS.* ṣa°) . . . TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB.

ApŚ. MŚ. See von Schroeder's note on MS. 4. 6. 3: 82. 16, which indicates that he then believed MS. to intend *ṣaṇḍa* thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss. are unanimous for ṣ in some places, nearly unanimous for ś in others. Those of MŚ. vary.

Corruptions:

yenāpāmṛsatām (SMB. v. 1. °ṣatām) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛsatām* *surām* PG.

varuṇeti śapāmahe (MS.† °hai; LŚ. †ṣayāmahe) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The LŚ. has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo koṣadhāvanīh* (MS. text *koṣa*°, all mss. *koṣa*°; TB.† 'koṣa°) MS. KS. TB. Read 'koṣa° in all. There would be no variant but for the em. in MS., which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *koṣa*.]

§290. The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions; the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original:

indrāṇyai kīrsā (KSA. °ṣā) TS. KSA.

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣīlīkā (MS. *śuśulūkā*) . . . VS. MS. See §279.

kūśmāñ (VSK.† v. 1., MS. *kūṣ*°) *chakapiṇḍaiḥ* (MS. śa°) VS. VSK. MS.: *kūśmāñ chakabhiḥ* TS. KSA.

kūśmāñḍah, *ku*°, and *kūś*°, *kuś*°; also °*māñḍyah* and °*māñḍāhi*, various Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.

ākārśye karśyo yathā ApŚ.: *gīh koṣvoṣyaur yadā girah* Vait.: *madhv ity ākārṣaiḥ kuśair yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure.

§291. Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*); the meanings are fairly close:

viśvam satyam kṛṇuhi viṣtam astu RV.: *viṣvak satyam kṛṇuhi cittam eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50; Whitney on AV.

3. 1. 4; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 30. 6. [But no emendation of AV.

is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party).' Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 351f.) has *viṣvaṁ viṣṭam kṛṇuhi satyam eṣām*, closer to RV. Same general sense in all. F. E.]

adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ (ArS. *kṣamā viṣva*°) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs.) *purudasmō viṣurūpa* (KS. °*dasmavad viṣvarūpaṁ*, TS. ApŚ. *urudrapso viṣvarūpa*) *induh* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable:

anarśarātīm (SV. *alarśirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. AV. SV. N. The RV. form is derivable from root ṛś 'injure'; cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. The SV. form seems on the face of it to contain the root ṛ; it may be corrupt. Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'.

nābhimṛṣe (MS. KS. *nābhidhrṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhrṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Not to be touched (attacked)'.

asya hotuḥ pradīśy (AV. *praśīśy*) *ṛtasya vāci* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Synonyms: 'at the command'.

prāṇān samkrośaiḥ MS.: *samkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. °*krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *saṁghoṣān* (ms. °*goṣān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Synonymous roots *kruś* and *ghuṣ*.

yayor vām devau deveṣu anīṣitam (TS. *aniś*°) *ojaḥ* TS. MS. KS. 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple. of *nī-ṣyati*; 'incessant', *a-nīṣita*.

saṁ tvā śīṣanti (Vait. *śīṣ*°) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. Garbe takes *śīṣanti* from *śīṣ* 'leave'; it is more likely from *śās* (*śīṣ*) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śīṣanti* ('sharpen').

vanaspatīṅr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (**rāye aśyāḥ*) RV. (both). Roots *iṣ* and *aś*, practically synonyms. The two versions in adjacent hymns; see *RVRep.* 258. Add to VV I §121, 324.

aspārśam enaṁ śataśāradāya RV. AV. In AV. most mss., SPP., and even Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 257), read *aspārśam*; in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV. form in his Translation (root *spr*, aor.), we think that the AV. tradition intended *aspārśam*, as a form of *sprś*: 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years.' Of course the form is highly anomalous.

dirghām anu prasitīm (KS. *samṛtīm*) *āyuse dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.: *dirghām anu prasṛtīm samṣprśethām* MS. Cf. §78.

tve iṣaḥ (KS. *viṣve*, MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS.† *bhūrīretasaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pralnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ (AV. *āśaśānāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending').

abhiṣṭir (HG. °ṭir, ApMB. *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*)
RVKh. ApMB. HG.

ā darṣate śavasā sapta dānūn RV. AV. N.: *ā darṣati śavasā bhūryojāḥ* AV.

The whole thought is made over in AV.

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS. *bhadrā vṛṣaṇā agrbhñām*) RV. VS. TS.
KS.

aśūsubhanta (TS. TB. *asūśudanta*) *yajñīyā ṛtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

See §286.

ṣ and s

§293. Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete:

daivya mimānā manasā (VS. *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.

made suśipram (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. PAOS
13, p. cxviii.

āprṇo 'si samprṇaḥ (ApŚ. *āprṇoṣi samprṇa*)... ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is corrupt.

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ... VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanam*... TS. TA.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ*
karaḥ karasyuḥ LŚ.

tenemām upa siñcatam RV. AV. TA. N.: *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ.

asūrte (MS. KS. °tā) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. °tā, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS.
MS. KS. N. See §828.

kratvā variṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany ām-*
urīm uta SV.

ṛṣiṇām ca stutir (SV. *suṣṭutir*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§294. The rest are scattering:

ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *saspi*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. MG.

See §§32, 278, and next.

namah śaṣpiñjarāya (TS. *saspi*°) *twiṣimate* VS. TS. MS.† KS.

sarvam tam (AV. *sarvān ni*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaśā* (TS.
ŚB, *masmasā*, MS.† *mṛsmṛsā*, one ms. *mṛśmṛsā*, VS. *bhasmasā*)
kuru (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The word is
sound-imitative (cf. Eng. *mash*, similar but independent). VS.
rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242).

ā sutrāvṇe sumatim āvṛṇānaḥ AV.: *oṣiṣṭhadāvṇe sumatim grṇānāḥ* TS.

Whitney suggests, attractively, *āsutrāvṇe* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in

TS.); but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV. (*āsu* seems not used with the root *trā*).

kh, *kṣ* and sibilants

§295. In view of the common later confusion of *ṣ* and *kh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds; cf. the mss. reading *ṣudasi* at AV. 20. 135. 4, for *khudasi* of ŚŚ.:

kaṣotkāya svāhā TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU. Neither word is interpretable.

§296. There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *kh* and *ś*, which point in a like direction; cf. the reading *khunā* for *śunā* (thru *ṣunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Caritra 2. 268:

āśum tvājau (ApŚ. *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original is *āśum*, which refers to Agni. To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain. The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ. and MŚ., reads *ity ākhukarīṣam* (MŚ. °*kirim*) *nivapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word *ākhu* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ. (where Caland translates *āśum*).

ud vaṇṣam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mahābh. 12. 284. 78.

§297. And one case of *kṣ* and *ś* (lexical):

mayum te śug ṛchatu (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with other animal names in the same passage.

s(ṣ) and *h*

§298. There is but faint evidence for this interchange. The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption. In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic; see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264. In the following it is to be presumed that an original *s* is replaced by *h*:

dhiyā na (SV. *no*) *vājān upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śasvataḥ* RV. SV. Verb endings; see VV I p. 104. The reverse is found in the first variant in §299.

dhruvāsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG. The obsolescent ending *āsaḥ* is replaced by the regular *ā(s)* plus the particle *ha*.

jātavedo nayā hy enanī suktām yatra lokaḥ JB: *jātavedo vahemaṇi* (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *suktām yatra lokaḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ. The Conc. suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB.

āsanniṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*pratyañ* (etc.) *somo atidrutaḥ* (°*srutaḥ* etc., AV. text °*hrutaḥ*), see §275. The true text of AV. is °*drutaḥ*.]

§299. In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*:

stuto yāsi (RV. *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. See VV I p. 105. The converse of the first variant in §298.

turīyāditya (VSK. *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV. *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Synonymous roots *su* and *hu*.

ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS.: *ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti* (AŚ. *harito vahantu*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

guhā hitām nihitām (KS.† omits *nihitām*, by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS. MŚ.: *guhā satīm gahane gahvareṣu* TB. ApŚ.

pratno hi (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kam īḍyo adhwareṣu* RV. AV. TA. MahānU. The TA. reading is corrupt; comm. *pratanoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV. misprinted *susaveha*) *havāmahe* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. See Whitney on AV. 3. 20. 6.]

CHAPTER IX. PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1. Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300. This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi; namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root:

ya eṣa svapnanaṅśanaḥ (AV. °*nāśanaḥ*) RV. AV. N.

pūṣṇe 'nighrṇaye svāhā TA.: *pūṣṇa āghrṇaye* (em., mss. *āprṇaye*) *svāhā* MS. *āghrṇi* is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *añghrṇi*, comm. *añjanena dīpyamānaḥ*; but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *āgh*°.

§301. From different and equally regular forms of the verb:

agnīm naras triṣadhasṭhe sam īdhire (SV. TS. *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS. *agnim īdhe* (SV. *indhe*) *vivasvabhiḥ* RV. SV.

atra pitaro yathābhāgaṃ mandadhvam TS. TB. ApŚ.: *atra pitaro mādayadhvam* . . . VS.VSK.MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. ViDh. Add to VV I §240.

krūrām ānaśa (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS.† *martah*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 187.

na pāpatvāya rāṣīya (SV. *raṇṣīṣam*) RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 109.

§302. In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā yamasya padbīśāt* (VS. °*vīśāt*, LŚ.† *ṣadvīśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

agnim īḍita (SV. *indhīta*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship.

yam śim id anya īḍate RV.: *yam sam id anya indhate* SV. Cf. prec.

yāsad (SV. TS. KS. *yañsad*) *viśvañ ny atrīṇam* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Roots *yā* and *yam*; quasi-synonyms.

ato no 'nyat *pitaro mā yoṣṭa* (HG. *yūḍhvam*) ApŚ MŚ. HG.: *mā vo* (AŚ. *no*) 'to 'nyat *pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ. *yuñgdhvam*) AŚ. Kauś. If we may trust *yuñgdhvam*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic. Cf. VV I pp. 42, 150.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

§303. Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida*: *vinda*, *vrjyāḥ*: *vrñjyāt*, etc.); §279 (*masīya*: *mañsīya*); §280 (*adadrhanta*: *adadrñhanta*); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *tī*, *nti*, *te*, *n̄te*, etc., on pp. 255 ff.

§303a. Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *ñ* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. l. is reported for ŚG. and Oldenberg keeps °*yāñsi*, tho he translates °*yāsi* (see his note, p. 36):

jātānām janayās ca yān (ŚG. *janayāñsi ca*; AV Ppp. *janayāsi* [not °*mi*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV. ŚG. Barret, JAOS 32. 360, needlessly emends Ppp. to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253.

vahāsi mā (KS.† *vahāñsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokaḥ*), KS. TB.

§304. Similarly, such cases as *vr̥ṣā punāna āyusu* (SV. *āyūñṣi*) RV. SV., or *svar devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *suvar devāñ*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., belong to noun declension; and *ajasrañ twāñ* (ApŚ. *twā*) *sabhāpālāḥ* TB. ApŚ. to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated; here we content ourselves with examples.

§305. Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

urvī gabhīrā (TS. *gambhīrā*) *sumatiṣ ṭe astu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In this

and the next TS. replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

gabhīram (TS. *gambh°*) *imam adhvaram krdhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

samudra ivāsi gahmanā (TB. *ganh°*, but Poona ed. *gah°*) TB. ApŚ. *satyaujasā dṛihaṇā* (KS.† *dṛhaṇā*, MS. *durhṛṇā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. Both TS. and KS. understand a form of *dṛh*: *dṛñh* (cf. *adadṛhanta*: *adadṛñh°*, VV I p. 187); AV. and MS. struggle in common with another idea.

antaḥ śubhrāvata (SV. *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV. SV. Cf. §173.

samudrāya śiśumāraḥ VS. MS.: *sindhoḥ śiñsumāraḥ* (KSA.† *śiśū°*) TS. KSA. The form *śiñsu°* occurs in RV.; cf. Pali *suñsumāra*. Later *śiśu°* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to *śiśu* 'boy'. The long *ū* of KSA. may be a mere corruption in the single ms.

§306. The prefix *sam* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):

saṁvṛd asi TS.: *savṛd asi* VS. KS. PB.: *savṛtā savṛte savṛj jinvā* MS. *saṁstup chandaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *saṣṭup chandaḥ* TS.

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS. *saṁvṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS. *suṛdhvane*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

satatam tu śirābhis tu MahānU.: *saṁtatam śirābhis* (Poona ed. *śilā°*, v. 1. *śirā°*) *tu* TA.

nakṣatrāṇām sakāśān mā yaūṣam MS.: *nakṣatrāṇān mā saṁkāśaś ca pratikāśaś cāvatām* Vait. Kauś.

agne sasṛjmahe (MS. *saṁsṛ°*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. MS. KS. Here *sa-* is the reduplicating syllable.

sa (MS. *saṁ*) *duṇḍubhe saḥjūr indreṇa devaiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. The MS. hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to *saḥjūr*.

saṁ (MS. *sa*) *dāśuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam* TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Again MS. is hardly interpretable; its change is the reverse of the prec.

saṁ yajñapatir (VSK. *yajamāna*) *āśiṣā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sa yajñapatir āśiṣā* Vait. (probably to be corrected to *saṁ*; see Caland on Vait. 4. 21).

§307. Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf. also §401): *rajobhūmis tvam mām* (MahānU. *tvam ām*, so TA. Poona ed. with v. 1. *tvam mām*) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāḥ* TA. Mahān U.

tato (PB. *te*) *ha jajñe* (MŚ. 'ham yajñe') *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192; MŚ. clearly secondary.

ya im vahanta āsubhiḥ RV.: *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV.

svahpatir yadī vṛdhe SV.: *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV. AV.

yo rayivo (SV. *rayim vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. ŚG. The SV. doubtless corrupt.

tasyām no devaḥ (MS. *tasyām devaḥ*) *savitā dharmaṁ* (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŚB.† *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK.° *ṣak*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Stems *dharma*: *dharman*.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasih*) PB. JB. LŚ. Incomprehensible in either form.

sa im (TS. *i*) *mandrā* . . . (see §374) VS. TS. MS. The particle *im* becomes *i* in TS., before *m*; this might be put with §401.

sam im (SV. *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV. AV. SV.

Nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'

§308. The Rigveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV. cases always *anusvāra*) acts as 'Hiatusstilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 33. 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved; and in another case ApMB. MG. read *tanūn* for RV. *tanū*, all intending a loc. sing.:

svāyām †tanūn (RV. *tanū*) *rtviye* (RV.†°*vyē*) . . . RV. ApMB. MG.

See Winternitz, *Introd. to ApMB.*, XIX. Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*.

ā te suparṇā aminantaṁ (MS. TS. °*ta*) *evaiḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AB.

§309. Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m*, seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusstilger' between vowels; or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus:

yadīn (AV. *yady*) *ṛṇam saṁgaro devatāsu* AV. TA. Comm. On TA.

yadīn ṛṇam, *yad eva prasiddham ṛṇam*. We must apparently understand *in* for *im* (aliter *i*), the particle of emphasis; the TA. form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf. §438.

abhīm ṛtasya (SV. *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutaḥ* RV. SV. The SV., tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatusstilger.

abhī (SV. *abhīm*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV.

yenākṣā (SMB. °kṣān, PG. °kṣyāv, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyāṣiñcatam*, PG. °tām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. Nom.: acc. forms.

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS.: *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV. If TS. has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect. fac., with avoidance of hiatus. *agner jihvām abhi* (MS. *jihvābhi*, p. p. *jihvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) *ṭgrñitam* (AV. *grñata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.' MS. might intend an instrumental, but note the p.p.

§310. Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:

agnir ukthēna vāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv aṇhasu* AV. *apām rasam udvayasam* (KS. *udayaṇsam*, TA. *udayaṇsan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA.

agnim adya hotāram avṛñitāyaṁ yajamānaḥ pacan paktiḥ (VSK. *pañktīḥ*) *pacan* . . . VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Conc. under *sīsena agnim adya* etc., TB.; but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) *pañktīḥ* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt. The same blunder in Kauś. 22. 10; see Bloomfield, *GGA* 1902. 492.

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:

tam āhutaṁ naśīmahi (AV. °tam aś°) RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots *aś* and *naś*.

stasya rathagṛtsaś (MS. °kṛtsnaś, KS. °kṛtsaś) *ca* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §46.

namaḥ kṛtsnāyatāya (VS. °yatayā, KS. *kṛtsamvītāya*, TS. MS. *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhāvate* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.

na kir devā minīmasi RV.: *na ki devā inīmasi* SV. Svidh. The strange *inīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i(-noti)*. Benfey equates it with *min*° with unexplained loss of *m*. Reverse of Hiatusilger?

sam tvā talakṣuḥ (LŚ. °kṣṇuḥ) Vait. KŚ. LŚ. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LŚ. may be influenced by its viniyoga: *itī takṣṇuyuḥ* (itself somewhat anomalous).

agnaye dhūṅkṣṇā (KSA. °kṣā) TS. KSA.: *dhuṅkṣāgneyī* (VSK. vv. II. °kṣyā and °kṣvā) VS. VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the influence of the first.

annam me (ApŚ. **no*) *budhya* (ApŚ. °*dhnya*) *pāhi*, and . . . °*yājugupaḥ* MS. ApŚ. One ms. of MS. writes *buddhya* each time; perhaps *budhnya* is intended.

Cf.: *jīvām r̥ebhyaḥ* (read *mṛ°* with SPP., comm., and many mss.) *pariṇīyamānām* AV.

§312. Note finally the following curious variant:

kāyamāno (MŚ. *kāmaya māno*) *vanā tvam* RV. SV. MŚ. N. Sāyaṇa glosses by *kāmaya māno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily introduced in MŚ.

2. Presence or absence of *y*

§313. A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal *ya*. A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a*. These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics; notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as *bhakṣa*: *bhakṣya*, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent; the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases.

(a) Words equivalent in meaning; *y* follows two consonants

§314. We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, *īya*, see §784), and in which the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y*. The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by showing vriddhi of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vriddhi: *aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa* (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāhan śivena*) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB. But *maitreṇa* may be a noun, 'friendship'; *mitriyeṇa* must be an adjective.

māham pautram (KBU. *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG. *niyām*, see §724; SMB. *nigām*, and *riṣam*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.

ya antarikṣāḥ (sc. *sarpās* etc.) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā* . . . AG.

vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS. ApŚ.: *vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ. The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321.

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB. *āgnendham*) VS. TB. On the troublesome TB. form see §491.

§315. In the rest, the great majority, secondary vridhhi appears in neither form or in both:

sumnāya sumninī sumne mā dhattam TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sumnāyawah* (KS. °yavas) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS. *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS. KS.: *sumne sthaḥ sumne mā dhattam* VS. ŚB. Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'.

agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ (TA. °trebhyaḥ) RV. AV. TA. N. *svargāsi* KS.: *svargyāsi* ApŚ.

ūrdhvaṁ manaḥ svargyam (TA. *suvargam*) MS. TA.

na yajñasya manvate martyāsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. *martāsaḥ*) RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. The reading *martāsaḥ* is poor metrically.

krūram ānaṁśa (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS.† *martah*) AV. KS. ApŚ. Again *martah* is unmetrical.

marteṣv (VS. MS. KS. *martyeṣv*) *agnir amṛto ni dhāyi* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

sumitrā (VS. ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. *sumitriyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) *na* (KS. *ṇa*) *āpa oṣadhayaḥ santu* (KS.† °yo bhavantu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. Followed by:

durmitrās (VS. ŚB. MahānU. KŚ. °triyās, AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. °tryās) *tasmai santu* (KS.* TS.† TB. TA. MahānU. BDh. *bhūyāsur*) *yo . . .*, same texts.

śārgaḥ srjayāḥ (TS. KSA. *ākhuḥ srjayā*) *śayāṇḍakas* (KSA. °kās, em. v. Schr. °kas, TS. *śayaṇḍakas*) *te maitrāḥ* (KSA. °tryāḥ, em. unnecessarily to °trāḥ in ed.) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

abhi dyumnam (RV. VS. *sumnam*) *devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*, MS. p. p. °ṣṭha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. *yaviṣṭha* and °ṭhya are perfect equivalents; the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas.

tvām agne samidhānam yaviṣṭha (RV. °ṭhya) RV. TB. ApŚ. The stanza is pure jagatī in RV.; half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others.

śataṁ pūrbhir yaviṣṭhya RV.: . . . *yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasaḥ* RV. TA. See RVRep. 539.

gambhīrebhiḥ (AV. TS. HG. °raiḥ) *pathibhiḥ pūrvinebhiḥ* (MS. *pūrvēbhiḥ*, AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*, TS. HG. *pūrvyaiḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. AŚ. HG.

brhat sāma kṣatrabhr̥d vṛddhavṛṣṇyam (MS. °ṇam, so ed. with p. p.; other mss. °nim; read probably °ṇyam; TS. °vṛṣṇiyam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

tāsām viśiṣṇānām (KS. °nyānām) MS. KS.

namo nīveṣyāya (p. p. *nī°*) *ca hrdayāya ca* MS.: *namo hrdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca* VS.: *namo hradayyāya* (KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (KS. *°ṣyāya*) *ca* TS. KS. From the noun *nīveṣyā* 'whirlpool', is derived *nīveṣyā* 'of the whirlpool'. The stem *nīveṣyā* (or *nī°*; note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms. *nīveṣyāya*.

namah śighryāya (TS. *śighriyāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS. TS.: *namah śibhāya ca śighrāya ca* MS. KS.

tau te bhakṣam (LŚ. *°ṣyam*) *cakratur agra etam* VS. JB. TB. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚŚ. *tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi* TB. ApŚ.: *tayor aham anu bhakṣam* (LŚ. *°ṣyam*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS. LŚ.: *tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi* JB. ŚŚ.

jaitrāyā (ApMB. *°tryāyā*) *viśatād u* (HG. *°tām*, ApMB. *°tān*) *mām* RVKh. VS. ApMB. HG.

devāṅśo yasmai tvede . . . bhaṅgena (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

yamaṁ bhaṅgyaśravo (KS. MŚ. *bhaṅga°*) *gāya* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

yamaṁ gāya bhaṅgyaśravaḥ (KS. MŚ. *bhaṅga°*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

maṇḍūkāṁ jambhyebhiḥ (KSA. *jambhaiḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

jambhābhyāṁ taskaraṁ (p. p. *°rān*) *uta* MS.: *jambhyais* (KS. *°yebhis*) *taskarāṁ* (KS.† *°rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS.

aśvasya vāje (KS. *krande*, TB. *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV. KS. TB. *yo 'sya* (MŚ. *asya*, but Van Gelder *'sya*) *kauṣṭhya* (KS. *kauṣṭha*) *jagataḥ* KS. TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

śvetāya vaidarvāya (PG. *°vyāya*, AG. ŚG. *°dārvāya*, MG. *vaitahavyāya*) . . . AG. PG. ŚG. ApMB. HG. MG.

pāpāt svapnyād abhūtyāḥ AV.: *pāpaḥ svapnād abhūtyai* KŚ. It would be pedantry to see in *svapnya* any really different meaning from *svapna*. [*inalamam āptyam* (AV. *āptam*) *āptyānām* RV. AV. N. The AV. must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney.]

(b) Words equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant

§316. Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant; both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the vridhhi of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*:

meghyā (VS. *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

brhanto daivāḥ (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ. *divya* from *div*, *daiva* from *deva*, but meaning the same.

achinno divyas (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ. See next.

brhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ. *daivo*; this belongs to §324) *brahmāham manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *brhaspatir brahmāham mānuṣaḥ* LŚ. *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun. Cf. prec.

kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ TB. ApŚ.: *ḍṛihantām daivīr viśaḥ kalpantām ṭmanuṣyāḥ* KS.

dhiṣaṇāsi pārvatī (VS. ŚB. *par*°, TS. TB. ApŚ. *parvatyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Adjectives *pārвата* and *parvatyā* (and, if VS. ŚB. are right, *parвата*: Mahīdhara, *parvatātmikā*); all 'of the rock'. The VS. ŚB. reading is supported by the ms. readings (two occurrences) of KS., *parvatī* both times; von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice.

araṇyāya (MS. *āraṇyāya*, but p. p. *araṇyāya*) *śmarah* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§317. The rest show vridhhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *daiva* and *daivya*:

daivo (HG. °vyo) *yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

daivā hotārah saniṣan na etat AV.: *daivya hotāro* (TS. °rā) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°, KS. *ṭvaniṣan na*) *pūrve* (KS. *etat*) RV. TS. KS.

daivya (AV. °vā) *hotārā* (TS. °rāv, AV. °ra) *ūrdhvam* (MS. adds *imam*, KS. *hotārordhvam imam*) *adhvaram naḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 18. 17a (†).

daivyaṁ (MS. °vaṁ) *mānuṣā yugā* (MS. *yujā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

pauruṣeyād daivyāt KŚ.: *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV. 4. 26. 7c.

mānuṣād daivyaṁ (MŚ. °vam) *upaimi* TB ApŚ. MŚ.

saṁ daivena (VS. ŚB. both also °vyena; TA. *devena*) *savitṛā* VS. ŚB. TA.

Mahīdhara glosses both forms by *devena*.

§318. Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents:

bṛhat sūro (KS. *sūryo*) *arocata* RV. KS.

sūryāso (SV. *sūrāso*) *na darśatāsaḥ* RV. SV.

sajūḥ sūra (MS. *sūrā*, TS. *sūrya*) *etaśena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ. *sūrye*) *janayaṁ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ. *indraḥ*) TB. ŚŚ.

spardhante dhiyaḥ (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA.

§319. The rest are sporadic:

āpura stā mā prajāyā paśubhiḥ pūrayata ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata prajāyā ca dhanena ca* TS. AŚ.

agneḥ puriṣavāhanaḥ (MS. *puriṣya*°; VS.† ŠB.† °*vāhanaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. *puriṣa* and °*ṣya* are equivalent; Pāṇ. 3. 2. 65.

kāmāyai svāhā MG.: *kāmyāyai svāhā* MS. MŚ. Probably MG. corrupt.

śakalyam (AG. *śakalam*; sc. *tarpayāmi*) ŚG. AG. Both patronymics from *śakala*. Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG. reads *śāk*°, we assume that *śakalyam* is the true reading; *śa*° probably misprint.

yakṣmaṁ śronibhyāṁ (ApMB. *śronī*°) *bhāsadāt* RV. AV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śronibhyāṁ bhāsadam* AV. In RV. *bhāsada* is a noun; in the second AV. version it and *bhasadya* are both adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyaṁ*, but Whitney suggests *bhāsadam*) must be omitted as an ancient gloss.

rāyas poṣam audbhidam (ApMB. °*dyam*) RVKh. VS. HG. ApMB.

pāvamānāḥ, °*nyāḥ*, and °*nyaḥ*, various Dharma texts. All adjectives from *pavamāna*.

māyobhavyāya (ŚG. *āyo*°) *catuspadī* AG. ŚG.: *catvāri māyobhavāya* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. MG. Equivalent nouns.

adveṣe (MS. °*ṣye*) *dyāvāprthivī huvema* (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. MS. 'Having no hostility' = 'not hostile'.

[*mītrāvaruṇābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA.† Conc. wrongly quotes KSA. as *ānuṣṭubhyā*°.]

anyaṁ te asman (NṛpU. 'sman, AV. *asmat te*) *nī vapantu senāḥ* (AV. *senyam*) RV. AV. TS. NṛpU. *Senyam* must = *senā*.

(c) Words not equivalent in meaning; *y* follows two consonants

§320. In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it. In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous.

§321. As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two consonants, being then sometimes written *iy*:

mandrābhībhūtiḥ (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur yajñānām* (MŚ. *yajñīyā*) *vāg* . . . TS. MŚ.

viṣve devā mama śrṇvantu yajñīyāḥ (ArS. *yajñam*) RV. ArS. ŚŚ.

yajñam-yajñam (KS. *yajñīyā yajñam*) *prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS.† ŚŚ.† °*yadbhyaḥ*) VSK. KS. TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.: *mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ* (TA. *gur vrdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.

iyam pitryā (AB. *vai pitre*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *etv*) *agre* AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

putraḥ pitre (KŚ. *pitrye*) *lokakrj jātavedaḥ* TB. KŚ. ApŚ. 'As a son to his father': 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'.

yā (AV. omits) *antarikṣa* (KS. AG. °*kṣyā*) *uta pārthivīr yāḥ* (KS. *pārthivāsaḥ*, AV. *vā prthivyām*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. . . . *pārthivā yāḥ*.)

namaḥ kātīyāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya (MS. °*ṣṭhyāya*, p. p. °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS. KS. *jyaisṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaisṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of the noblest': 'of the highest nobilities': 'for highest nobility'.

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanaḥ (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ*; MG. *śraīṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanaḥ*) *pāram aśīya* AŚ. ApMB. MG. Read *svastyasyā*° in MG. with most mss.

arghaḥ HG.: *arghyam* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyam bhoḥ* Kauś.: *arhaṇīyā āpaḥ* ApG. *arghyam* '(water) of the argha'.

adhyakṣāyānukṣattāram TB.: †*ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

§322. A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered with *ukthas*':

uktham vācīndrāya TS. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *uktham avācīndrāya* ŚŚ.: *ukthyaṁ vācīndrāya śṛṇvate tvā* AŚ.

mantram vadaty ukthyaṁ (NṛpU. *uktham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. AA. ApŚ. NṛpU.

aṅgāni ta ukthyaḥ pātu MS. ApŚ.: *ukthas* (! read *ukthyas*?) *te †'āgāni pātva asau* AŚ.

ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhṇāmi KS.: *ukthyebhyas ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ. *uktham* (AŚ. *ukthyaṁ*) *indrāya śaṅsyaṁ* RV. SV. AŚ.

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant

§323. Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the y, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya* 'heroism':

yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā AV.: *vīrebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* MS.: *vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. śac°) VS. ŚB. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *eṣa te yajño yajñāpate sahasūktavākaḥ suvīraḥ* (AV. *suvīryaḥ*; VS. *sarva-vīras* . . .) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

anāmi kṣatram ajaram suvīryam (MS. KS. *suvīram*) RV. TS. MS. KS. *sa* (also: *sā*) *no dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ. *suvīram*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (In all texts with both *sa* and *sā*.)

puruṣṣu tvaṣṭā (MS. °ṭaḥ) *suṁryam* (VSK. TS. *suṁram*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

nirdevaṁ nirvīraṁ (KSA. °ryaṁ) *krtvā* . . . TS. KSA.

prajāṁ suṁrāṁ (PG. *suṁryāṁ*) *krtvā* TS. PG.

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *daivya*; cf. several similar cases at the beginning of §316: *divaś chadmāsi* AG.: *divyaṁ chadmāsi* . . . LŚ.

divo dhārāṁ bhindhi KS.: *bhindhīdaṁ* (MS. *bhindhy ado*) *divyaṁ nabhaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.

madhye divo (MS.* *divyo*) *nihitāḥ prśnir aśmā* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB.

ahar divābhir (MS. *vahad divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. *divābhir* is for *divā + ābhir*, but is understood by comm. on TA. as one word, = *dyotamānābhir*. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS., which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.

vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenodgātrā . . . *pañcabhir daivyaṁ* (MŚ. *devaṁ*) *rtvigbhir uddharāmi* ApŚ. MŚ.

§325. The rest require no subdivision:

ātir (TS. KSA. *āti*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

pāra (p. p. of TS. *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ* (KSA.† *'vāriyebhyaḥ*) *pakṣma-bhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra* (p. p. of TS. °re) *ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pāriye*°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *pāryāṇi pakṣmāṇy avāryā ikṣavaḥ*, and: *avāryāṇi pakṣmāṇi pāryā ikṣavaḥ* VS. MS.

pāryāya kaivartam TB.: *pārāya mārgāram* VS.: *avāryāya mārgāram* TB.: *avārāya kevartam* VS.

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathaḥ RV. SV.: *eṣa sya rūthyo vṛṣā* VS. ŚB.

sugam ca me supatham (VS. KapS. °thyaṁ) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS.

mā tvat kṣetrāṇy arañāni (MS. °ṇyāni, p. p. °ṇāni) *ganma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB.

bṛhatā tvā rathamitareṇa triṣṭubhyā (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* . . . MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathamitarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* . . . TS.

sūpasthā asi vānaspatyaḥ MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS. ApŚ.

agne tvaṁ puriṣyaḥ VS. KS. ŚB.: *agneḥ puriṣam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. And others, see Conc.

namaḥ sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya (MS. °sarāya) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. *namo lopyāya colapyāya* (MS. °pāya) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namaḥ parṇāya (TS. KS.† *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇaśādāya* (VS. °*śadāya*, TS. °*śadyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

śukras te grahaḥ (VS. ŚB. *grahyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Draught': '(juice) for the draught'.

atho varuṇyād uta RV. AV. VS.: *nir mā varuṇād uta* (ApŚ. *adhī*) LŚ. ApŚ. Inferior meter in the latter.

sa budhnyād (TS. KS. AŚ. °*nād*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS. KS. AŚ. *januṣābhy*) *agram* AV. TS. KS. AŚ. (AVPpp. agrees with the others; Barret, JAOS 37.260.)

tayā grṇantaḥ sadhamādeṣu AV.: *tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. °*mādeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB.: *tasthur grṇantaḥ sadhamādyāsaḥ* RV. AV. (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh., but his ms. °*mādyeṣu*.) In MS. KS. TB. *sadhamādya* means the same as °*māda* 'feast'; but in RV. AV. 'participant in a *sadhamāda*'.
nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŚ. ApŚ.: *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV. VS.

agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB. ApŚ.

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

añhasaspataye tvā VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *añhaspatyāya tvā* TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.

§326. We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:

ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (TS. *rājasūyāya*, MS. KS. °*sūyās*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rājasūya*, adjective in MS. KS., is equivalent to *rājasū*; the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel. In TS. it appears as a noun. Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -i-.

svāhā rājasūyāḥ (VS. ŚB. °*svaḥ*, TS. °*sūyāya citānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. Cf. prec.

mahādevam antaḥpārśvena (VS.† °*parśavyena*) VS. TS. TA. Formally, the VS. form is based on *parśu* 'rib'. Mahidhara: *antar . . . pārśvāsthisaṁbandhinā māṁsena*. The form *antaḥpārśvya* occurs in the next formula.

āganma mitrāvaruṇā vareṇyā (KS. °*yam*; MS. *vareṇa*) TS. MS. KS. Here the adjective *vareṇya-* is corrupted in MS. to *vareṇa*, instr. sing. of *vara-*.

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*:

upastutyam mahi jātam (MS. °*tyam janima tat*; TS.* *upastutam janima tat*) *te tarvan* RV. VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. Vait. Gerundive varies with past pple.

uta prahām atidīvyā jayāti (AV. °*dīvā jayati*) RV. AV. The RV. has a gerund form; the AV. a nom. sg. of stem -*dīvan*.

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning):

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB. *martave*) RV. PB.

§328. A few variants concern noun inflexion. Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem. forms in *y-aḥ* varying with masc. or neut. forms without *y*):

āpo me hotrāśaṁsinah (AG. °*sinyah*) ŚB. ApŚ. AG. 'The waters are my Hotrāśaṁsins'; the priest-name is once made fem. to agree with *āpah*.

varṣās cākṣuṣyah VS. ŚB.: *varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi* TS. MS. KS. Here the noun itself changes gender.

Or different case-forms vary:

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV. MS.† *sūrih*, KS.† *sūrah*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā*. The latter may be nom. in RV. (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10. 13. 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental.

imām narāḥ (MŚ. ApŚ.* *narah*) *kr̥nuta vedim etya* (MŚ. *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss. but one; ApŚ.† 2. 2. 6a *eta*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya*. The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d-*) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.

vān ma āsan (MŚ. PG. *āsyē*) AV. TS. GB. TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. PG. BDh. Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsya*. Interest attaches to the form *āsyān*, which is read by Gaastra in GB. with all his mss., and which is also the reading of most mss. of AV. and Kauś., so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts. (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss. of Vait.; possibly this is an editorial oversight.) The form *āsyan* is evidently a blend of the other two forms.

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur. Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first); the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p. 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

tapate svāhā TS. KSA. TA.: *tapyate svāhā* VS.

tapatyai (TA. Poona ed. *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA. TA.: *tapyatvai* (v. l. *°tyai*) *svāhā* TS. The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapyā-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres. pple.) is based on stem *tapa-*.

§330. So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp. 49 ff., where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound:

yenākṣā (ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*, SMB. *yenākṣān*, PG. *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *°ṣiñcatam*; PG. *°ṣiñcalām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms:

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 78.

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *ṣ*, etc.

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *kṣ*. Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character; connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants. The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp. 28-9):

vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA. *°yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. *°yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Aorist in MS., future in TA.; in ŚŚ. a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*.

(*net tvā . . .*) *dadhr̥g* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (TA. *°tai*, AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Many mss. of AV. *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended.

śardhānsy agne ajarāṇi (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 29.

bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ (KS. *bhakṣa*°) VS. KS. So the single ms. of KS.; ed. emends to *bhakṣya*°. If the ms. reading were kept we should have to assume a pple. middle in form but passive in meaning. *mekṣyāmy ūrdhvas tiṣṭham* AV., so emended by RWh.; all mss. *mekṣāmy. yenākṣā* (°*kṣyāv*, etc.)... (see §330). In PG. *akṣyāv* is taken to be from *akṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption.

§333. In one verb form the *y* appears after *ts*; it may be regarded as belonging with the *kṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff.:

tenārātsyam (GG. ŚŚ. MŚ. °*sam*; so also p. p. of MS.; most mss. of MŚ. °*syam* with MS. text) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. The proper form is *arātsam*, aorist; the conditional does not fit. See VV I p. 29.

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category:

ratho na vājam saniṣyann (SV. °*ṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. Clearly a phonetic slip in SV., making a sort of aorist pple.; Benfey, tho he interprets the form as aor., translates a future.

ā vrṣcyantām (AV. *vrṣcantām*) *aditaye durevāḥ* RV. AV. The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder; cf. VV I pp. 29, 51 f.

§335. Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *kṣ*:

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK. °*ṣyāgneyī* or °*svāg*°) VS. VSK. MS.: *agnaye dhūñkṣā* (TS. °*ṣṇā*) TS. KSA. See §255.

tarakṣuḥ (KSA. †°*kṣaḥ*) *kṣṇaḥ svā caturakṣo* (KSA. °*kṣyā*) *gardabhas ta itarajanānām* TS. KSA. The ed. emends to *caturakṣo*, which seems necessary.

akṣyos (mss. *akṣos*) *tanvo rapaḥ* AV.

Cf. further such mss. readings as *vibhuñkṣamāṇa* for *vibhuñkṣya*° at Kauś. 23. 9, 38. 26.

§336. The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants. Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p. 268). The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*; indeed the mss. also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

prasthitā vo madhuścutaḥ (VSK. MS. °*ścyutaḥ*) VS. VSK. MS. TB. So the editions. But Poona ed. of TB. records a v. l. °*ścyutaḥ*; and per contra, all saṁhitā mss. of MS. read °*cyutaḥ* or °*ścutaḥ*.

srucā devaṁ ghrtaścutā (KS. and v. l. of MS. °*ścyutā*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

ghṛtaścuto madhuścutaḥ TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtaścyuto madhuścyutaḥ* VS. MS. So v. l. and p. p. of MS. in the other passage. Moreover KS. has v. l. *ghṛtacyuto*, and for *madhu*° its two mss. read °*ścyutaḥ* and °*cyutaḥ*.

dyauryaścyutaḥ agnāv eva tat ApŚ: *prthivyām avacuścotaitad* TB. ApŚ.: *yata ścutad dhutam agnāu tad astu* KŚ.: *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat* MŚ. (but the latter is a dubious emendation; better, *yatra ścutad*): *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ. See on this variant VV I p. 139.

§337. Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals:

viṣṇoḥ śnaptre (TS. *śnyaptre*, MS. *śipre*) *sthaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately ñ; this is indicated by the TS. variant (v. l. and p. p., however, *śnaptre*); so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, *IIO* 18. xxxvii).

apāśnuṣṇim apā rakṣaḥ (and, *apā ragham*) TA.: *apāśnyuṣṇim* etc. TA. So, correctly, Poona ed. *Aśn(y)uṣṇi* is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni. The comm. explains only the form with *y*, monstrosly: *aśnīnām bhoktṛṇām uṣṇir dāhako yo 'gniḥ*. Cf. prec. *mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyam me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. *dīvo jyote* (KS.*°*tir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

mṛśase (SV. *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV. SV.

śyāmā sarūpamkaraṇī AV. 1. 24. 4a. Here the Berlin ed. reads *sāmā* with nearly all mss., but against comm., Ppp., and the evident sense, which demands *śyāmā*; see Whitney's note.

Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338. To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant. That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel. Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In either case the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y* presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatusstilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31. The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:

agne akṣīṇi (HG. *agneyakṣīṇi*) *nir daha svāhā* ApMB. HG. As Kirste observes, HG. must intend *agne ak°*, so that *y* is a simon-pure 'Hiatusstilger' and nothing else. See also *anāmayaidhi* etc., §344.

§339. The cases of initial *y* are:

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. *°nītir*, KS. *°dhītam* and † *°nītha*, MS. *°dhīta*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *agne* is probably original; it is preceded by *r* or *m* in AV. KS., by *e* in MS.; the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial *y*.

añjanti suprayasaṁ (AVPpp. *yuñjanti suprajasaṁ*) *pañca janāḥ* RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

pītevoidhi sūnava ā (MS. *sūnave yaḥ*) *suśevaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *devebhir aktam* (VS. TS. *yuktam*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

kāṣṭhā ajmeṣv (SV. *yajñeṣv*) *atnata* RV. SV. A lect. fac. in SV.

viśvakarmā vīmanā ād vihāyāḥ (KS. *°nā yo vyomā*; MS. *vīname yo vihāyāḥ*; TS. *manasā yad vihāyāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N.

ameṣṭam asi svāhā VS. ŚB.: *yameṣṭam asi* (with or without *svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. TB. 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama).' Preceded by *asi* in all. The preceding vowel *i* makes insertion or omission of *y* particularly easy.

āśuṁ jayantam anu yāsu vardhase RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *yā saṁjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS. The latter is doubtless secondary. Preceded by *girā*. KapŚ. *āśraṁ*, doubtless intending *āśuṁ*.

§340. In some instances case-forms of the relative stem *ya* exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem *a*. This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial *y*:

triṇśad yasyā (TB. *asyā*) *jaghanam yojanāni* MS. KS. TB.

asya (SV. *yasya*) *te sakhye vayam* RV. SV.

ghorā ṛṣayo namo astv ebhyaḥ (MŚ. *astv adya yebhyaḥ*) AV. TS. MŚ.

cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam AV.: *cakṣur yeṣāṁ* (v. l. *hy eṣāṁ*)

tapa uccabhīmam MŚ.: *cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaś ca saṁdhau* TS.

yasyāṁ (v. l. *asyāṁ*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ. Others with *tasyāṁ*, see §281.

§341. And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems:

mitro no atra varuṇo yujyamānaḥ AV.: *mitro yatra varuṇo ajyamānaḥ* RV.

Double case; the *y* of *yatra* seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV.

yaded (KS. *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛhṇ°*) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS.

MS. KS. This *pāda* precedes or (in KS.) follows the next; the

words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS. owing to the transposition of the two *pādas*.

ād (KS. *yad*) *id dyāvāprthivī aprathetām*, same texts. See prec.

athā (TB.* *yathā*; AV. MS. TB.* *yatra*) *devaiḥ sadhamādān madema* (AV. *madanti*, comm. *madema*) AV. MS. KS. TB. (all three) ApŚ.

Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB.

yathā (RV. *atho*, VS. ŚB. *athā*) *na* (RV. *ta*) *indrah kevaliḥ* (VS. TS. ŚB. *indra id viśaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

yathainam jarase nayāt AV.: *athainam jarimā ṇayet* HG.

Cf. also: *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc., §363, and *yasyām idam viśvam* (*viśvam hy asyām*) etc., §386.

§342. Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary.

sudevam indre āsvinā (MS. *indrāyāśv°*) VS. MS. TB. As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative; both depend on *dadhuḥ* in the context.

sahasrākṣo (VSK. TS. KS. °*kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS. KS. *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'For (at) the sacrifice'; the latter probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 10. 1 translates 'for'; his text seems to require 'at'.

graha viśvajaniṇa niyantar viprāyāma te (MS. p. p. *viprāya*, male; KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī*) MS. KS. As in prec., a loc. with *ā* varies with a dat.

yo gopā api (TB. *gopāyati*) *taṁ huve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

ta ā vahanti (MS. *tayāvahante*; KS. *tad āharanti*) *kavayaḥ purastāt* TS. MS. KS. TB. See Keith on TS. 1. 1. 2. 1. The original reading probably in TS.; Keith thinks that MS. may intend the same, with *tay* for *te*, altho its Brāhmaṇa explains *tayā* as referring to the *dhiṣṇā*.

datto asmbhyan (KS. *dattvāyāsma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāsma°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB. *dattāsma°*) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS. See §367.

mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavalāṁ (KS. °*te*) *kāme asmiṇ* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

§343. In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily:

pāvakayā yaś (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 453.

pāhi gāyāndhaso (SV. *gā andh°*) *made* RV. SV. The RV. has a regular 2d sing. impv. pres. from *gai*; the SV. an aor. inj., *gās*. Add to VV I §158.

pīveva putraṁ jarase nayemam (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The MS. p. p. reads *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts.

§344. Consider also the following peculiar case:

amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *anāmāyaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś. The mss. of Kauś. read *anāmāyedhi*; the emended °*yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(h)* *edhi*: 'be free from disease'. But the Kauś. reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ. ŚG., with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* as in §338. See Bloomfield's Introduction, p. lviii; and cf. §78.

§345. We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya*. The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts: *yad dha syā* (AV. *sā*) *te pañīyasī* RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS.

mayi tyad (MS. *tad*) *indriyaṁ bṛhat* (KS. TB. TA. *mahat*, MS. *vīryam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Pratīka in MŚ.: *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss. mostly *tād*).

yathā ha tyad (TS. ApŚ. HG. *tad*) *vasavo gauryaṁ cit* TS. MŚ. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. HG. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

ā nu tac (SV. *tyac*) *chardho divyaṁ vṛṇīmahe* RV. SV.

prati te (AV. *tye*) *te ajarāsaṁ tapīṣṭhāḥ* RV. AV.

ud it te vasuvittamāḥ ApŚ.: *ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few:

peśasvatī tantunā saṁvayantī (KS. TB. °*vyayantī*) MS. KS. TB. Roots *vā* and *vyā*.

endram vagnunā vahata PB.: *vagnunendram hwayata* TB. ApŚ. (with metathesis of *h*).

§347. We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi ŚŚ.: *suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss. which agree precisely with ŚŚ. but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *ṣudasi*. *vidad gavyam saramā dṛdham ūrvam* (TB. *ūrvyam*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm., without v. l. *satāsati* (comm. *satyasati*) *prajāpatiḥ* TB. But Poona ed. comm. *satāsati*.

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. The corruption may be graphic in nature. *prayapsyann iva sakthyau* (TB. text *sakthau*) TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. text and comm. *sakthyau*, the only possible reading.

oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām (TA. °*kośābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. Poona ed. of TA. °*kośyā*°.

ayoddheva (TB. °*dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV. TB. Tho Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm. has the same, but explains it as tho *ayoddhā-iva*.

3. Presence or absence of *r*

§348. Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause. The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*.

§349. We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words: *śūro nṛṣātā śavasā* (SV. MS. *śra*°) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca* †*kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

grṇānāḥ śravase (SV. *śa*°) *mahe* RV. SV.

satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutaṁ śavānsi (SV. *śravānsi bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. TB.

ā yo viśvāni śavasā (SV. *śra*°) *tatāna* RV. AV. SV.

śraviṣṭhāḥ stha MS. KS.: *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāḥ* VS. ŚB.

§350. The roots *dhā* and *dhr* and the like, in virtual synonyms:

sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe (SV. *dadhiṣe*) RV. SV.

vṛṣā dharmāni dadhiṣe (SV. *dadhiṣe*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā (MS. *vidhartā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramola samḍṛk* (KS. *paramo na samṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

daivyaā dhartre joṣṭre (MS. *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devayor dharme (MS. °mā, AV. *dhāmann*) *asthiran* AV. TS. MS. KS.

kṣayasyāsi vidhataḥ (SV. *vidhartā*) RV. SV. Here *vidhataḥ* from root *vidh*.

§351. Roots *pū* and *pr*:

atirātram vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ (KS. *vavṣvān pūta rāvat*, TS. *varṣan pūrtir āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

apālām indra (MG. *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB. MG. *triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, MG. *pūrtī a°*, ApMB. *pūrtvy a°*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

§352. Roots *prī* and *pā*:

śvātrāḥ pītā (ViDh. *snātāḥ prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpaḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh. *pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān* (AV. °*tu payasvān*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

Comm. on AV. *prayasvān*.

§353. Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words; in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatusstilger':

ahim budhnyam (TS. °*niyam*) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (TS. *saṃcarantīḥ*, MS. KS. *anv īyamānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms; note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary; a sort of 'Hiatusstilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli.

antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānaḥ (GB. *hrīyamānaḥ*, so Gaastra without the v. l. *hīyamānaḥ* recorded in Bibl. Ind. ed.) RV. GB The AVPpp. 1. 107. 4 (Barret, *JAOS* 26.290) has the RV. reading; GB. perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary. Note the final *r* of the preceding word.

vanasade (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

mā tvam hārṣiḥ śrutam mayi PG.: *śrutam me mā pra hāsīḥ* RVKh. 'Take away': 'abandon'.

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jartrbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *āṛdaḥ* (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. Comm. on TA. tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jr*).

vikirida (KS. °*da*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §168.

ya rte (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rte*, PB.† *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.: *jari cetid abhiśiṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt, see §193).

jāgrtsyas (mss., v. l. *yā gr°*) *tripañcāśiḥ* AV.: *yā(h) kṛcchrās tri°* AVPpp. See §§185, 192.

śunam ma iṣṭam śunam śāntam (p.p. *śrāntam*) . . . MS.: *svam ma* (AB. *ma idam*) *iṣṭam* . . . *svam śrāntam* (TB. text *śrāntam*, Poona ed. *śrāntam*) . . . AB. TB. ApŚ.: *svam ma iṣṭam astu śunam śāntam* . . . KS.

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm (KS. *brhaspatīm*) . . . *śronitah* (KS. *śonitah*; Conc. suggests reading *śro°*) . . . VS. KS.

prthivi bhūvari (KS. *viḥvū°*) *sinīvāly urandhra* (KS. *uramḍha*) *ācille* . . .

KS ApŚ. An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350.

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śīrtatano pāhi vidyot KS.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītataṇo pāhi mādyā divah* . . . TS. TB. ApŚ.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītama pāhi mā didyoh* VS. ŚB. In KS., apparently the original, 'having uninjured body'; TS., 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect. fac. VS. has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable; comm. either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR. and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory.

vi jihīṣva lokam kṛṇu AV.: *vi jihīṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA. The AV. is original: 'go apart (root *hā*), make room.' TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from *hr* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jihīṣvasva*. *anādhrīṣṭam sahasyam* (TS. KS. *sahasriyam*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original: 'powerful and mighty', lect. fac.

yo agniḥ kravyavāhanah (VS. KS. *kavya°*) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. Euphemistic change of *kravya°* to *kavya°*.

yata āltas (AŚ. *ārttas*) *tad agan punah* TS. AŚ. 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned.' AŚ. mere blunder or misprint.

prati vastor aha (AV.* *ahar*) *dyubhiḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. ArS. VS. KS. ŚB.: *praty asya vaha dyubhiḥ* TS. The comm. on AV. has *aha*; *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhiḥ*.

apām tvā sadhiṣi (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *sadhiṣ-i*, 'in the seat'; *sadhriṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS. 4. 3. 1. 1) perhaps with thought of RV. *sadhri*.

anābho mṛḍa dhūrta (MS. °*te*, v. l. °*ta*) MS. MŚ.: *anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. See §749.

śam no bhava hṛḍa ā pīta indo RV. GB. AŚ. Vait. MŚ. According to Gaastra, all his mss. read *indro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text.

ā na indra (and, *indo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV. (both)

vyṛddhyā apagalbham (TB. *apra°*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *apa°*) VS. TB. Probably mere misprint.

potrāgnīdhro (read with Gaastra *potā°*) *nihilam pādām ekam* GB.

§354. The following involve different word-divisions:

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim patireto grbhāya* (ApMB. HG. *prati reto grhāṇa*) ŚG. HG. ApMB.

āyuhpati rathamtaram (MŚ. *āyuh pratirath°*) *tad aśīya* etc. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter corrupt.

yena bhūyaś (PG. *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, corrupt; PG. *carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

tan mā jinva (KS. *mārjitvā*) TS. MS. KS. 'Quicken me': 'cleansing it'. *sa vaḥ sarvāḥ sam carati prajānan* AV.: *sarvaḥ sarvā* (p.p. *saḥ, sarvāḥ*) *vi caratu prajānan* MS. The latter carelessly assimilates to the following *sarvāḥ*.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

agnir hotreṇedam (ŚŚ. *hotreṇa*) *havir ajuṣata* MS. ŚŚ.: *agnihotreṇedam havir* . . . TB. AŚ. But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed. of TB.

ud vaṇsam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

§355. In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically:

ūrdhvacitaḥ (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. See §195.

svām tanvaṁ (*tanuvaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *aśisret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. See §287.

pred u harivaḥ śrutasya (SV. *sutasya*) RV. SV. TS. See §278.

triśug (AŚ. *triśrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. See §145.

śivā rutasya (TS. and v. l. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

apūtapā ādhūyamānaḥ TS.: *viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyāmānaḥ* VS. 'Drink¹ of unpurified (soma)': 'protecting when propitiated (?)'.

rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. See §228.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. PB. ApMB. See §60.

anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ (SV. *kayādaḥ*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādaḥ* AV. Benfey explains the SV. form as from *kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating'. This would imply metric shortening of *ā* to *a*. There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyavāhana: kavya°*, §353.

ā sutrāvṇe (MS. KS. *bhūyīṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvrñānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatim grñānāḥ* TS. It is likely that the original form was *āsutrāvṇe*, cf. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3. The TS. form, tho impeccable, is secondary.

§356. Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion: *ghṛtaṁ duhata* (RV.* *duhrata*) *āśiram* RV. (both) SV. See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and VV I p. 169.

te dakṣiṇām duhate (AV. *te duhrate dakṣiṇām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See VV I, l. c.

utainam (NīlarU. *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśran* (TS. NīlarU. *adṛśan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. See VV I p. 170. Followed by:

adṛśrann (TS.† *adṛśann*) *udahāryaḥ* VS. TS. See *ibid.*

apa snehitṛ (SV. *snīhitīm*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmṇām athadrām* TA. See §110, and VV I p. 170.

sarasvatyā (AV. °*yām*) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; SMB. *vanāva*, but Jørgensen *manāv*; AV. *maṇāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS. and SMB. Jörg. *acak*°; SMB. Conc. *carkṛdhi*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. The KS. also has v.l. *acark*°, which perhaps should be read thruout. Jørgensen assumes dissimilation; see VV I p. 149.

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rire*, VV I p. 170, and: *ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe* (TA. °*kṣire*) *ghṛtaṁ asya yoniḥ* RV. VS. TA., *ibid.* p. 214.

§357. Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns. These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion. It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group. In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected; cf. the similar cases with *y*, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below:

bhūri śastam (SV. *śastram*) *prthuh svaruh* RV. SV. VS. Synonyms; but here the form without *r* is older.

atividdhā vilhurenā cid astrā (MS. *astāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption.

na kir devā minimasi RV.: *na ki devā inimasi* SV. Anomalous reduction of *na-kis* to *na-ki*.

sūro rathasya naptiyah (ArS. *naptryah*, TB. *naptriyah*) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB. Feminine stems *naptī* and *naptrī*, the latter influenced by *naptar*.

tvaṣṭīmatī (TA. Conc. *tvaṣṭrī*°, which is a v. l. in Poona ed., its text *tvaṣṭī*°) *te sapeya* TS. ApŚ. TA.: *tvaṣṭrmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭrī*°, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The MS. MŚ. ApŚ. forms are Prakritic in vocalism. In the Tait. school form, which concerns us here, the stem *tvaṣṭr* is, as it were, feminized. Add to VV I §345.

praty etā vāmā . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar (ŚŚ. °*vakta*, v. l. °*vaktar*) *uta . . .* KB. ŚŚ.: *praty etā sunvan . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar uta . . .* AŚ. The form can only be construed as nom.; °*vakta*, if it is intended, must stand for °*vaktā* with partial sandhi (*ā* shortened, §991). But it looks as if all texts intended °*vaktar*. Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ., p. 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*; but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error. Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatustilger, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is °*vaktar* used as nom.? Cf. the nom. neut. (?) forms in *-tari*, Wackernagel III p. 205 supra.

viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyaḥ* VS. TS. See §783.

vaptā (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. °*ti*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *vaptrā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals.

ā mā stulasya stutaṁ gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt* PB. Synonyms.

matyai śrutāya (mahe śrotrāya) cakṣase AV. (both)

gharmanī pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā*, MS. °*trā*) *vāḥ* (MS. *veḥ*, TA. *vaḥ*) VS. MS. TA. ŚB. *yajata* (°*tā*) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'.

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG. *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG. See §818.

agner agneyāny (KS. *agniyāny*) *asi* (one ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*) MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS. and probably of MS., is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending. 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case. KS. has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.

bṛhaspatisutasya (TS. MS. add *ta*, VS. VSK. ŚB. add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS. *indo*, VS. ŚB. *indor*) *indriyāvataḥ . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Gen.: voc.

sa viśvācīr (KS. °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīḥ* (KS. °*cī*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The KS. changes an accus. plur., with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasī* in the preceding pāda. *devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS. AŚ.Vait. Cf. prec., and §732.

asmadrātā madhumatīr (KS. °tī) . . . MS. KS. ŚŚ. and others; §800. *gaurīr* (°rī) *mimāya* . . . , see §545.

4. Presence or absence of *v*

§358. Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel I §232c). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel. Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338–44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history.

v initial before a vowel

§359. Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *rṣabha* and *vṛṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal.

vṛṣabheṇa (TS. *rṣ*°) *tvaṣṭā* TS. KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS., in a consonant in TS. We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS. begins with *v*-.

vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām AV.: *pitā virājām rṣabho rayīṇām* TB. Observe that *rṣ*- is preceded by a final *-m*, *vṛṣ*- by a final vowel. It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236).

vṛṣabheṇa (TS. *rṣ*°) *gāh* (KS. *gāvah*) TS. KS. KSA. The single ms. of KSA. has corruptly *aśvā-vṛṣa*°, which Von Schroeder emends to *aśvān vṛ*°, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS. reading (*aśvān rṣ*°) should be adopted.

vṛṣabham (VS.* *rṣ*°) *naryāpasam* RV. AV. SV. VS. (both) MS. TB.

Here preceded by a consonant.

rṣabhāya (MS. *vṛṣ*°) *gavayī* (TS. KSA. *rājñe gavayah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

A consonant precedes.

rṣabho (KS. *vṛ*°) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A consonant

vr̥ṣabho 'si *svargaḥ* AV.: *r̥ṣabho* 'si *svargo lokaḥ* TB. Initial in verse. *kakubham* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °*ham*) *rūpam vr̥ṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam r̥ṣ°*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *astabhnād dyām vr̥ṣabho* (TS. MS. *dyām r̥ṣ°*) *antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ.

bṛhad r̥ṣabham (TB. *vr̥°*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *r̥°*) *gām vayo dadhat* VS. TB.

śākvarā (LŚ. *ye śāk°*) *r̥ṣabhā* (AV. *vr̥ṣ°*) *ye svarājāḥ* AV. LŚ. Note the vowel preceding.

rathe akṣeṣv r̥ṣabhasya (KS. TB. °*ṣu vr̥°*; so AV. comm., and so Ppp. intends, Barret, *JAOS* 30. 204) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vr̥ṣabharājāḥ* ViDh.

§360. There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process:

te ar̥ṣantu te var̥ṣantu . . . LŚ.: *te var̥ṣanti te var̥ṣayanti* AV. Roots *ar̥ṣ* 'rush' and *var̥ṣ* 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation to the following *var̥ṣ-* in AV.

r̥jīte (KS. *vr̥j°*) *pari vr̥ṇdhi naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Initial in the verse: Von Schroeder says on KSA., 'wohl fehlerhalt für *r̥jīte*'. Perhaps assimilated to the following *vr̥ṇdhi*.

śalmalir vr̥ddhyā (KSA. *r̥ddhyā*) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. Synonyms.

agne vājajid vājam tvā . . . VS. ŚB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.: *ājim tvāgne* . . . MŚ.

Synonyms since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before *vāja°*. *vareṇyakraṭūr* (AV. °*tur*, ApŚ. *īdenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vīreṇyaḥ kraṭur indraḥ suśastih* RV.

hṛtsu kratum varuṇo (MS. °*ṇam*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agn̥tm* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.† For the RV. original is substituted *vikṣv* after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatusstilger' *v* and other phonetic changes (cf. especially §153a). On MS. see §869 (a further, graphic change).

tad āyuh (ApŚ. *vāyuh*) MS. KS. ApŚ. 'That is life (wind, breath)'. *asum* (AV. TS. *vasum*) *gharman divam* (VS. *sva*) *ā tiṣṭhatānu* (AV. *rohatānu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *asu* 'life': *vasu* 'weal' (with ungrammatical *m*); preceded by vowel; *asu* is original, as shown by RV. 10. 14. 12, 15. 1 (cf. 10. 15. 9, 10).

devā gātuvīdo gātum vīttvā (VSK. *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Cf. *gātum vīttvā gātum ihi* MS. ApŚ.; *devā gātuvīdo* (MŚ. adds *gātum vīttvā*) *gātum yajñāya vindata* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK. assimilates to the following *ita*.

tve iṣaḥ (KS. *viṣve*, MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasah* (TS.† *bhūri-retasah*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On MS. see §694. KS. clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels.

dhiṣaṇe vīdū (VS. VSK. *vīdvī*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *īdīte*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vīdayethām* (MS. MŚ. *īdethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §169.

tigmam anīkam viditam sahasvat AV.: *tigmam āyudham vīditam* (KS. °*dham īditam*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. 'Implored' of KS. is secondary to 'strong'; AV. is still farther afield, see §169.

yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt (KS. *anu*°) RV. KS. ApŚ. 'Who . . . fights against us.' KS. seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us'. Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'. KapŚ. *vanuṣyā*.

namo vīdhryāya (MS. *vīdhriyāya*, p.p. *vīdhryāya*; TS. *nama īdhriyāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both forms are obscure; TS. probably secondary. See Keith's note.

īśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase (SV. *īyase*) RV. SV. Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV.; reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' with a vengeance!

mahīva dyaur adha (AV. *vadha*) *tmanā* RV. AV. *vadhatmānā* (sic) not divided in p.p., and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption; he translates the RV. Still, the AV. may be rendered: 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'.

ahar (MS. *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. *ahar*, adverb. 'by day'. One ms. of MS. with p.p. *vahad* (*ḍ* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatusstilger'.

viśām vavarjuṣṇām (AV. *viśām avar*°) RV. AV. The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhis*)', Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35. 275. The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vrj* = *pari-vrj* as in Classical Skt.). Cf. Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect pple. form shows the badness of the AV.

mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV.: *miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV. Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'.

abhūr āpinām (HG. °*nām*; AV. mss. *v āpī*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB. Others, §46.

ramayata (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretam vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

mā tvā ke cin nī (AV. *cid †vi*) *yemur vim* (SV. *cin nī yemur in*, TA. *cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TA. *vim*, acc. of *vi*, secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (*id*).

vīdvīr yāmann avarḍhayan VS.: *viḍvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB. (Conc.).

But Poona ed. of TB. has correctly *yāmann avar*°.

§361. In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v* (after a vowel; 'Hiatusstilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*: *pro ārata* (TB. °*vārata*) *maruto durmadā iva* RV. TB. 'Rush along, Maruts, like madmen.' Comm. on TB. *avārata dhāvata*.

uruṣya rāya eṣo (VSK. *rāyo* 'veṣo, i.e. *ava, iṣo*; TS. MS. KS. *rāyaḥ sam iṣo*) *yajasva* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *ava-yaj* 'remove by sacrifice' with object *iṣo*, is peculiarly inept.

§362. A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word:

agninendreṇa somena . . . upa te huve savāham (KSA. *huve* 'sā *aham*) TS. KSA. 'I summon for thee, O offering': 'I, so and so (*asau* 'N.N.'), summon for thee'. If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA. is original, the TS. reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatusstilger', yielding a different lexical result. The same with *brāhmaṇān ṛtviḥ devān . . . , iṣṭena pakvam . . . , devān sendrān . . .*

añkāṇkam (MS. *añkāṇv-añkam*, so divided in p.p.; KS. *añkañkam*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nothing is known of the original form or meaning of this word (said by comms. to mean 'water'); note the curious KS. variant, with short *a*. It may be that MŚ. has a kind of 'Hiatusstilger' with its *v*.

v initial before a consonant

§363. So far initial *v* before a vowel. In a few cases the same *v* appears or disappears before an initial consonant:

reśinām (VS. ŚB. *vre*°) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *reśīṣu* (sc. *te śukra śukram ādhunomi*) TS. An epithet of water, of unknown etymology and meaning; *v*-presumably unoriginal.

agne yajasva (AV. *vyacasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV. AV. MS. See §57.

apāvṛṇod duro āsmavrajānām (MS. *asmad-rathānām*, p.p. *asmin*, *ra*°) RV. MS. TA. The MS. is hardly interpretable.

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto grhāṇa* (ŚG. *patireto grbhāya*)
 ŚG. ApMB. HG. Cf. §354. *vy asya* 'open' must be intended;
yasya makes no sense.

v not initial

§364. Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741:

satavasemaṁ (KS. *sva°*) *yajñam divi deveṣu dhattām* MS. KS. TB.

sūro na svayugvabhiḥ (SV. *sayu°*) RV. SV.

viśvā dveṣāṁsi tarati svayugvabhiḥ (SV. *sayu°*) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after cesura).

indra svayugbhir matsveha (ApŚ. *sayugbhir didyun na matsvā madāya*)
mahe raṇāya AV. ApŚ.

yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsīda . . . sakṣaya (MŚ. *svakṣaya*) *ehi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§365. There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *kā* (both from the interrogative stem):

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam*
it SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Followed by:

tam in mahe vṛṇate nānyam tvat RV.: *tvām maho vṛṇate* (TB. ApŚ.
vṛṇate naro) *nānyam tvat*, same texts.

tam (TA. *tvam*) *u nir vāpayā punaḥ* RV. TA.

tvām (MS. *tām*) *śaśvanta* (MS. °*tā*) *upa yanti vājāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS.
 KS.

paramām taṁ (TB. ApŚ. *tvā*) *parāvatam* AV. TB. ApŚ.

etat tvātra pratimanvāno (AŚ. °*vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ. †*asmin*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ.

Vait.: *etat tān pratimanvāno asmin* LŚ.

yā tān rātrīm upāmahe PG.: *yām tvā rātry upāmahe* (TS. *upāsate*,
 SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. SMB.: *ye tvā rātry* (MG. *rātrīm*)
upāsate KS. MG.

tvām gopāya MG.: *taṁ gopāya* etc., see Conc.

prajāyai mṛtyave tvat (TA. *tat*) RV. TA. Here the stem *tva-* is not the 2d personal pronoun.

tayānantaṁ (MŚ. *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ. *lokam*) *aham jayāni* (MŚ. °*mi*) AŚ.† ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

tayā (ApMB. *tvayā*) *prattaṁ svadhayā madantu* (ApMB. °*ti*, v. 1. °*tu*) ApMB. HG.

tayāham (MS. *tvayā*°) *śāntyā . . . śāntiṁ karomi* MS. TA.: *tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ . . . śamayāmy aham* AV.

tvayā (TAA. 10. 1. 9 *tayā*) *hatena pāpena* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

yajuryuktaṁ sāmabhir āktakhaṁ tvā (MS. *ṛktakhaṁ tā*) MS. TA. The words are bad enough in either case. MS. p.p. *ṛkta-khām*, *tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic; *ṛktakhaṁ* is not in any lexicon. But *āktakhaṁ* is little better. TA comm.: *āktāny āpyāyitāni khānīndriyāny awayavā yasya pravargyasya so 'yam āktakhas tādrśam; sāmagānena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati.* (!)—Boehtlingk, p.w. 2. 293, 'dessen Büchse geschmiert ist'.

puras tvā (ŚŚ. *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun. The sense requires object *tvā*. Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.) in the secondary ŚŚ.

yat tvemahe (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. All mss. and comm. of SMB. agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading. Comm., unbelievably: *te tvān* (!) *yat phalaṁ mahe* (!) *tan no 'smabhyam juṣasva prayachety arthaḥ.*

kva (SV. *kā*) *pratnā va āhutiḥ* RV. SV.

§366. Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *v*. Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf. VV I p. 121:

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇa*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (In MS. *raṇe* is a noun.)

āpas tvā sam ariṇan (MS. *ariṇvan*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *āpaḥ sam ariṇan* TS. KS.

manai (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See VV I pp. 76, 121.

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated:

jananta (SV. *jīnvanta*) *uṣaso bhagam* RV. SV.

§367. Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*; but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption:

asya pītā (SV. *pītvā*) *svarvidah* RV. SV. Lect. fac. in SV. for *pītā*, loc. sing. of *pīti*, 'in the drinking of it'.

yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī (ApMB. *kṛtī*) RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form (v. l. *kṛtvī*) may be interpreted as nom. sg. of *kṛtin*, but is doubtless corrupt. It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.); the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛ(v)y-a-*.

datto asmabhyam (KS. *dattvāyāśma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāśma°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB. *dattāśma°*) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS. 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity.'

hotā viṣṭīmena (ŚŚ. *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV. 20. 135. 5, AŚ.† 8. 3. 24, ŚŚ. Vait. This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed. of AV. and therefore in Conc. Most ŚŚ. mss. *viṣṭi*; per contra, v. l. of AV. *viṣṭvī*. It is very obscure in any case.

daśasyantāmṛtāya (ApMB. *°tvāmṛtāya*) *kam* RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple., but may fairly be called corrupt; cf. Winternitz, p. xx.

yuktvā (TB. Conc. *yuktā*, Poona ed. text and comm. correctly *yuktvā*) *harī vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvān* (MS. KS. *arvāk*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

apālām indra (MG. *°ras*) *triṣ* (*triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *°vā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The last seems clearly corrupt. [*indraḥ pāśena ṭsiktva vah* ApMB.: *indraḥ pāśena vah ṭsiktva* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG.: *indrapāśena sitvā* PG. The true reading is *sitvā*.]

§368. A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes:

madhvo (SV. *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV. SV. These alternative forms of gen. sing. of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhvah*: *madhoḥ*; see Conc. p. 681a.

ed u madhvo (SV. PB. *madhor*) *madintaram* RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *vaso vasvoḥ purusprhaḥ* RV.: *vasor vaso purusprhaḥ* SV.

asaṇmṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh (TB. *mātrvoḥ*) *śuciḥ* RV. TB. With *mātrvoḥ*, guaranteed by all mss. and Vaidikas, cf. perhaps *pītrvya*; and note that *mātroh* in RV. is trisyllabic.

mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām SV.: *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS. Root *gah*, with different suffixes.

gambhīraiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ (AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*) AV. TS. HG. The AV. is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification. Cf. next.

prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhiḥ (AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG. Cf. prec.

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB. HG.: *aprajāstvam mātavatsam* AV. Others, §650. Suffixes *tā* and *tva*.

§369. Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf. Wackernagel I §232c:
saumyās trayah śvitiṅgāḥ (KSA. *śi°*) TS. KSA.

With *śvit-* and *śit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*; see §195:

citra (VS. *śvitra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS.

citro (AV. *śvitro*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS.

§370. After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff. below:

śiśūte śrṅge rakṣas- (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vi nikṣe* (KS. *nakṣe*, AV. mss. *nikṣve*), RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. The Berlin ed. and Whitney's translation adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm. that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa*. See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinikṣva* occurs in the next verse.

dhuñkṣāgne yī (VSK. *°śvā°* or *°ṣyā°*) VS. VSK. MS. And others; see §255.

svarṣām (TB. *suvar°*) *apsām* (TB. Poona ed., twice, †*apsvām*, in text and comm.) *vrjanasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB. *apsvām* is uninterpretable.

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS. *dhana°*, TS. *°yid*, KSA. *°yed*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. The text of MS. is based on p.p.; the saṁh. mss. are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vunairddhamagandhir*). It seems that *vu* in these mss. is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS. as in the other texts.

§371. After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group:
āpo devīḥ svadantu (VSK. *sad°*) *svāttam cit sad devahaviḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.: *svāttam cit sadevam havyam āpo devīḥ svadatainam* TS. ApŚ. The reading of VSK. is poor (cf. *svāttam*). Cf. next.

em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu (MS. *svad°*) MS. KS. TB. Here *svad°* does not belong; the reverse of the prec.

aparihrtāḥ (MS. *°hrtāḥ*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV. MS. KS. Intended for synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption.

tuvidyumnāṁ vibhvasaham (SV. *vibhā°*) RV. SV. *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhvā*

(for °van) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'.

apārñ rasam udvayasam (KS. *udayañsam*, TA. *udayañsan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing'; KS. and TA. a verb form, which in TA. is 3 plur. aor. of *ud-yam*. KS. may intend the same with *udayañsam* followed by *s*; but in VV I p. 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing. *viśvañ tu tvāhutayaḥ sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto 'si* PrāñāgU.: *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ prajāś tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'si* MU. The Conc. says, 'read *viśantu*' for both. In the Poona ed. (*Upaniṣadāñ Samuccayaḥ*, An. Skt. Ser., 1895), the MU. passage (p. 406) reads *viśantu* in text and comm.; but the PrāñāgU. (p. 307), *viśvañ tu* in both. Certainly *viśantu* must be read.

anvitir asi dive . . . TS. KS. JB. PB. Vait.: *anitir asi* GB. The Conc. calls the latter a 'blunder'; yet, curiously, Gaastra also has *anitir*. *mitrāvaruṇā śaradāñnām* (MS. °hnā) *cikittñ* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatñ*, AŚ. *cikittam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45. The AŚ. form is difficult and suspicious.

satyaujasā drñhañā (MS. *durhrñā*, KS.† *drñhañā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaño yau nudethe* AV. See §305.

vande dāruñ vandamāño vivakmi RV.: *vandadvārā vandamāñā vivaṣṭu* SV. See VV I p. 218.

anu daha sahamūrāñ kravyādaḥ (SV. *kayādaḥ*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrāñ anu daha kravyādaḥ* AV. See §355.

anukāśena bāhyam MS.: *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS.: *antareñāñnūkāśam* TS. KSA. The VS. reading is apparently a blunder; comm. reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows.

§371a. One anomalous case involving false word-division:

uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pururāvño deva* etc. VS. ŚB. LŚ. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj. reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning; but Mahidhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'.

5. Presence or absence of *s*

§372. Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s*. Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś*: *paś*, *kr*: *skr*, etc.). See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

§373. Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

§374. Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word:

sa prathamah saṁkṛtīr viśvakarmā TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sā* (MS. MŚ. *yā*) *prathamā saṁskṛtīr viśvavārā* (MS. *yajñe asmin*) VS. MS. ŚB. (Pratīka, MŚ.) The root *kr* regularly appears as *skr* with *sa*, so that the Tait. form is irregular.

ut te stabhnāmi (TA. *tabhnomi*) *prthivīm tvat pari* RV. AV. TA. Cf. Whitney §233c. In TA. this law operates in spite of tmesis; this is not without parallel.

tegān (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stegān*) *daṁṣṭrābhyām* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV. has *stega*. Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS. MS. KSA. the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS. it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.: *sa īm* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*; MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt; at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS. (:tarī AV.).

§375. The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned; and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds:

divaḥ saṁsprśas (MS. *saṁprcas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. And:

prthivyāḥ saṁprcas (TS. TB. ApŚ. °caḥ, VS. ŚB. *saṁsprśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *saṁ-prc* and *saṁ-sprś*, practically synonyms. See §195.

divam agreṇāsprkṣaḥ †VSK., wrongly quoted in Conc. as °*āprkṣaḥ* *divam agreṇāsprkṣat* (TB. °*āprāt*) VS. TB. And others.

viśvā sprdho (AV. *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV. AV. TA.

āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu (AV. *sprśantām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuvam yatra vāsaḥ*) AV.

ApMB.: *yatrā vrkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG.

sa bhūminī viśvato (ArS. *sarvato*, VS. *sarvata*) *vṛtvā* (VS. *spṛtvā*) RV. ArS. AV. VS. TA. See §200.

tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ (PB. °*yah*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. LŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. See §93.

saṁsrāvabhāgā (VS. ŚB. *saṁsrava*°; MS. °*gāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *brhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §§96, 747.

§376. Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms); the rest is sporadic: *ajoṣā* (SV. *saḥ*°) *vrṣabham patim* RV. AV. SV. *ajoṣa* 'unersättlich, gierig'. *sacetasāv* (VSK. °*sā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *sacetasau saretasau* TB. And others; see §180.

ā (VaradapU. *sā*) *naḥ śṛṇvann ūtibhiḥ sīda sādhanam* (VaradapU. *śaśvat*) RV. TS. KS. VaradapU. The comm. is hard put to it to explain *sā*; he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact inexplicable.

yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (KS. *yavā āyavā ūmā* † *evā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS. The form *sabda* of TS., for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure; doubtless due to some analogy.

anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁ kṣiyema Vait.: *anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema* TB. See §110.

§377. The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma*: *bhūyāśma*), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here: *agnir no vanate* (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṁsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Present and *s*-aorist.

tasya te bhaktivāṁsaḥ syāma (MS. KS. °*vāno bhūyāśma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasyās te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. ApŚ. 4. 13. 7† *bhaktivāno bhūyāśma*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both). Suffixes *vaṁs* and *van*.

6. Presence or absence of visarga

§378. This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings); and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter; and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like; some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379. In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon:

pra-pra yajñapatiṁ tira (TA. *tiraḥ*, Poona ed. *tira*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS. MŚ. *tapah*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

nī dūrasrāṣase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahaḥ*, em., mss. *mahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ.

nīyudbhir (AV. *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ. †*muñcaḥ*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Add to VV I §25.

viśvasmāt (TA. *divo vi*°) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. °*yah*) RV. TA.

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS.

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB. °*maḥ*) RV. TB.

aśvinā bhiṣajāvataḥ (MS. °*tam*, TB. †°*ta*, both edd.) VS. MS. TB.

anyavratasya (TA. *anyad vra*°) *saścima* (TA. °*maḥ*, RV. *saścire*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. (corrupt).

prati bhāgam na dīdhima (SV. °*maḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

viratāḥ smaḥ (ŚG. *sma bhoḥ*) ŚG. PG.

abhiratāḥ smaḥ (YDh. *sma ha*) ViDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (*smaḥ*: *sma-ha*).

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smaḥ (MŚ. *sma*) TB. MŚ.

tau saha (VS. ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturah* . . . *prasārayāvahai* (ŚB. °*yāva*, MS. °*yāvah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.

viśvāḥ pinvathaḥ (TB. °*tha*) *svasarasya dhenāḥ* RV. MS. TB. (comm. °*thaḥ* in Bibl. Ind. ed., but Poona ed. °*tha*). This is probably only a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant; cf. §978 ff.

ata ū šu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhiḥ* RV. SV. AV. AA. MŚ. See VV I p. 101.

agne (MS. *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS. *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156.

sam agnis tapasāgata VS. MS. ŚB. (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS. edition separated by a mark of punctuation): *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (**gataḥ*, Poona ed. *gata*) TA.* As pple. *gataḥ* is defensible. See VV I p. 161.

varebhir varān abhi šu prasīdataḥ (ApMB. *pra sīdata*) RV. ApMB. A participle (gen. sing., Grassmann; acc. pl., Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur. in ApMB.

iha rama (HG. †*ramah*) MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. HG. Here *ramah* is a noun form.

§380. In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms:

punar āgāḥ punarnava (AV. °*ṇava* and °*ṇavaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis)

nīcerur aśi nīcumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. *nīcaṅkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nīcuṅkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Vocative in TS. TB. by assimilation to an adjoining formula; see §150.

rtena (MG. *rte 'va*) *shūṇām* (MG. °*ṇā*, ApMB. HG. °*ṇāv*) *adhi roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśaḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Here the nom. is secondary.

agne ghr̥tenāhuta (KS. °*taḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

yajñāḥ praty u ṣthāt (KS. *pratyasṭhāt*, v. l. *praty u*°; MŚ. adds *sumatau matinām*) KS. MŚ.: *yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB. ApŚ.

indraḥ (*indra*) *somasya pītaye* (also: °*ye vṛṣāyate*) RV. (all three)

indra (MS. *indraḥ*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS. °*daśenaujaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

paramajyā ṛcīṣamah (SV. † °*ma*) RV. SV. AV.

devebhyo (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* (RV.* °*na*) RV. (both) ApŚ.

sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ AV.: *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV.

pavamānaḥ (SV. °*na*) *saṁtanim eṣi kṛṇvan* RV. SV.

tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ MG.: *tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB.

yo agniḥ kavyavāhanah (VS. KS. *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. See §353.

hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ HG.: *hiraṇyaparnā śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB.: *swīriṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. The latter is doubtless corrupt; a voc. is required.

indra kratvā (MS. *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. See §664.

ayā somaḥ (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV. SV. See VV I §328.

ā tiṣṭha mītravardhana (KS. TB.† ApŚ.† °*naḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

āpr̥ṇo 'si saṁpr̥ṇaḥ (ApŚ. *āpr̥ṇoṣi saṁpr̥ṇa*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is secondary and poor.

indra karmasu no 'vata VS. KS.: *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB. (but read *indra* . . . 'vata, see VV I p. 260).

indra (MS. *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV. MS. The nom. is hardly construable.

indrah (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indra (MS. *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV. MS. KS.

kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV. and p.p. of MS. *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānaḥ* RV. MS. TB.

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. *rathe*) *adhi taṁ* (VS. ŚB. *yaṁ*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ. *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS. KS. MŚ. The nom. is not construable; see Knauer's note.

mitra satyānām pate (ŚŚ. *satyānām adhipate*) TB. ŚŚ.: *mitrah satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

viśvā (KS. PG. *viśvās ca*) †*deva* (PG. *devaḥ*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS. °*ṣyāḥ*, PG.† °*ṣyak*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

vrihīṇām medha (MŚ. *medhaḥ*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ (SV. *somya*) RV. SV.

sajoṣā indra (TB. *indrah*) *sagaṇo marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ.

§381. In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified; sometimes involving different but related stems:

pibāt somam amadann (AV. *somaṁ mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayaḥ* (AV. *iṣṭe*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88; loc. sing. of *iṣṭa*: nom. pl. of *iṣṭi*.

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. °*yaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Loc. sing.: instr. pl. Cf. §706.

avyo (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and: *priyam*) RV. SV. As prec.

candreṇa jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ (KS. TB. comm. and Poona ed. °*nā*) VS. KS. TB.: *śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānā* MS. (but p.p. °*nāḥ*). The plural agrees with *aśvinā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject; the fem. sing. with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone.

ghanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: *bhūmidr̥ṇham acyutam pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidr̥ṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Change of

gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary; see §268.

sa viśvācīr (KS. °cī) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS. °cī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Change of acc. pl. to dual, explained in §357. But the actual reading is *ghr̥tācīr* (before initial vowel following).

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV. (taken by Whitney as loc. plur.): *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. (apparently felt as nom. sing.) And others; all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374.

saṁhitāsi viśvarūpā (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °pī, TS. ApŚ.* °pīh) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis) In TS. the old nom. fem. of the *vr̥kīs* type.

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Both words unintelligible; §69. Perhaps *h* in ApMB. ending of *vr̥kīs* type. *anāhanasyani vasanam carīṣṇu* (ApMB. HG. ja°, PG. *jariṣṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See §57. The nom. masc. transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.

yenā samatsu sāsaḥ (SV. °hīh, MŚ. °hi) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §584.

aghadviṣṭā devajātā AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ. In AV. nom. sing. fem. In ApŚ., which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing.; but the verb is plural, and the Conc. gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom. plur.).

sīrāh (TS. MS. KS. *sarāh*, AV. *sarā*) *patatriṇī* (TS. MS. KS. °nīh) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtva*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Sing. in AV., plur. in the others.

ya ābabhūva (PB. āva°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāh*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. *viśvāh* is certainly wrong.

vīruc chapathayopanī AV.: *vidu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ. (corrupt; Caland adopts the AV. reading). See §272.

uta vām uśaso budhi RV. GB. Conc. *budhih* for GB., and so all mss. apparently read, but Gaastra emends to *budhi* (loc. sing. 'at the awakening of dawn').

arāddhyā edidhiṣupatim VS.: *ārādhyai* (read with Poona ed. *ar°*) *†didhiṣupatim* TB. The VS. form is anomalous; as a fem. word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom. form in composition is absurd.

avasyuvātā brhatī (TS.° *tīr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS. °rīh) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.

īman yajñam avantu no ghr̥tācīh (MS. KS. AŚ. *avatu yā* [AŚ. *no*] *ghr̥tācī*)
TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural

- paraśur* (TS. *parśur*) *vediḥ paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tiḥ*) AV. TS. *svasti* is familiar as both fem. and neut.
- viṣṭhitāḥ* (AV. °*tā*) *prṭhivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB. Fem. pl.: neut. pl. (in different contexts).
- śaṁ rātrī* (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātrīḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. TA. MS. All noms. sg.
- śatamūlā śatāṅkurā* TA. MahānU.: *śatamūlāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU. Fem. sing.: plur.
- śrṇvantv āpo dhiṣaṇās ca devīḥ* (MS.* *dhiṣaṇā ca devī*) VS. TS. MS.* KS. ŚB. Sing.: plur.
- viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant, and a nom. or voc. masc. is required; *prabhu*, repeated in the comm., is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error.
- saṁśītaṁ kṣatram* (MS. KS. TA. add *me*) *jīṣṇu* (AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jīṣṇuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The AV. form would be masc., which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts *jīṣṇu*.
- valso jarāyu* (KS. *garbho jarāyuḥ*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. The regularly neuter word is here masc. in KS., perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc.
- sa naḥ prthu* (TB. *prthuḥ*) *śravāyyam* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut. to masc.
- sīsaṁ ca me trapu* (TS. °*puś*) *ca me . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The rare stem *trapus*, for the regular *trapu*.
- sapatnīr ṭabhībhuvarī* (ApMB. °*rīḥ*) RV. ApMB. Only a nom. sing. fem. can be construed. See Winternitz, *Introd.*, xxii.
- sarasvatī* (AV. TB. † °*tīḥ*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV. *sadantām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Whitney calls the °*tīḥ* form a blunder and emends. This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom. sing. like the other.
- sarasvatyā* (TV. °*tyāḥ*) *supippalaḥ* VS. MS. TB. Instr.: gen.
- sahasraśīrṣā* (ArS. °*śāḥ*) *puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. Both nom. sing.; °*śīrṣāḥ* as if from an *s*-stem (contamination from *śīras*?).
- atividdhā vithureṇā cid astrā* (MS. *astāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is doubtless corrupt.
- varṣman kakubhi* (TB. Conc. °*bhiḥ*, MS. *kakubbhiḥ*) *śīśriyāṇaḥ* (TB. *śrayasva*) TS. MS. TB. See §400.
- upahūtāḥ sapta hotrāḥ* TS. TB. ŚŚ.: *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB. Sing.: plur.

agne tvam puriṣyaḥ VS. KS. ŚB.: *agneḥ puriṣyam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Voc.: gen.

hiraṇyayāḥ (MS. °yā) *śucayo dhārapūtāḥ* RV. MS. The only grammatically construable form is °yāḥ; MS. seems corrupt.

so 'haṁ vājanī saneyam agne (KS. *sanāmy ṭagneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Voc.: gen.

sapraṭha (MŚ. °thaḥ) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ. *pāhi*, and 'jugupaḥ) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both voc.; stems in *a* and *as*.

imā brahma brahmavāhaḥ (TS. † °ha) RV. AV. KS. TB. As prec.

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °vaḥ, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. Vocatives; *s* and *a*-stems. On KS. see §749.

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV.: *dātum cec chaknuvāṁsaḥ* (Poona ed. *chaknavān sa*) *svarga eṣām* TA. See §826.

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyaḥ śuciḥ (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* might pass as an adverb.

dūrvā rohātu puṣpīṇī (RV. *rohantu puṣpīṇīḥ*) RV. AV. Sing.: plur. *tripadā yā ca śaṭpadā* (VS. *yās ca śaṭpadāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Sing.: plur.

trṇam vasānā (HG. °nāḥ) *sumanā asas* (HG. *asi*) *tvam* AV. HG. The form can only be nom. sing. fem.; HG. is impossible.

prthivyā (MS.* °vyāḥ) *sambhava* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note).

§382. In adverbial forms:

athā (AV. *adhah*, comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhah*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. AV. ApMB.: *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV. See §74.

śṛṇvanti (PB. °tv) *āpo adha* (PB. 'dhaḥ) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. PB.

parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV.: *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. See §820. The variation -*mukhāḥ* (bahuvrīhi): *mukhā* belongs to the preceding section.

§383. Involving different divisions of words:

samudrād udajani vaḥ (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.

idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS.* *rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS. *sam dahāmi*) TS. MS. (both) KS. MŚ. As the Conc. suggests, *rakṣobhiḥ* must be a corruption.

girā ca (AV. *virājaḥ*) *śruṣṭīḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §57.

śarīram yajñāśamalaṁ (MahānU. *yajñāḥ śa°*) ... TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. See §818.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N.

āsann ā (SV. PB. *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS. °tu) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

pra su (HG. sa) *mṛtyuṃ* (SMB. *pra sumartyaṃ*, MG. *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu nah*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

ūrjam bibhrad vasuvaniḥ (*vaḥ sumanāḥ*, *vaḥ suvaniḥ*, *vasumanāḥ*) . . . , see §227.

upānasah saparyan RV.†: *upo nu sa sap°* SV.

kavir yaḥ putrah sa im ā (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. *imāḥ* has no standing.

ava (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṃ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛsāmasi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reading of MS. is secondary but simple.

indrah pāśena ṭsiktva vaḥ (HG. *pāśena vaḥ ṭsiktva*) ApMB. HG.: *indra-pāśena sitvā* PG. See §819.

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* MS. (corrupt; see §838).

adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ sam āna (MS. *Samhitā, sahyaḥ samānaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. MS. N. *sam āna*, verb; *samānaḥ*, adj.

vireṇyaḥ kratuṛ indrah suśastih RV.: cf. *vareṇyakraṭūr* (°tur, *īḍeṇya-kratūr*) *aham*, §554. Conc. suggests *vireṇyakraṭur*; Oldenberg, Nolen, goes further and suggests *vareṇya-* (or °yah) *kratur*.

vāñmanaścakṣuḥśrotrajihvāghrāṇaretobuddhyākūtisaṃkalpā (TA. TAA. °ākūtiḥ *saṃkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU. Despite the persistence of the reading °ākūtiḥ (to be sure, one ms. of TA. reads like MahānU.), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound.

§384. Miscellaneous:

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jatrṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *āṭṛdaḥ* (MS. °da) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57; *āṭṛdaḥ* apparently abl. sing. of a noun; MS. corrupt, perhaps feels *āṭṛda* as imperative.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetapad ā gahi* MG. (but most mss. *apa*; so read; cf. §817).

apa (MG. *apaḥ*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV. MG. Here all mss. of MG. have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense.

pariṭoṣāt tad arpiṭha ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpīṭhaḥ* KŚ. The true reading in both seems to be *udarpīṭhaḥ*; see §63.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugaṃ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. On the obviously corrupt LŚ. see §739.

gharmaṃ śocantaḥ (AŚ. °ta, ŚŚ. °taṃ) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV I p. 165.

aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai (MS. °*daiḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. *parādai* is an infinitive; *parādaiḥ* is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra; despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!); or else as an instr. plur. 'by betrayal'. *tām ha jaritar na pratyagrbbṇan* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Gaastra reads *naḥ* in GB. (v. l. *na*); but the sense clearly requires *na*.

na sīsaridata (HG. †*sīsaridataḥ*) ApMB. HG. Both hopelessly corrupt; Winternitz p. xxvi suggests *sīsarī dataḥ*.

adrñhathāḥ śarkarābhīs triviṣṭapi (MŚ. *tribhrṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

samudraṁ naḥ subhvaṁ (AVPpp. ms. *subhavas*) *tasthivāṁsam* AVPpp.

MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na subhvas tasthivāṁsam* AV. And others, §§119, 789. *naḥ*, pronoun: *na*, comparative particle.

bhiṣajam na (MS. *naḥ*) *sarasvatīm* VS. MS. TB. *na*, comparative particle.

7. Presence or absence of *h*

§385. The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse. In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions; but cf. the startling *saṁjigāire* in the first variant under §387.

§386. Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical; it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words: *sa ugraḥ sa hi* (PG. *i*) *havyo babhūva* TS. PG. This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown *i* (said to mean 'and'; the mss. are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi*.

himkārāya (and, *himkṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB.: *imkārāya* (and, *imkṛtāya*; KSA. †*im*°) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Interjections.

tasminn (AV. *yasminn*) *ā* (VS. *tasmin ha*) *tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* RV.

AV. VS.: cf. *tasminn ārpitā bhu*° *vi*° RV.

cakṣur yeṣāṁ (v. l. *hy eṣāṁ*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ. And others; see §340. *yasyām idam viśvam* (MS. *viśvam hy asyām*) *bhuvanam āviveśa* VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB.

mahaś (MS. *mahī*) *cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā* RV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā* TS.

dhiyo hinvāno (MS. *dhiya invāno*) *dhiya in no avyāt* (RV. *avyāḥ*) RV. MS. TS. Rime words.

antarikṣe pathibhīr iyamānaḥ (GB. *hrīyamānaḥ*, v. l. *hīyamānaḥ*, but no v. l. in Gaastra) RV. GB. See §353.

uta no brahmann aviṣaḥ (MS. °*man haviṣaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. The secondary *haviṣaḥ* is unaccented in MS., perhaps felt as a verb form from root *hu*: 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'.

tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi AV.: *tena sann anugrṇāsi* HG. See §47.

atho mātātho pitā TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *halo hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. The TA. probably secondary.

rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ (AV.* *atho amīva*°) RV. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. If the AV. variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.

āntrīmukhaḥ ... HG.: *ālikhann animiṣaḥ* ... *hantrīmukhaḥ* ... PG. Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem. form of *hantr*).

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV.: *hataḥ krimiṇām kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA.

āsanniṣūn hr̥tvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

vaniṣṭhor hr̥dayād (AV.* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

§387. Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention; in it all mss. of Vait. are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form *saṁjigāire*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an unquestionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant:

tāḥ prācyā (Vait. °*yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °*hire*, Vait. *saṁjigāire*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: *prācīs cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

sā (read *sa*) *naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānaḥ* (p.p. *ahāḥ, ānī* (sic!), *yāmānaḥ*) MS.: *sa no rucan̄ dhehy ahr̥ṇīyamānaḥ* TA. Read doubtless *ahr̥ṇīyamānaḥ* in MS.; the absurd p.p. points in this direction.

marudbhyo gr̥hamedhibhyo (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*). The word is wholly obscure.

tujo janā (ArS. *jane*) *vanam̄ svaḥ* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo vanam̄* (ŚŚ. *balam̄*, emend.) *sahaḥ* AA. ŚŚ. The passage is obscure; we see little to choose between *svaḥ* and *sahaḥ*.

pary agnīm ahr̥ṣata (VSK.† *aṣata* or *ahar̥ṣata*) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme 'gnīm aṣata* AV. (v. l. in AV. *ariṣata*). Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 43. 99) reads as in RV. except *ahar̥ṣata*, with one ms. of VSK.; Barret em. *ahr̥ṣata*.

CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

§388. In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse; and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX.

1. Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses; sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss.; sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232; Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says l. c. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following:

śunddhi (PG. MG. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ* AG. PG. ApMB.

MG. Many mss. of ApMB. read *śundhi*.

o ṣu (MS. *ṣū*) *varṭta* (MS. KS. *varta*) *maruto vipram acha* RV. MS. KS.

The spelling *varṭta* (2d plural) is etymological; Müller prints *varta* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

§390. Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel ll. cc.). Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss. and editions in such cases. Thus the word *pattra*

‘wing’, from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in:

śyenasya patram (MS. *pattram*) *na plīhā śacībhiḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB., where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

ukthapatra (MS. °*rā*, TS. °*pattra*) *īdyo grbhītaḥ* VS.† TS. MS. KS.† ŚB.†, the editor of TS. alone prints °*pattra*, all others (contrary to the Conc.) °*patra*; but most mss. of TS. actually read °*patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS. in:

yena (yenā) rṣayas (yenarṣ°) tapasā satram (TS.† *sattram*) *āsate* (VS. ŚB. *āyan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.,

where again most mss. of TS. read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases.

§391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

tā yā devā . . . ā ca śāsvā (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *śāssvā*) *ca gurasva* VS. TB. The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*.

iyaṁ vaḥ sā śatyā . . . yām indreṇa samadhaddhvam (MS. °*dadhvam*) TS. MS.: *eṣā vas sā satyā . . . yām indreṇa samadadhvam* KS.

Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*.

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring; to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated.

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA. *abbhuvam*, MS. *ā dhanvā*)

RV. MS. TA. The TA. may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word; he analyzes it as *ab-bhuvam* ‘produced from water (and the other four elements)’. This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible.

ut tvā (SV. PB. Svidh. *u tvā*, two words) *mandantu somāḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. Rvidh. Svidh. The Conc. prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV., and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first.

ya ātrnatly (SāṃhitopaniṣadB. *ātrṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh. *avida°*) *karṇau* SāṃhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N. *ātrṇoty* is an impossible form and must be an error.

ayaṃ yaḥ puro vibhinatty (SV. °naty) *ojasā* RV. SV. The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint. *agnir hotā vetv* (ŚB. *vetv*) *agnir* (ŚB. AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṃ vetu prāvitraṃ* ... ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. So the Conc.; TB. Poona ed. reads *vetv* and *vettu*. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB. comm. *jānātu*). Cf. next, and the variations between the participles *vīta* and *vitta*, §398 below.

prati tvādityās tvag vettu (TB. Poona ed. † *vetu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *prati tvā diva* (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB. Poona ed. † *vetu*) TS. TB. And others in the context. The text of TB. actually reads *vetv-ity āha*; doubtless *vettu* is intended.

āprā (AV.* *āprād*) *dyāvāprthivī antarīkṣam* RV. AV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N. See VV I pp. 27, 129.

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. *tiṣṭhād*) *draviṇcha dhattāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. Here the KS. form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person. Cf. VV I p. 27.

agnir dād (TS. *dā*) *draviṇam vīrapeśāḥ* RV. TS. See VV I p. 26.

satvānām (KS. †*sattv*°) *pataye namaḥ* MS. KS. This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur. of *satvan* would be *satvanām* (cf. §494); MS. must intend gen. plur. of *sattva*, like KS.

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS. *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *ddy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.

sadanān (Vait. *sa dahan*) *pradahan v* (Vait. *nv*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. Particles *u* and *nu*; the passage is metrical and *v(nv)* is read consonantically.

lokam (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV. *jāmim*) *īyatuḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ.

Double and single consonants between vowels

§393. The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention. Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology. See Geiger,

Pāli §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394. In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e*. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in *Pāli* and *Prakrit*; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In *Sanskrit* it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss. between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss. read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā*. And so in the variant:

sa no jīveṣv ā yame AV.: *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV. TA., where most mss. of AV. read *yame*, but the comm. *yamed*, which is certainly intended; the next word begins with *d-*, and the actual reading of RV. TA. is *yamad*. See Whitney's note on AV. 18. 2. 3, and VV I p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

§395. The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions; the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently: *apsarassu* (HG. °*rāsu ca*) *yo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG. *medhāpsaraḥsu*; Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh.) RVKh. MG.: *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA. MahānU. HG. ApMB. ApG.

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. *apsarāḥ*, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected:

yā te agne 'yāśayā (VS. ŚB. 'yāḥśayā; TS. 'yāśayā *rajāśayā*) . . . VS., TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *yā te agne rajāśayā* (VS. ŚB. *rajaḥśayā*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§395a. The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-*: *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. *bhajase mahad dhanam*) RV. SV.

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyai* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l. c., §393). Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved; the *rai* forms seem original: *agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS.

ŚB. TB. (The Conc. quotes AŚ. ApŚ. under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrāḍ* etc.)

rāyas poṣeṇa (MS. *rayyā*) *mā paśyata* (and: *vaḥ paśyāmi*) TS. MS. KS.

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*; a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-tama*:

indrāya (MS. MŚ. °*ya tvā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS. ŚB. *suṣūtamam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§398. The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift; it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older. Cf. §329, *agnir hotā vetv* (*vettv*) . . . :

iṣṭam ca vītam (ŚB. AŚ. *vittam*) *ca* (ŚŚ. *cābhūt*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

śocasva devavītamah (KS. °*vittamah*) RV. RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TA.: *rocasva devavītamah* VS.

§399. More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant. They are chiefly lexical. We begin with those in which the vowel is short. Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *cī* or *cyu*:

acittapājā (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnīt*; and:

acittamanā (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Proper names of rishis; 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense; the latter is secondary.

cittim (MS. KS. MŚ. *citim*) *juhomi manasā* (VS. TS. ŚB. add *ghṛtēna*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Keith on TS (*HOS* 19. p. 444, n. 1). *Citim* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *cittim*; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs. To be sure, one ms. of MS. has *cittim*; but MŚ. *citim*. The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citi*) the fire-altar. In the same context occurs:

cittim acittim (KS. ms. †*citim acitim*, emended by von Schroeder) *cinavad* KS.† °*vo*) *vi vidvān* RV. TS. KS. Add to VV I §337. Cf. prec. *mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with *tt* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods. 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS., 'in first thought': 'piling (the altar) first'.

§400. One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem:

varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi (TB. Conc. °*bhiḥ*, Poona ed. °*bhi*; MS. *kakubbhiḥ*) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (TB. *śrayasva*) TS. MS. TB. Loc. sing.: instr. plur. of *kakubh*. The form *kakubbhiḥ* is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed.; yet the comm. seems to have read so (but he glosses *uttamāṅge*, as if loc.).

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere corruptions and false readings:

nama ākhhidate ce prakhidate ca VS. MS. KS.: *nama ākkhidate ca prakkhidate ca* TS. The curious doubling in TS. is authorized by TPr. 14. 8; but the mss. show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's note on TPr., and Weber's on TS. 4. 5. 9. 2.

ayā san (*ayāḥ san*, *ayās san*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛttaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*; KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (*vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. *kṛttaḥ* is obviously a blunder. Cf. §402.

vicṛttāya (VS. *vicṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. *vicṛtāya* probably an error.

nivṛtaḥ (ŚŚ. *nivṛttaḥ*) *puruṣād dṛtiḥ* AV. ŚŚ. The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other.

vaiśvānaraḥ pratnathā nākam āruhat (PB. †*āruha*) AV. PB. TA. ApŚ. In all followed by *diva*-, *āruhad* is the actual reading. PB. has a phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing. impv. is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pāda). Add to VV I §332.

phalāya, and *phallāya*, KhG.: *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB. GG. See §79.

samudrād udajani vaḥ (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.

imām narāḥ (*naraḥ*) *kṛṇuta vedim etya* (*eta*, *etat*), see §328.

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. Corruption in MS.

viviṭi (*viciṭi*, *viviṭṭyai*, *viviṣṭyai*) *svāhā*, see §866.

māyādevā avataram HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. Several HG. mss. read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text.

ava tara (TS. *avattaram*) *nadiṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. See §332.

iṣṭo yajño bhr̥gubhir draviṇodā yatibhir (MS. once *yattibhir*) *āśīrdā* . . . MS.† KS.† ApŚ.† The isolated *yattibhir* can only be a mistake.

pitvo (VS. MS. *pidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. *kaṣas*) . . .
VS. TS. MS.

daridra (TS. °*dran*) *nīlalahita* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Epithet of Rudra;
the TS. form apparently felt as a participle. Keith, 'waster'.

apā vṛdhi parivṛtaṁ (TB. Conc. °*vṛttim*, comm. °*vṛtim*; Poona ed. text
and comm. °*vṛtim*) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB.

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB. Conc. *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hiñsīḥ*
GB. Vait. Kauś. Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB.

rajani (AV. Berlin ed. *rajjuni*, by emend.) *granther dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*)
AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation is probably right, at least in giving
the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant.
Caland in his translation of Vait. quotes it as reading *rājani*,
perhaps by a slip.

jīvebhyas tvā samude vāyur indraḥ AV. 8. 1. 15a. Conc. says read
saṁmude, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p.p.
saṁ-ude 'conversation'. The comm. however connects the word
with root *mud*. If this were right the variant could be classed with
§306. Uncertain.

svarvīdo abhi gā adriṁ uṣṇan (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. Conc. suggests
muṣṇan in RV.; see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc.

§402. Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single
or double consonant is long in both cases. Particularly interesting, as
suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases
where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant
after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant. This
seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that
position. Thus:

sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt (VS. °*viṣāt*, LŚ. *eva kilb°*) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.
The LŚ. obviously has a secondary lect. fac., altho it makes good
sense.

ayā (MS. *ayāḥ*, KS. *ayās*) *san* (KS. ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS.
kṛtaḥ, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*, KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.:
ayāsā manasā (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasā manasā*
dhṛtaḥ ApŚ. ApMB. Cf. §401.

jīvām rṭebhyaḥ pariñīyamānām AV.: *mṛtāya jīvām pariñīyamānām* TA.
Read *mṛtebhyaḥ* in AV. with some mss. and SPP.

sarvaṁ ni śvāpayā janam RVKh. AV. Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 439, has
suggested *śvāpayāj janam* as the true reading.

§403. There are several variations concerning the synonymous
adverbs *paścā* and *paścāt*, before following *d-*. In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: *apaścāddaghvane* (SV. *apaścāda*°) *nare* (SV. *narah*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghvānnaṁ* (AV. *apaścādaghvānnasya*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

paścādoṣāya glāvinam VS.: *paścāddoṣāya glāvam* TB.

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīta* (and *parī*°), pple. of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīta* (*parī*°), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*). In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious:

yat kuśīdam apratītaṁ (TS. °*ūtītaṁ*, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. 1. °*tītaṁ*; SMB. *apradattaṁ*) *mayeha* (TS. *mayi*) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: *apamityam apratīttam yad asmi* AV.: *yāny apāmityāny apratīttāny* (TB. Poona ed. °*tītāny*) *asmi* TB. ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be *apratīttam*, from *prati-dā* (cf. SMB.); but possibly the pple. of *prati-i* may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (*apratītam*), glossing *na pratyarpitam*.

śyene parīto (VSK. *parīto*) *acarac ca tvāte* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *śyene vāta uta yo 'carat parītaḥ* AV. Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*.

apah siṣāsan svar (TB. ApŚ. *suvar*) *apratītaḥ* (TB. Conc. °*tītaḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*tītaḥ*) RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the double *t* has no standing.

stuhi śūram vajriṇam apratīkam (TB. Conc. *apratīttam*, Poona ed. °*tītam*) MS. TB. The only correct reading is *apratītam* 'invincible'. On MS. see §138.

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt: *atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kr̥ṇotu*) RV. AV.†TA. A clear error in TA.: see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

ugraṁpaśyā (MS. *ugraṁ paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TA. Names of Apsarases. The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*; see §820.

nama ākhhidate ca prakhhidate ca VS. MS. KS.: *nama ākhi*° *ca prakhi*° *ca* TS. See §401.

svāna bhrājā° . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *svāna bhrāj* . . . TA.: *svān nabhrāḍ* . . . KS.: *swān nabhrāḍ* MS. MŚ. Keith on TS. suggests *svāna nabhrāj-* as the original form.

2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406. The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407. We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51; Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi).

usrāu (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etaṃ . . . anaśrū* (KS. *anaśśū*, v. l. °*śrū*) . . . *brahmacodanau* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that *anaśśū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt.

manyor mṛddhasya (HG. *mṛddhasya*) *nāsinī* ApMB. HG.: *manyoh krodhasya nāsanī* PG. Kirste suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG. has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd°*.

krīḍī ca śākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ. *śākī †corjiṣī ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary; it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*).

āvat tam (TA. read *āvar tam*, §873) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it; to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928.

abhinne khīlye (TB. *khille*) *nīdadhāti devayum* RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. *khilībhūte*; the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation.

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha TA. Bibl. Ind.: *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. See §255.

aśvān anaśśato (KS.†ApŚ. *anaśyato*, MŚ. van Gelder, *anaśvato*) *dānam*

ud u tye (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. The secondary MS. MŚ. reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*.

yad annenātirohati RV. ArS. VS. TA.: *yad anyenābhavat saha* AV. Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y*. On the nonsensical reading of AV. (the comm. has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127.

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838. The assimilation is secondary.

capyam (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur . . .* VS. MS. KS. TB. *capyā* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure; *cappam* may be a graphic blunder.

sūryācandramasau vrkyābhyām (KSA. *vrkkā°*) TS. KSA. The TS. form is a secondary and (as shown by Av. *vr̥ṣṣka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding. It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf. Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s.v. *vrkka*).

§409. A single case concerns *l*:

gāvo gulgulugandhayaḥ (Vait. *guggulu°*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*; but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form.

§410. As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408. Besides, we find:

tan nas trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.: *tan me tanvaṁ trāyatām sarvato br̥hat* AV. An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ., assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas*. *yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ. *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. AŚ. MŚ. The MŚ. is obviously corrupt; no v. l. quoted.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. *°hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

viśvavidam (AV. *°do*) *vācam aviśvaminvām* (AV. *aviśvavinnām*) RV. AV. See §236.

apa durhārddiśo jahi Kauś. Read *°dviśo*; the corruption may be graphic (§869).

§411. Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels:

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. *prataram na*, mss. *°ran na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

daivyā (AV. *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS. °*rā*, AV. °*raḥ*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°, KS.† *vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

akṣatam ariṣṭam ilāndam SMB.: *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnam gopāyanam* ŚG. Epithets of the cow; cf. the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS. 4. 2. 1: 22. 7, 10, and 4. 2. 7: 28. 12. Altho SMB. comm. says *ilāndam ilānnam kṣīrādīlakṣaṇam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing. *yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. 1. *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. Here probably MahānU. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.

ukṣantūdñā maruto ghr̥tena AV. 3. 12. 4. So Conc., with Whitney's Transl., the comm., and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms. reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotriyas*; most of them have °*ūnnā*, a few °*ūtnā*. Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 32. 366) has °*ūnā*. See §183. [*svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛṇṇuta r̥bhavaḥ* (TB. Conc. *tṛṇṇutarbh*°; ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *tṛṇṇutarbh*°) RV. TB. ApŚ. *tṛṇṇu*° probably misprint.]

§412. When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute. Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases: *sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāśāṇ* (SV. °*śād*) *na yajñāḥ* RV. SV.

anuṣṭum (MS. °*ṭub*) *mitrasya* (GB. Vait. add *patnī*) MS. KS. GB. Vait.

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.

§413. In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains anusvāra. This may be merely a matter of writing:

devya (ApŚ. *divyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ. *nañnam*°) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

vājasya hi prasave (TS. °*vo*) *nannamīti* (TS. *nañna*°) TS. MS. KS. *ā yam* (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *naraḥ sudānavo dadāṣuṣe* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. Lect. fac. in MS. MŚ. (verb form, 'they have come').

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with anusvāra. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc. and neuter (adverbial) forms *taṁ* and *tad* (*tan*); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc. as a mere corruption:

taṁ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA.

tan (JB. *tañ*) *mā puñsi kartary erayadhvam* JB. KBU.

trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmrje TB.: *trta enañ manuṣyeṣu mamrje* AV.

Conc. and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP. At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended.

§415. Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt; in it a following nasal (!) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

śiṣuṁ nadīnām harim adribudhnam (TS. °*buddham*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation.

§416. The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually; there is, then, no need to repeat them here.

§416a. To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601-4, and in that of *r* with *ru*, §§678-80. We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4.

3. Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417. Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ñ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231; Wackernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr. 2. 20. The VPr. 6. 30 requires it before a voiced mute; the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prātiśākhya ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the

TS. mss. in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss.

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

brhaspate †yāmyām (KS. ms. °yā emend. °yām) *yuṅgdhi* (AŚ. *yuṅdhi*)
vācam TS. MS. KS. AŚ. But practically all mss. of TS. *yuṅdhi*.
parivrṇdhi (TS. MS. ŚB. °vrṇdhi) *harasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But here too all mss. of TS. *vṛṇdhi*; and so p.p. of MS.

ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhi (VS. *aṅdhi*, TS. KS. *aṅjan*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB.

athāmṛtena jarilāram aṅdhi (ApŚ. *aṅgdhi*) TB. ApŚ. But TB. Poona
 ed. *aṅgdhi*, text and comm.

śucir aṅkte (SV. *aṅte*) *śucibhir gobhir agniḥ* RV. SV.

yaḥ pauraṣeṇa kraviṣā samaṅkte (AV. *samaṅte*) RV. AV. Kauś.

udno (VS. MS. *apo*) *dattodadhim bhintta* (VS. MS. *bhintta*) VS. TS. MS.:
udno dehy udadhim †bhindhi KS.

śunddhi (PG. MG. and v. l. of ApMB. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣṭh*
 AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

ayaṁ sa śiṅkte (AV. *śiṅte*) *yena gaur abhivṛtā* RV. AV. JB. N.

saṁpaśyan paṅktīr (AV. *paṅtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānaḥ* RV. AV.

achā vīram naryam paṅktirādhasam (SV. *paṅti*°) RV. SV. VS. MS.
 ŚB. TA.

[*pāṅktraḥ* (KSA. em. *†pāṅktaḥ*) *kaśo mānthilavas* (KSA. *†man*°) *te*
pitṛṇām (KSA. *†pitṛṇām*) TS. KSA. The mss. of both texts all
 read *pāṅtra*, intending *pāṅtra*; TS. comm. *pāṁtra-kaśān*, as a
 dvandva.]

§419. There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX. (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*; see §§314–5, 321–2, 332–7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu*. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well:

giraḥ somah (SV. *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāḥ* RV. SV. Here there is a change in syntax; but cf. the next, where there is none.

ghrtāhutaḥ somaprṣṭhaḥ (MŚ. *stoma*°) *suvirah* AV. MŚ.: *stomaprṣṭho ghrtavān supratīkaḥ* KS. TB.† 3. 7. 2. 7b, AŚ. ApŚ. The originality of AV. is supported by the RV. epithet *somaprṣṭha* (fashioned on the model of *ghrtaprṣṭha*).

apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhiḥ (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS. *stu*°, MS. *ṣtu*°) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB.: *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te mativido nṛbhi ṣtutastotrasya* (AS. *nṛbhiḥ sutasya*) . . . AŚ. ŚŚ.

nārāśaṁsena stomena (RV. *somena*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. SB. LŚ. Kauś. See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54. 54 and 56; Hillebrandt, *Lieder des RV.* 124. Grassmann would emend RV. to *stomena*, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio faciliior.

[*sutā* (mss. *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss. *vedamātā*) AV.: *stuto mayā varadā vedamātā* TAA. Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV. edition. Weber, *IS.* 2. 144, discusses the TAA. passage; he would understand *stuto* as *stutā-u*.]

§420. The rest need no subdivision:

parijmā cit kramate (AŚ. ŚŚ. *cid ramate*) *asya dharmaṇi* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance.' Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable reading; to us it seems merely a lect. fac.

taṁ tvam viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS. °*bhya rtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ. Apparently KS. has the true reading, cf. Caland on ApŚ. 10. 25. 1; *kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣiṇāḥ kalpaya*.

ahorātrābhyām puruṣaḥ samena (GB.* *kṣaṇena*) GB. (both) ŚB.

yena śriyam akṛṇutām PG.: *yena striyam akṛṇutam* (ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB. GG. *śriyam* is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects.

brhann asi brhadravā (TS. KS. *brhadgrāvā*, MS. *brhadrāyāḥ*, MŚ. *brhad-rāyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The form containing *g* seems to be the older.

śumbhānas (KS. *stam*°) *tanvaṁ* (TB. *tanuvaṁ*, SV. †*tanvām*) *svām* RV. SV. MS.-KS. TB. 'Adorning (establishing) his own person.'

anyavratasya (TA. *anyādvra*°) *saścima* (TA. °*maḥ*, Poona ed. °*ma*; RV. *saścire*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Tho the comm. on TA. takes *anyādvratasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one; *anyad* is the 'stem' form.

māteva putraṁ bibhṛtā sv (VS. ŚB. *bibhṛtāpsv*) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS. ŚB.

namaḥ śuṣkyāya (MS. *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS. is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*; but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification).

bhayaṁ śītimabhyām (KSA.° *madbhyām*) TS. KSA. Stems in *-man*: *-mant*; obscure names for some part of the horse's body.

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added):

kṛlān naḥ pāhy añhasaḥ (TA. *enasah*) MS. TA.: *ṛlān mā muñcatāñhasaḥ* TB. The latter is poor; comm. *ṛlāt prāptāt tasmād añhasaḥ*.

ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ TS.: *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya dhārāni mahiṣasya yonim* MS.: cf. *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS.KS.ApŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole. The MS. pāda may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS.

śravo (RV. VS. *avo*) *devasya sāsasi* (TS. TA. °*sim*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA.

stavāno (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhiyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution.

āyobhavyāya (AG. *māyo*°) *catuṣpadī* AG. ŚG.: *catvāri māyobhavāya* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. The ŚG. is obviously secondary and poor; it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*. *yāsām agnir iṣṭyā* (KSA. *niṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV. TS. KSA. The KSA. reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage. 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice': 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'.

eruṁ tundānā patyeva jāyā AV.: *peruṁ tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS. The original form of *eru*: *peru* is unknown; it probably means the male organ.

purudasmo viṣurūpa (KS. *purudasmavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS. KS. ŚB.: *urudrapso viśvarūpa induh* TS. ApŚ. Synonyms.

madhvā (VS. *adhvā*) *rajanśindriyam* VS. MS. KS. TB. Comm. on VS. *madhvā*, the only possible reading. Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśimahi tvā* ŚG.: *tvayāvasena* etc. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. PG. *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected *SBE* 29. 98, note.]

CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422. The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter.—In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between \bar{a} and short *a* plus nasal; they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423. Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and \bar{a} .

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which \bar{a} , not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of \bar{a} before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

1. Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases.

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p. 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p. 312 *infra*; rather different is the implication of III p. 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

- (a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*.

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm; at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264-6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence; nor, in TS., at the end of a

kaṇḍikā (Wackernagel I §265a, note); cf. VV I p. 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a*: thirteen of the 2d sing. impv. *-a*, eight of 2d plur. *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing. middle *-sva*, four of 1st plur. *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing. perfect *-a*, 2d sing. perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur. perfect *-a*. There are seven other cases: two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta*. On *prā*, probably not to be connected with IE **prō*, see §§439, 449, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV. 19. 39. 10d *suṽā* is a misprint for *suva*, see Whitney's note; the pāda is repeated without variant from AV. 5. 22. 3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p. 174: *vanaspate 'va srjā* (KS. *srja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. For another see *nihāram* etc., §446.

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus:

indra somani pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS.: *indra somam imani piba* RV. ŚŚ. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form; but p.p. of RV. MS. both *piba*. Cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8. 17. 1.

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the *a:ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV.; short *a* RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as it happens, the following word is *pra*. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °tā) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

Kauś. The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

juhota (AV. °tā) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA. This pāda of AV. (18. 2. 2b) is RV. 10. 14. 14b; the preceding one is RV. 10. 14. 15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman),

yamāya madhumattamam. But further, RV. 7. 102. 3b has *juhotā madhumattamam*; the first word is the first word of AV. 18. 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV. *juhotā* is a reminiscence of *juhotā* RV. 7. 102. 3b, where the *ā* is regular; in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV. it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434. With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned:

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both are regular; in AV. *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two.

agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (TS. *bhavā*) *tvam naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda. Perhaps *tvam* is surplusage; whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvam* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

§435. Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*; but in the other three *ā* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

hinva (Vait. *°vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait.

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. *°vā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.

abhi vāñīr ṛṣīṇām sapta (SV. °tā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

vidma (Kauś. text °mā; read °ma with AV.?) *te svapna janitram* AV.

Kauś. (pratika only).

adha sma (MS. smā) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. astu, KS. °nam astu kṛṣṇam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.

vidmā te nāma (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

asti hi śmā (TS. MS. KS. astu sma) *te śuṣminn awayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

adyā (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitaḥ* RV. SV. AB. KB. AA. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are:

vahā (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadh°*) *havīñṣi* MS. KS. TB. N. *upa* (MS. *ulā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °ñā *ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam (AV. *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr°*) RV. AV. MS. ArS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N. Note that ā is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§438. In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz., six, four, and six times respectively. It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth; one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the sixth of an anuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable.

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda:

pra (KS. *prā*) *ṇa āyur jīvase soma tārīḥ* RV. KS. AB. GB. Vait. MŚ.

It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS. has preserved a historic

representative of IE **prō*. Cf. *pra* (*prā*) *smā mināty* (*minoty*) *ajarah*, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§440. In the second syllable:

hinva (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadh°*) *haviṇṣi* MS. KS. TB. N. *vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

vidma (Kauś. °*mā*) *te swapna janitram* AV. Kauś.

adyā (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitaḥ* RV. SV. AB. KB. TB. AA. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

upa (MS. *utā*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

§441. In the third syllable:

juhota (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA.

pretā (TS. *upa preta*) *jayatā naraḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. Read *pra-itā* in RV. etc. TS. seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse.

janiṣvā (MS. °*ṣva*, RV. KS. °*ṣṭa*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

adha sma (MS. *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °*ṇam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§442. In the fourth syllable:

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. °*syā mahonām*) RV. SV.

tam ā prṇa (TB. *prṇā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. See §433.

ā juhotā (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (*pratika*)

ramayata (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretaṁ vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. *ramayata*.

asti hi smā (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te suṣminn awayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§443. In the fifth syllable, before the cesura:

udīrayathā (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

yatrā naś cakrā (Conc. *cakra* for KS. with one ms., but ed. *cakrā* with others) *jarasaṁ tanūnām* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

§444. In the sixth syllable of *anuṣṭubh*:

indra somaṁ pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS.: *indra somam imam piba* RV. ŚŚ. See §432.

§445. In the seventh syllable of jagatī:

pari ū šu pra dhanva (AV. *dhanvā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter tends to be long.

§446. In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī:

apo devīr upa srja (MS. *srjā*) *madhumatīh* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

bṛhaspate pari dīyā (TS. *dīya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

No real variant, since *dīya* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS.; see §428 and VV I p. 174.

agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (TS. *bhavā*) *tvañ nah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless *tvañ* be deleted; see §434.

vanaspate 'va srjā (KS. *srja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p. 174.

dyumantañ śuśmam ā bhara (SV. *bhara*) *svarvidam* RV. SV.

adīsan vā (MS. *dhipsyam vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyam*) *sañjagara* (TB. °jagārā, MS. °cakara) *janebhyah* MS. TB. TA.

vayañ rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS.† KS.† °mā, MS. p.p. and TS. *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāh* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS. °tha) *yaje* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīr*) *ā prṇasva* (TS. KS. TB. °svā) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

bhagemāñ dhiyam ud avā (TB.† ApMB.† *ava*) *dadān nah* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

nihāram in ni me hara (TS. †*harā*) TS. KS. The TS. form is quoted as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr. 3. 12; the actual quotation there includes the following word *nihāram*, which is the initial of the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of *a* final in its pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following *nihāram*); or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the saṁhitā-pātha is not *hara* but *harās*, subj. and not imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p.p. as *hara*, and hence arose the TPr. rule on the subject. This variant should then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures for this section.

§447. In the ninth syllable of jagatī:

abhi vāṇīr ṛṣīnām sapta (SV. °lā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

§448. In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh:

vīrebhir āsvair maghavā bhavā (TS. °va) *naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS.; cf. §428 and VV I p. 174.

gharman pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °lā, MS. °trā) *vāt* (MS. *vet*, TA. *vaṭ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA. Note that TA. is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable.

§449. Different syllables, with change of meter:

idaṁ me prāvata vacaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācam me* MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś. Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.

indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam (AV. *nu pra vocam vīr*°, but most mss., SPP., and Whitney Transl. *prā* for *pra*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.—Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 48. 47f.) like RV. On *prā* cf. §439 and 437.

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds.

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor. We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*; adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*; gerunds in *ya* or *yā*; instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*; and neuter nom.-accs. in *ma* or *mā*; also one variant of *acha:achā*. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf. §438). Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant. Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda.

§451. Adverbs in *tra:trā*; viz. *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra*. There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a); the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem. So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem. Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations. While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected.

§452. In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*:

yatrā (MS. **yatra*, AV. **yenā*) *naḥ* (AV. **te*) *pūrve pitarah paretāḥ* (RV. MS.* *pareyuh*) RV. AV. (bis) MS. (tris).

yatrā sapta rṣīn (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

yatrā (TS. *yatra*) *suhārdaḥ sukrto madanti* (TS. °*te*) AV. TS.

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sūdanā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kr̥notu*) RV. AV.† TA.

tatrā sadaḥ (SV. *tatra yonim*) *kr̥navase* RV. SV. KS.

tatrā (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatiḥ* RV. SV.: *tatra indro bṛhaspatiḥ* VS.

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

atrā (VS. *atra*) *jahīmo* (RV. TA. *jahāma*, AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. *aśivāḥ*, and *asan dūrevāḥ*; VS. ŚB. 'śivā *ye asan*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

§453. Adverbs in *tha*, *thā*, and *dha*, *dhā*. Among the variants are found only *atha*, *athā*, *adha*, *adhā*, and one case of *ittha*, *itthā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā*. There is this time no difference in accent. The *itthā:ittha* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

§454. In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one; but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.

atha (AV. *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no grhān* AV. HG.

adha (TB. *adhā*) *vāyum niyutaḥ saścata svāḥ* RV. VS. MS. TB.

atha viśve arapā edhate grhaḥ TS.: *adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate grhe* VS.

atha jīvrir (read *jīrvir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadāsi* AV.: *athā jīvrī* . . . ApMB.: *adhā jīvrī vidatham ā vadāthaḥ* RV.

adha syāma (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

athā (AV. *atha*) *devānām vaśanir bhavāti* RV. AV. TA.

athā (TS.* *atha*) *bhava yajamānāya śam yoh* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. No true variant; the short *a* once in TS. (3. 2. 11. 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi.

§455. For completeness we add here the single case of *ithā* varying with *ittha*. The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha*. Of course the original and regular form is *ithā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477: *ihettha* (AV. °*thā*) *prāg apāg udag adharāk* AV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.

§456. *Gerunds in ya:yā*. According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV. forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr. sing. forms of *i* or *ti* stems. This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary.

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening: *hiraṇyayāt pari yoner niṣadyā* (MS. °*ya*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

vanaspate raśanayā niyūyā (MS. °*ya*, KS. TB. *raśanayābhidhāya*) RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. N.

viśvā agne abhiyujō vihatyā (AV. TB. °*ya*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.

rudrāḥ saṁsrjya (MS. °*yā*, TS. ApŚ. *saṁbhṛtya*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mitraḥ saṁsrjya (MS. °*yā*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

§458. *Instrumentals of a-stems in na:nā*. In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a*. There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*; these three forms are initial in their pādas. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short *a* against the meter. In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short:

kavir gīrbhiḥ kāvyenā (SV. °*na*) *kaviḥ san* RV. SV.

tenā (AV. TB. Poona ed. and MŚ. ed. *tena*, but all mss. of MŚ. *tenā*) *sahasrakāṇḍena* AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tena vayanī sahasravalsēna* TB. ApŚ.

tena (AV. *tenā*) *vayanī bhagavantah syāma* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

yena vahasi sahasram VS. MS. ŚB.: *yenā* (KS. *yena*) *sahasram vahasi* AV. TS. KS. Vait.

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom. masc.) in ma:mā* (once, *a:ā*). Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc. *ā*: neut. *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number: altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the p.p. regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible; and cf. Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut. sing., so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf. Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭubh once; thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr*-(cf. §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long; the following one is long just half the time. *śarmā* (TA. °*ma*) *sapṛathā āvr̥ṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha sapṛathah* (read °*thāh* with all mss., cf. Lanman, *NI*fl. 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS. has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case.

vyomā (TS. °*ma*) *saptadaśah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.—BR. assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

ayam sahasram ānavo . . . vidharma (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. † Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula; rather change of gender, neut. to masc., in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

brahma (ApŚ. °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā ṛtasya* PB. ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ. masc., 'priest of the gods'). *ṛtasya brāhma* (AV. *bhūtānām brahmā*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh. in AV. to *prathamō ha*) *jajñe* AV. TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney's note.

tan no brahmā (TA. °ma) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS. *brahmā'*).

triṇśad dhāma (MS. MŚ. *triṇśāddhāmā* as one word) *vi rājati* RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. understands its compound as of masc. gender.

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *brahmā devakṛto-pahūtā* ŚB. Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB.

varma (AV. °mā) *sīvyadhvaṃ bahulā pṛthūni* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.

yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma (AV. *nāmā*) RV. AV. Cf. prec.; note the variation at the end of a pāda.

tava śravāṅsy upamāny ukthyā (SV. °ya) RV. SV. The only case of a n. pl. in *a:ā* not from an *n*-stem.

§461. One case of the preposition *acha:achā*. The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain; but in RV. it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that *achā* is original.

acha yāhy ā tvahā daivyaṃ janam RV.: *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV.SV.

We consider that *vahā:vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a:ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*. The p.p., of course, always reads short *a*.

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened.

§462. Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.

§463. The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final. So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical

variants of *a:ā* before the suffix *vant*; in every one the variant syllable is second in the pāda.

§464. Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II. 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence; cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants.—For compounds of *a* privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

§465. *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

apamityam apratittam yad asmi AV. (pratīkas in GB. Vait. Kauś):
yāny apāmityāny apratittāny (TB. Poona ed. °tittāny) *asmi* TB.
 ApŚ. (Metrical in AV., but prose in TB. ApŚ.)

upāvīr (TS. ApŚ. *upa*°) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See pw. VII p. 325.

prayāsāya (VS. *prā*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. TB. TA. On *prā*, not to be identified with IE **prō*, cf. §§429, 439.

[*prāvaṇebhiḥ* (MS. KS. *pravaṇena*) *saḥśasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*. See §491.]

§466. Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476.

āvite dyāvāprthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāprthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB. And (in same passage): *āvittau* (TS. *āvinnau*) *mītravaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. °nāv ṛtāvṛdhau) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665.

sahasrapoṣaṁ subhage (TS.*°gā) *rarāṇā* RV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. ApMB₁: *sahasrāpoṣaṁ subhage rarāṇā* AV. Kauś.

īde agniṁ svavasam (AV. *svāvasuṁ*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. Only the AV. truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu*. The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*.

deva saṁsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeṣiṣe (AV. *sahasrā*°) AV. TS.: *sahasrapoṣasyeṣiṣe* SMB. (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV. TS.; but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase.)

dvārapāya svāhā; *dvārapyai svāhā*; *dvārapopa sprṣa*; *dvārapy upa sprṣa*, all HG.: *dvārā*° etc., ApMB.

[*bṛhaspatinā rāyā svagākṛtaḥ* TS.: †*svagākārakṛto mahyam* MŚ. Conc. *svagak*° for MŚ.]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin.* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait. texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr. texts short *a*; but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed; we have seen (§§238 ff.) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical.

aśvat (RV. *aśvā*°) *soma vīrat* RV. SV. VS.

indravanto (TS. *indrā*°) *maruto viṣṇur agniḥ* RV. AV. TS. KS. †40. 10b.

puṣpavatīḥ (TS. *puṣpā*°) *supippalāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

puṣpavatīḥ (TS. ViDh. *puṣpā*°) *prasūvarīḥ* (TS. °*vatīḥ*, AV. KS. °*matīḥ*)
RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

sṛkāhastā (TS. KS. *sṛkāvanto*, MS. *sṛgavanto*) *niṣāṅgiṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

indravān bṛhad bhās svāhā KS.: *indrāvān svāhā* TS. TB.: *indravān svavān bṛhad bhāḥ* MS.

dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB.† °*yavān*) *patatrī* (PB. °*triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

vātavān varṣan bhīma rāvaṭ svāhā MS.: *vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛt svāhā* TS.: *vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā* KS.

agnīndrayor ahaṁ devayajyayā vīryavān indriyavān bhūyāsam MŚ.: *indrāgniḥ* (MŚ. °*nyor*) *ahaṁ devayajyayendriyāvy annādo* (MŚ. °*driyavān vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS. MŚ.: *indrasyāhaṁ devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS. °*yāvān*, MŚ. °*yavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS. KS. MŚ.

juṣṭam devebhyo havyaṁ ghṛtāvat (TS. *ghṛtavat svāhā*) TS. MS.

dhiṣaṇās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyavātī*) *prthivyaḥ sadhasthe* . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *aditiḥ tvā* (°*tis tvā*) *devī* . . ; *devānām tvā patnīr devīr* . . ; *janayas tvāchinnapatrā devīr* . . ; *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtrī*, etc.) . . ; *gnās tvā devīr* . . All in same texts, Maitr. always reading *viśvadevyā*°, the others °*vyā*°.

[*somaṁ te krīṇāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam* . . TS. KS. Conc. *vīryavantam* for TS.]

§468. *The reduplicating syllable.* Two cases; in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

trita etan (AV. *tṛta enaṁ*, comm. *etat*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmrje* (AV. *mamrje*) AV. TB. The AV. form is more usual but bad metrically; TB. (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmrj-* (found RV.).

śucanto agnīm vavṛdhanta (AV. *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV. KS. The regular form is *va°*, but forms with *vā°* are found in RV.

(d) Final *ā* optionally shortened to *a*; and other *a:ā* either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds.

§469. We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' *a:ā*. Real phonetic shortening of *ā* is not common. In most of the following variants both short and long *a* can be justified morphologically. We begin with an interesting group concerning *a* privative and the preposition *ā*. Some of these concern lengthenings of *a* privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition *ā*.

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV. form *ā'deva*, 'godless', is the same as *ādeva*, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV. itself. A somewhat dubious theory on *ādeva*, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 6. 49. 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131.

viśa ādevīr abhy aśnavāma RV.: *viśo adevīr abhy ācarantīh* RV. AV. AB. *bhuvad* (SV. *bhuvo*) *viśvam abhy ādevam* (SV. *ad°*) *ojasā* RV. SV. Here the *ā* may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura; with short *a* we have a tribrach.

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of *a* privative are:

adayo (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV. *adaya ugrah*) *śatamanyur indrah* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In pw. I p. 297 it is said that *ādāya* is an error for *adaya*. But the p.p. repeats the form; it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from *ā-dā*.

yāvā ayāvā ūmā abdaḥ (KS. *yāvā āyāvā ūmā tevā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekah* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ sagaraḥ sumekah* TS. ApŚ. The forms *yava(n)*, *yā°*, and *ayava(n)*, *ayā°*, are used with great confusion, but the *a-* seems to be felt as privative; the *y-* forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the *ay°* forms the latter half. The form with *āy°* is not noted except here and in the next; it seems to be equivalent to *ay°*.

sajūr abdo (MS.* *abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (TS. ApŚ. 'yāvabhiḥ, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*, KS. *āyavobhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. preceding.

§472. In the next we have a clear case of the preposition *ā* varying with *a* privative:

yām āpīnām upasidanty āpah AV.: *yām apītā upatiṣṭhanta āpah* LŚ.

‘Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon’: ‘whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon’.

§473. In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants; cf. the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff.). The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them a privative may be involved; so in the first:

svastidā āghrṇīḥ (TB. TA. *agh°*) *sarvavīraḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA. This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā*. The form *aghṛṇi* is recorded in no lexicon. Comm. on TB. desperately takes the *a* as privative: *asodhavyadīptiḥ* (!). The comm. on TA. varies in different mss.; one reading is *āgatadīptiḥ* (taking *a* as = *ā*). The reading adopted in Poona ed. is *adīpitaḥ*, *asmāsv anugrāhī*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf. the classical *aghṛṇin* (pw. II p. 286, ‘nichts verachtend’). But cf. also *pūṣṇe ‘ñghṛṇaye svāhā*, §300, where the yet different form *añghṛṇi* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛṇi*.

aśleṣā (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa*; both these forms are otherwise unknown. BR. derive *aśleṣa* from a privative, but *āśleṣa* (*āśr°*) from the preposition *ā*; this is hardly credible. The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other. The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a-* is a case of shortening before two consonants.

ā no viśva (MS. *°vā*) *āskrā* (TB. *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS. *°ta*) *devāḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The word is obscure; *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown. Comm. on TB. *ābhimukhyena kartāraḥ santaḥ*, which implies *ā* and supports BR’s derivation from *ā* plus root (*s*)*kr* (Sāyaṇa derives from *kram*). This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

§474. There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of *a* privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders. The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., and each time the Poona ed. reads short *a* in text and comm. without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts: *arāddhyā edidhiṣūḥpatim* VS.: *ārādhyai †didhiṣūpatim* TB. Conc. ‘For misfortune.’

aṣādham (TB. Conc. *aṣ°* or *āṣ°*) *yutsu pṛtanāsu paprim* RV. VS. VSK. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ‘Unconquerable.’

aṣādham (TB. *āṣ°*, Conc.) *ugraṁ sahamānam ābhiḥ* RV. AB. TB.

§475. Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *vant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II. 1 §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case.

nāsikāvate (TS. °*kavate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

amāyān māyavattaraḥ ŚB.: *māyām māyāvattaraḥ* AB.

idaprajaso (KS. *idā*°) *mānaviḥ* TS. MS. KS.

śiraḥpāṇipādapārśvaprṣṭhorūdarajañghaśiśnopasthapāyavo (MahānU. °*prṣṭhodarajañghā*°) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

ūrṇamradasaṇi (TS. TB. ApŚ. *ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*; Kauś. *ūrṇamradaṇi prathasva*) *svāsasthaṇi* (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthām*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś.: *uru prathasvornamradaṇi svāsasthaṇi devebhyaḥ* MS.

§476. The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition:

mitrāvaruṇanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyaḥ (VSK. *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

ye devā mitrāvaruṇanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas (VSK. *vottara*°) *tebhyaḥ svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

§477. The rest are sporadic. The stem *aṣṭa:aṣṭā* belongs with noun formation rather than here; *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On *itthā:ittha* see §455; on *achā:acha*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *viśvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants:

śivā viśvāha (VS. and p.p. of MS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*; TS. *viśvāha-bheṣajī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. *vratam rakṣanti viśvahā* etc., §511).

The reading of MS. p.p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *viśva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut. plur. in *a:ā*, cf. §§459 f.).

atī vā (AV. *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate naḥ* RV. AV. *vā:iva*.

yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §832.

athem ava sya (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivyāḥ* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth': 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth . . .'.
 . . .

2. Non-final *a:ā* in verb inflexion

§478. In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā*. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p. 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift:

devān devayate (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ. *yajamānāya svāhā*)
RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agne prehi prathamō devayatām (AV. *devātānām*, MS. KS. *devāyatām*)
AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is meant for *jagatī* in all except AV.; meter favors *devā°*.

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. *amitrā°*) RV. AV. TS. KS.
devayuvam (TS. TB. *devā°*) *viśvavārām* (AŚ. °*re*) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
devīr āpo agreguvo . . . devayuvam (VSK. *devā°*) VS. VSK. ŚB.

§479. Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p. 155):

vasoṣpate ni ramaya (N. *rām°*, so v. l. of AV.) AV. N.: *vasupate vi ramaya*
MS.

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS.: *yāvayāsmad dveṣaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. Kauś.: *yāvaya*
(v. l. *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS.: *yāvayāsmad aghā dveṣāñsi* TA.

yāvayārātīm KS.: *yāvayārātīh* (MS. Kauś. °*tim*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Kauś.
The p.p. of MS. has *yāvaya*.

tatra havyāni gāmaya (KS. *ga°*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. But von Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS. with one of his three mss.

§480. There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added:

aditsan vā (MS. *dhīpsyam vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyam*) *saṁjagara* (TB. °*jagārā*, MS. °*cakara*) *janebhyah* MS. TB. TA. These are first person forms, so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar.

yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS. †*sāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atriṇam* RV. SV. KS.

bibheda valam (AV. AŚ. *balam*) *bhrgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. The *ā* is probably due to the meter here; in the middle it is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h). But the AV. form is itself not regular; it should be *sehe*.

svām cagne tanvam (TA. *tanuvam*) *pīprayasva* (AV. *pīprā°*) RV. AV. TA. MahānU. See VV I p. 187. The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form.

§481. There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp. 128 f., 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following:

ānyāvākṣīd (VS. *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāṇi* VS. TB. Cf. also:
grāvāvādīd (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*; so KS. ed., with v. l. as Conc.) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ. °*śunā*) KS. ApŚ.

§482. Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f.). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193); or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā:a*, VV I pp. 180f., and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples:

ayann (TB. ApŚ. *āyann*) *arthāni kṛṇavann apāṇsi* RV. KS. TB. ApŚ.
ahā yad dyāvo (AV. *devā*) *asunītim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV. *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive.

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337:

ā mā gantāni (VSK.† °*tanī*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK. †*yuvam*) VS. VSK.

10.3.12c, TS. KS. ŚB. Subject voc. in VSK., nom. elsewhere.

Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs.

3. Non-final *a:ā* in noun formation

§483. In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear; the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484. Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the vriddhi of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this vriddhi. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite

§485. Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv°*, and *ay°*, *āy°*, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown:

sajūr abdo (MS. **abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (KS. *āy°*, TS. ApŚ. 'yāvabhiḥ, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (KS. *āyavā ūmā ṭevā abdas*; TS. ApŚ. *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yavānām (TS. *yāv°*) *bhāgo* 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ayavānām (TS. *ayāv°*) *ādhipatyam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

yavās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsīt* TS.

§486. Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable; type *bhaga:bhāga*. They call for no comment: *subhagamkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhāgamkaraṇam mama* SMB. Most *saṁhitā* mss. of AV. *subhāg°*.

mām agne bhāginam kuru ApMB.: *mām indra bhaginam kṛṇu* AV.

saṁsrāvabhāgā (°*gāḥ*, °*gās*, VS. ŚB. KŚ. *saṁsrava°*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

namaḥ parṇāya (TS. KS.† *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇaśādāya* (TS. °*śadyāya*, VS. °*śadāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

prātaḥ prātaḥsavasya (ApŚ. MŚ. °*sāvasya*) *śukravato* . . . ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *prātaḥsāva* is the only form known to RV., but the other is commoner later.

prātaḥ prātaḥsavasyendrāya (ApŚ. MŚ. °*sāvasyen°*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *śrāvaś* (VS. *śravaś*) *ca me śrutiś ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. *śravaś* might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvaś*.

kṣuro bhrajaś (TS. *bhrjvāñ*, MS. *bhrjaś*, VS. *bhrājaś*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *bhrajaś* (KS. ed. †*bhrā°*, v. l. *bhra°*) *chandaḥ* VS. (in next verse) TS. KS. (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS. *bhrajaś* for *bhrā°*.

vahnīḥ saṁtaraṇo (TA. *saṁpāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Different but synonymous roots.

§487. Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning:

yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam (AV. *ArS. VS. *bhā°*, AV.* *yad vā bhāvyaṁ*) RV. AV. (bis) ArS. VS. TA. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *bhav°*. Metrical lengthening, possibly.

uttarasyaṁ devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ (TB. also °*tā*) TS. ŚB. TB.: *upahūto 'yaṁ yajamāna* (MS. °*nā*) *uttarasyaṁ devayajyāyām* (MS. °*yājyāyām*) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§488. Forms in other suffixes:

havanaśrun (TB. *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*.

dūṣīkābhīr hrādunim (KSA.† *hra*°) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣīkābhīḥ* VS. MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*; if KSA. is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*.

divācarebhyo (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyaḥ* MG. ViDh.: *ahaścarebhyaḥ* ŚG. (Sc. *namaḥ* in both.) Also: *naktamcarebhyaḥ* ŚG. ViDh.: *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyaḥ* MG. Stems *cara* and *cārīn*.

tataṁ me apas (TB. ApŚ. *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punaḥ* RV. KB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic.

vratāni (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. *adābhyaḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. Here the gerundive varies with a participle.

§489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations; occasionally they may be lexically different in origin:

adāyo (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *ādāyo*) *vīraḥ* (AV. ed. with p.p. *adaya ugraḥ*, but mss. *adā*°, and so comm.) *śatamanyur indraḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. On the initial *ā* of MS. see §471. The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV. comm.). Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well. For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS. and note.

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Cf. §219. The word is obscure; is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ.?

vāṣaṭ ApŚ.: *vaṣaṭkāraḥ* AG. ŚG. If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss. of ApŚ. *vaṣaṭ*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vaṣaṭ*.

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pītṛṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pānktaraḥ* (KSA.† *pānktāḥ*, but mss. of both texts *pāntra-*) *kaśo mānthūlavas* (KSA.† *man*°) *te pītṛṇām* (KSA.† *pītṛ*°) TS. KSA. See §77.

hemantāya kakarān (KSA.† *kakārān*) VS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Name of an unknown animal or bird.

[*śīśirāya vikakarān* (KSA.† *vikārān*, Conc. *vikārān*; ApŚ. *vikirān*) VS. KSA. ApŚ.]

āstām jāлма (KS. *jalma*) *udaram śraṇṣayitvā* (KS. *sraṇs*°) AV. KS.

nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Read *kūvārasya* in KSA.; see §198.

śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ ApMB.: *śaṇḍikera* (PG. *śaṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG. PG. Fanciful names of demons.

ākhuḥ śrjayā śayaṇḍakas te maitrāḥ (KSA. *śayāṇḍakās te maitryāḥ*, em. in ed. to *°kas te maitrāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śārgaḥ śrjayāḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. The word *śay°* is obscure, and may have been originally a compound.

vāśā stha VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *vaśāḥ stha* MS. KS. MŚ. Addressed to waters. *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR. and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyaṇa's guesses); *vaśāḥ* 'cows'. It is held by some that *vāśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'.

§490. Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having *vridhhi* in the first syllable and the other lacking it:

tisraś ca rājabandhavīḥ (HG. *°vaiḥ*) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG. *°vyāḥ*) PG. MG.: *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavīḥ* (ŚG.† *°bāndhavaiḥ*) AG. ŚG. (Oldenberg suggests reading *°vīḥ* in ŚG.) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān°*, both from *bandhu*.

mītrāvaruṇau praśāstārau praśāstrāt (KŚ. *prā°*) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The office of the *praśāstr* is *praśāstra* or *prā°*.

divyaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ (AV. *payasaṁ*, KS VS. ŚB. TS.* *vayasā*, MS. TS.* *vayasani*) *brhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. *Suparṇ. vāyasa* and *va°* both 'bird'; *vayasā* is instr. of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'.

dhiṣṇāsi parvatī (TS. TB. ApŚ. *°tyā*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*, but KS. mss. *par°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In the Tait. texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr. school an equivalent *pārvata*; the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahīdhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable. See next.

prati tvā parvatī (TS. TB. *°tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See prec. Twice in KS.; once the sole ms. has *parv°*; the other time *pārv°*, but KapŚ. *parv°*.

gārgī (AG. *gargī*) *vācaknavī* (sc. *trpyatu*) AG. ŚG. Patronymics; *gārgī* is to be expected. See next.

śakalyam ŚG.: *śākalam* AG. (with both sc. *tarpayāmi*). Read no doubt *śākalyam* in ŚG. (misprint; Oldenberg's translation has *Śākalya*). Cf. prec.

ya āntarikṣāḥ (sc. *sarpās tebhya imam baliṁ harāmi*) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* . . . AG.

vāyur na ṛḍita ṛḍitavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) pātu KS. ApŚ.

āṅgūṣāṇām (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. The SV. form in this and the next is dubious.

āṅgūṣyaṁ (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *pavamānaṁ sakhāyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec. *śvetāya vaidarvāya* (°*vyāya*, °*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315.

suvarṇastainyam avrātyam (BDh. *avratyam*) ViDh. BDh. Perfect equivalents.

narāśaṁse (VS. *nār°*) *somapūthaṁ ya āśuḥ* (KS. *ānaśuḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

It is at least conceivable that *narāśaṁsa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without *vriddhi*.

[*narāśaṁsa staviṣyate* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. In the Berlin ed. of AV. is printed the false emendation *nārā°*.]

sūyavasiniṁ manave (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. °*syē*, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *mānuṣa* of KS. = *manuṣa* of TA. (*manuṣe* in RV. is dative of *manuṣ*, a more primitive form; all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*.)

agnīd rajanarauhiṇau (so ed., v. l. *rāja°*; p.p. *rājan*, *rau°*) *puroḍāśāv adhiśraya* MS. A name of a *sāman*; see note in MS., and BR. s. v. *rājana*, which seems to be the true form; *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable.

yakṣmaṁ śroniḥbhyāṁ (ApMB. *śroni°*) *bhāsadāt* RV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śroniḥbhyāṁ bhāsadam* AV.

araṇyāya (MS. *āraṇāya*) *śmarah* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Both mean 'of distance'.

kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ TB. ApŚ.: *ḍṛṇhantāṁ daiṣīr viśaḥ kalpantāṁ †manuṣyāḥ* KS.

achinno divyas (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

bṛhaspatir devānām. (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§491. In other cases a secondary formation with *vriddhi* of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word:

śunaṁ vāhāḥ śunaṁ naraḥ (TA. *nārāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. *naraḥ*, plur. of *nṛ*; *nārāḥ*, plur. of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*.

namas te rathamātarāya (AA. *rāth°*) . . . AA. LŚ. ŚŚ. Both words refer to

the Ratham̐tara sām̐an; AA. forms an adjective from the noun *rath°*, with *sām̐ne* understood.

bhuvanam asi sāhasram (MS. **sah°*, ŚG. *sahasrapoṣam*, MS. **sahasrapoṣapuṣi*, ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS. SMB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Probably read *sāhasram* in MS.*; note that MŚ. has this.

vāyosāvitra (TS. p.p. °*trah*; MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA. Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmās (TA. *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA.

nāsām āmitro (TB. *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV. AV. TB. *āmitra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amitra*)'.

agnes tvā (MS. *agneṣ tvā*) *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS. °*tyā*, MS. *jāgatyā*) *vartanyā* . . . TS. MS. KS. 'with the path of the jagati' or 'with the jagati as path'. KS. v. l. *jāgatyā*.

jagad asi MS. MŚ.: *jāgatam asi* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *jāgatāsi* MS.: *jāgato 'si* MS. MŚ. All 'composed in jagati meter'.

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB. *āgnendham*) VS. TB. The TB. form is problematic; comm. *agneḥ prajvalanakartāram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham*. Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnīndham*?

sadyahkrīś (ApMB. *sādyaskrīś*) *chandasā saha* ŚG. ApMB. *sadyaskrī* (masc.!), name of an ekāha. The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem. noun with which it could agree.

prāvaṇebhiḥ sajoṣasaḥ RV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *pravaṇena sajoṣasaḥ* MS. KS. The ἄπ. λεγ. *prāv°* is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj., '(fires) of the abyss'. But RV. p.p. *prav°*; possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*; in that case it would belong to §465.

śāśvatībhyaḥ (AV. ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *śaś°*) *samābhyaḥ* AV. VS. TB.

IśāU. ApŚ. The adjective *śāśvata* = *śaśvat*; fem. forms of both. *yadi varuṇasyāsi* . . . Kauś.: *yadi vāruṇy asi* . . . Rvidh. ApG.: *yady asi vāruṇī* . . . GG.

yathā yamāya harmyam (TA. *hā°*) AV. TA.; and

evā (TA. *evam̐*) *vapāmi harmyam* (TA. *hā°*) AV. TA. *hārmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that; but TA. takes it as a secondary adj., 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun; and this is also possible.

sūpasthā asi vānaspatyaḥ MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatiḥ* TS. ApŚ.

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathaḥ RV. SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS. ŚB.

adhyakṣāyānukṣattāram TB.: †*ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

somo vaiṣṇavo rājā (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somo vaiṣṇavas*) . . . *aṅgirasō* (AŚ. †*āṅg*°, ŚŚ. *āṅgirasō vedo*) *vedaḥ* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'The Aṅgirasas (i.e., the AV.) are the Veda'; so ŚB. The others mean the same thing: 'the (Veda) of the Aṅgirasas'.

§492. There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense. First a group of variants between *āgrayaṇa* and *āgrā*°, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma, which is apparently derived from *agra*; the *ā* may be rhythmic in character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in MS. MŚ. and KS., with short *a* elsewhere:

nidhanavata āgrayaṇaḥ (MS. KS. *āgrā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āgrayaṇaś (MS. KS. *āgrā*°) *ca me* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

āgrayaṇāt (KS. MS. *āgrā*°) *trinavatrayastrīṅsau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āgrayaṇo (MS. MŚ. *āgrā*°) 'si *svāgrayaṇaḥ* (MS. MŚ. *svāgrā*°) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ.

āgrayaṇas te dakṣakratū pātva asau AŚ.: *ātmānam ta āgrāyaṇaḥ* (ApŚ. †*āgra*°) *pātu* MS. ApŚ.

§493. When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds, the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a* declension:

ūrṇamradasaṁ (etc., see §475) . . . *svāsastham* (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthām*) *devebhyah* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś.: *uru prathasvornamradam svāsastham devebhyah* MS.

kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhaḥ (MS. KS. and most mss. of MŚ. °*ṣṭhāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

yuvā kaviḥ puruṇiṣṭha (KS. °*ṣṭhā*) *ṛtāvā* RV. TS. MS. KS.

mitro na (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *ehi sumitradhaḥ* (TS. KS. °*dhāḥ*, MS.* °*dhaḥ* *saha rāyas poṣeṇa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yo devānām nāmadhā (AV. °*dha*) *eka eva* (KS. *eko asti*) RV. AV. VS. TS.† MS. KS.

adabdho gopāḥ (KS. †*gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS. *pari pātu viśvataḥ*) RV. TS. KS.

pravāyāhne 'har jinva MS.: *pravayāhnāhar jinva* VS. The MS. form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form. If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*; VS. has instr. of *pra-vā*. The root is *vā*, 'blow'.

§494. Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems:

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyām pautramartyam* SMB.: *aprajāstvam mātavatsam* AV. On stems *prajas* and *prajāś* (: *prajā*) see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 95 f.

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB. °*sam kṛṇotu*) PG. ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem.) me-minded.' Stems *man-manas* and *man-manasa*.

agnir adhyakṣaḥ (TA. °*śāḥ*) MS. TA. 'Agni is overlord.' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA., as if from stem *adhyakṣas*! It is repeated in the comm., with gloss *svāmī*.

satvanām (MS. *satvānām*, KS. †*saltvānām*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Stems *satvan* and *sattva*; MS. has a bad writing for *sattu*°, cf. §392.

imām narāḥ (*naraḥ*) . . ., see §328. Nom. pl. of stems *nara* and *nṛ*. *tisraḥ kṣapas* (TA. °*pās*) *trir ahātivrajabdhīḥ* RV. TA. Stems *kṣap* and *kṣapā*.

tābhīr (TB. *yābhīr*) *yāsi dūtyām* (MS. °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV. MS. TB. Stems *dūtyā* and °*ya* (Pischel, *VSt.* 1. 22; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 58. 3).

agne prthivīpate . . . varuṇa dharmanām pate . . . TB.: *agne prthivīyā . . . varuṇa dharmānām . . .* ŚŚ. Stems *dharma* and °*man*. (Also listed in Conc. under *varuṇa* . . .)

§495. The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*; the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language; cf. Wackernagel III p 358 f.

aṣṭasthūṇo daśapakṣaḥ Kauś.: *aṣṭāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV.

aṣṭābhyah (KSA. *aṣṭa*°, but ed. em. *aṣṭā*°) *śatebhyah svāhā* TS. KSA.

[*aṣṭābhyah* (Conc. wrongly KSA. *aṣṭa*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rathamtarāyāṣṭākāpālāḥ* (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. All texts *aṣṭā*°; Conc. *aṣṭa*° for VS.]

§496. A couple of doubtful cases:

samudrasya tvāvakayā (TS. ApŚ. *tvāvā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *avakā*, name of a water-plant, from *ava*; *avākā* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf. similar cases before *vant* and *vin*, §467, and Edgerton, *JAOS* 31.118, where this should in that case be added. Boehtlingk, 'die untere Eihaut' for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ñ)c*; Keith, 'wind'; we see little reason for either interpretation.

nirṛtīm nirjarjalpena (MS. *nirjalpena*, TS. *nirjālmakena*, KS. *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṣṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; see §810. TS. comm., followed by Keith, 'bald'.

4. Non-final *a:ā* in Noun Declension

§497. In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax; that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

§498. First, the forms *apas* and *āpas* are frequently interchanged as nom. and acc. of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p. 240):

śaṁ no bhavanti āpa oṣadhayaḥ (6. 23. 3 *apa oṣadhīḥ*) *śivāḥ* AV. 2. 3. 6, 6. 23. 3. But mss. at 2. 3. 6 also *apa* (comm. *āpah*), which Whitney's Translation restores; and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter; it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura.

apo (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *anv*; AV. *divyā*) *acāriṣam* (JB. *†acārṣam*, AV. *acāyīṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Here the form is accusative.

§499. Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387.4; Wackernagel III p. 235 f.). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p. 237, foot:

dvīpac catuṣpad (SV. *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV. SV.

dvīpac catuṣpad (AV. VS. Kauś. *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.

catuṣpadām uta yo (TS. *ca*) *dvīpadām* AV. TS.: *catuṣpāda uta ye dvīpādaḥ* KS. MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular; different case forms.

viśvā āśā dakṣiṇasat (AB. AŚ. °*sāt*, ŚŚ. °*taḥ*, LŚ. °*dhak*) VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

§500. Twice Tait. texts present vridhhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dākṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II. 1 p. 101 (cf. also III p. 200) properly compares with *tvāt-pitārah*:

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB. °*tārā*) RV. TB.

ye devā manoḥātā (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu*°) . . . *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS. † °*tāras*) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

§501. Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom. pl. *vr̥ṣaṇaḥ* (Wackernagel III p. 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vr̥ṣāṇaḥ*: *vr̥ṣaṇaḥ* (TB. *vr̥ṣāṇaḥ*) *samidhīmahi* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB.

§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr. 589 = 9. 30), is replaced in SV. by the regular form:

mīteva sadma paśumānti (SV. °*manti*) *hotā* RV. SV.—Similarly:
ava droṇāni ghṛtavānti sīda (SV. °*vanti roha*) RV. SV.

§502. As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom.-acc. of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p. 288):

śarmā (TA. °*ma*) *saprathā āvr̥ṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathaḥ* AV. But all mss. of AV. °*thāḥ*, which should doubtless be read; comm. °*thaḥ*.

yachā naḥ (AV. *yachāsmāi*) *śarma saprathaḥ* (AV. VS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. °*thāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.

viśām agnim atithim suprayasam (KS. °*yāsam*) RV. KS. The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading; v. Schr. emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think. Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3. (But Wackernagel III p. 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uśas*.) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV., which is unquestionably conservative and wise; but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it.

ayā san (so read; MS. *ayāḥ san*, KS. ms. *ayāsā*, ed. emend. *ayās san*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛtaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*, KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. See next.

ayā san (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyani*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayasā ha° ū°* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts; a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom. form with noms. of stems in *as*. See Geldner *VSt.* 3. 122 n. 5; Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v.; Wackernagel III p. 282.

§503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms:

agne yan me tanvā (TS. *tanvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ. *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan ma ā pr̥ṇa* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG. Abl.-gen. sing. of *u*-stem.

anaḍvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. The passage of MŚ. is unpublished; if correctly reported, the ending of the nom. sing. pres. pple. would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems.

§504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*:

athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām RV.: *adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām* KS. But v. l. of KS. *yuva°*.

§505. Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender:

svām (MS. KS. *svam*, MG. *sva-*) *yonim gacha svāhā* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. MG. *yonī* may be masc. or fem.; the Tait. school makes it fem. in all the variants.

agne svam (TS. TB. *svām*, ŚB. *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See prec.

svam (TS. *svām*) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS. TS.† MS. KS. (No *svam* in TS.) *yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām* (MŚ. *svam*) *yonim* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. [*svāmkrto* (KS. *svam°*) 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form.]

dhruvam (TS. *°vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā mā (KS. *mām*) *hiṁsiṣṭam svam* (KS. *yat svam*) *yonim* . . . MS. KS.: *mā mā hiṁsiṣṭ svām* (KS. *svam*) *yonim* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *maīnam hiṁsiṣṭam svām yonim* . . . AB.

sa no dadātu tam (AV. *tām*) *rayim* AV. AA. ŚŚ. *rayi*, masc. or fem.

athāsmabhyam sahavīrām (AV. VSK. MS. KS. *°ram*) *rayim dāḥ* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Cf. prec.

abhīmam (TS. *°mām*, MS. MŚ. v. l. *°mān*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. l. *°mā*) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. *iṣu*, m. or f.

§506. These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yonī*, *rayi*, and *div*). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here. We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am*: *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc. or neut. adjective:

indremam pratarām (VS. TS. ŚB. *°rām*) *kr̥dhi* (VS. MS. ŚB. *naya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ud enam uttarām (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *°rām*) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

jīvātave pratarām (RV. *°ram*) *sādhayā dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. SMB.

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA.† *°rām*, MG. *pratīram*) . . . RV. AV. TA. AG. MG. And others, see §575.

asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdyānaḥ SV.: *adhi kṣami pratarām dīdhyānaḥ* RV. AV.

§507. In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom. masc. sing. and plur. of *a*-stems; as well as between masc. or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §§505–6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accus. pronouns *tvam* and *tvām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

surayā (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS. †MS. °*ta*) *retaḥ* VS. MS.

KS.† TB. ‘By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine.’

surayā (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somaḥ suta āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

dīkṣayedam (KS. *dīkṣāy°*) *havir āgachataṁ naḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for *dīkṣay°*.

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśūnāḥ (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS.

pra candramās tirate (TS.† °*ti*, AV.† °*mas tirase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Nom. voc.

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ (AV.† *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. *devāḥ* voc. pl.; *devaḥ* (lect. fac.) nom. sing. Ppp. ms. *devāḥ*, wrongly emended to *devaḥ* by Barret JAOS 35. 88.

namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK. °*yatāya*) . . . VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS., which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable.

tvām (TB. *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both readings are construable.

5. Non-final *a*: *ā* lexical and miscellaneous.

§508. In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins; cf. the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment:

vedhām aśāsata (SV. *medhām āśā°*) *śriye* RV. SV.†

akrān (TA. *ākṛān*) *samudraḥ prathame vidharman* RV. SV. PB. TA.

MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. *ākṛān ākrāntavān vyāptavān*.

āgann apāna ātmānam . . . ŚŚ.: *agan prāṇaḥ svargam* . . . ŚŚ.

āganma (AŚ. *ag*°) *viśvavedasam* VS. ŚB. AŚ.

āganma (SV. *ag*°) *vr̥trahantamam* RV. SV. AA. ŚŚ.

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. 'dhvara āsthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāḥ, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

agnaye samidham āhārṣam (ŚG. GG. *ahārṣam*) AG. ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG. ApMB.

yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat (MŚ. *paryā*°) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām AV. SPP.; Berlin ed. *ajagan*, with slight ms. authority; some mss. *ājāgan*; see Whitney's note on AV. 19. 49. 3.

§509. Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *ā*, before forms in short *a*:

agne (RV. *agne*) *yāhi suśastibhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āryamāyāti vr̥ṣabhas tuviṣmān TS.: *āryamā yāti vr̥ṣabhas turāṣāt* MS. KS. *patho anaktu* (AV. KS. °*ti*, TS. *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

āsmāsu (KB. *as*°) *nṛmṇam dhāt* (KB. *dhāḥ*) MS. KB. TA. ŚŚ.

kāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ. °*ṣa ā*°) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

tāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ. Vait. °*ṣa ā*°) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Vait. *yasmin sūryā ārpitāḥ* (KS. †TB. TA. *ar*°) *sapta sākam* AV. KS. TB. TA. *indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām* (TB. Conc. *āhv*°, Poona ed. *ahv*°, comm. *ahv*° with v. l. *āhv*°) VS. TB.

agnaya upāhvayadhvam Vait.: *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB.: *agne gr̥hapata upa mā hvayasva* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In Vait. *upa* + *ā*. [*antarikṣam* (VS. *ān*°) *pr̥thivīm adṛñhīt* VS. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. *ān*°, which is clearly right.]

§510. The pronouns *asmat* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange:

kṛtaṁ cid enaḥ pra mumugdhy (AV. TS.* *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS. *asmāt*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

praty auhatām (MS. *ūh*°) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmat*) AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. TA.

§511. The rest are miscellaneous:

vr̥taṁ rakṣanti viśvahā AV.: *vr̥tā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV. Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV. form for some obscure reason; cf. *śivā viśvāhā* (°*ha*) etc., §477.

ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāḥ AV.: *ye te 'ryaman* (KS. *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāḥ* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a. *jana-ayana*: *deva-yāna*. But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here.

gharmanī pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °tā, see §448; MS. °trā) *vāṭ* (MS. *veṭ*, TA. *vaṭ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. *vaṭ*, *vāṭ*, or *veṭ*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation.

āhalag (MS. *ah°*, TS. TB. *āhalam*, KSA. *ahalam*) *ili vañcati* (TS. TB. *sarpatī*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. An onomatopoeic interjection. All texts may intend *āh°*, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -ā; comm. on VS. TS. *āh°*; p.p. of MS., to be sure, *ah°*; in default of comm. or p.p. there is no evidence as to which KS. intended.

añārasya paraḥ putraḥ ŚB.: *āñārasya parasyādaḥ* ŚŚ. Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships.

śataḥśaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ.: *śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś. The Conc. suggests *śatākṣ°* in ApŚ., but probably wrongly; Caland, 'der hundertströmige' (*sruva*).

agdhād eko . . . samasanād ekaḥ TS.: *adhvād eko . . . sanād ekaḥ sanā-sanād ekaḥ* MŚ. See §181.

agnaye tvā mahyaṁ . . . āyur (MS. *mayo*) *dātra edhi . . .* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

añkāñkaṁ (MS. *añkāv-añkaṁ*, so p.p.; KS. *añkañkaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The curious shortening in KS. seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening). Cf. §362.

āptye (AV. *apriye*) *saṁ nayāmasi* RV. AV. See §878.

vātajavair (HG. *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaiḥ* MS. HG. See §268. *gāva upāvātāvatam* (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. See §60.

āntrīmukhaḥ . . . HG.: *ālikhann . . . hantrīmukhaḥ . . .* PG. See §386.

viśvakarman bhauvana māṁ didāsītha (ŚB. *manda āsītha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

§512. Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous:

pra smā mināty ajaraḥ RV. KS.: *prāsmā minoty ajaraḥ* ApŚ. We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439.

nīlāgalasālā AV. 6. 16. 4c.: *nīlagalamālaḥ śivaḥ paśya* NīlarU. 22b. The true reading of NīlarU. is certainly that of AV., see Jacob's *Concordance* s. v.; two mss. and the comm. read so, and the comm. quotes AV. 6. 16. 4.

aśīrṣāṇā ahaya (SV. °ṣāṇo 'haya) *iva* RVKh. SV.: *aśīrṣāṇa ivāhayaḥ* AV. But we must read in RVKh. as in SV., with Scheftelowitz (p. 106).

agnis ca dahataṁ prati AV. SV. Misprinted *āgnis* in AV., see Whitney's note.

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °nāt) *te minotu* (AV. *kr̥notu*) RV. AV. TA. Conc. *sadanā* for AV.

asmān devāso 'vatā (Conc. 'vata) *haveṣu* AV.† And others, all with *avatā*.

ā na indo śatagvinam (SV. misprinted *śata°*) RV. SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda.

arvān (GB. *ārṇān*) *ehi somakāmaṁ tvāhuḥ* GB. etc. Gaastra correctly *arvān*.

viśve devā udīcyām tu abhiṣiñcantu (error for °cyām tvābhi°) *śreyase* Rvidh.: *udīcyām tvā diśi viśve devāḥ . . . abhiṣiñcantv . . .* AB.

jāmin (KS.†cam) *mā hiñsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmin moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. The KS. (one ms. only) must certainly be emended to *jāmin*.

pavamāna vidharmaṇi RV. SV. Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV.; corr. Benfey's Corrigenda.

†*vārṣāharaṁ sāma gāya* (correct Conc.) MS. ŚB. MŚ.: *prastotar vārṣāharaṁ sāma gāya* ApŚ.

CHAPTER XII. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513. In contrast to the $a:\bar{a}$ variants, those between i and \bar{i} and between u and \bar{u} are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between $i:\bar{i}$ and $u:\bar{u}$ as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long i and u declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an \bar{i} or \bar{u} historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence.—See §§300–2 for variations between \bar{i} , \bar{u} , and short i , u , plus nasal, and §§395–8 for the like before single and double consonants.

1. Final short i lengthened phonetically

§514. We begin with cases in which final i , originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of $a:\bar{a}$, we include not only absolutely final i , but i in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final i .

§515. The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a *pāda*. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose; of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the *pāda*. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rodasī vi [vī] śa āvaḥ*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for i to be lengthened before v , but also before r and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).

§516. First the cases of prepositional adverbs. Note that the following consonant is most commonly *v* (once *b*); but *r* is also frequent, and there are several cases of *ṣ*. The first five variants have *i* absolutely final, not in composition; in four of them the older form of the variant has short *i*. We add one case of the conjunction *yadi*:

vidad yadī (MS.† *yadi*, TB. ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā* . . . RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. See §63.

abhi (SV. PB. *abhī*) *no vājasātamam* RV. SV. PB.

tena somābhi rakṣa naḥ RV.: *tebhiḥ somābhi* (TA. °*bhī*) *rakṣa naḥ* (TA. *ṇaḥ*) RV. TA.

abhī na ā vavṛtsva RV.: *agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva* (with variants; Kauś. *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §648.

mā tvā sūryo 'bhi (KS. *sūryaḥ pari*; ApŚ. *sūryaḥ parī*) *tāpsin māgnir* (ApŚ. *mo agnir*) *vaiśvānaraḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

obhe aprā rodasī vi (SV. *vī*) *ṣa āvaḥ* RV. SV. Here the meter favors *i*, which SV. introduces secondarily.

agnim atirugbhyām (MS. *atī*°) VS. MS.

adhivāsam (MS. *adhi*°) *yā hiraṇyāny asmai* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

abhivartaḥ (TS. *abhi*°) *saviṣaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

abhiṣāhe (and *abhī*°) *svāhā* MS. (both)

abhīṣāt (so ed. em., Conc. with ms. °*ṣās*) †*cābhīṣāhyaś ca* KS.: *abhīṣāt cābhīṣāhī cābhimātihaś* . . . LŚ.: *abhīṣāc cābhīṣavī ca* ApŚ.

nīroho (PB. *nī*°) '*si* TS. PB.

namo nīveṣyāya (p.p. *nī*°) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS.: *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hr̥dayyāya*, KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS. °*ṣyyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

parītoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ.

parivādam parikṣavam AV.: *parivādam parikṣapam* ApMB.

rṣī bodhapratibodhau AV.: *bodhaś ca tvā pratibodhaś ca rakṣatām* AV.: *bodhaś ca mā pratibodhaś* (KS. †*prati*°) *ca purastād gopāyatām* KS. MŚ.: *bodha pratibodhāsvapnānavadrāṇa gopāyamāna* . . . KS.

vivadhaś (KS. *vī*°, MS. *vīvadham*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vivarto (MS. KS. *vī*°) '*ṣtācatvāriṇīsaḥ* (KS. *aṣṭā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§517. To these may be added a case of *antarīkṣa* for *antari*°; the old adverb *antari* is fairly comparable with prepositions in *i* (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like *antari*). The form *antarīkṣa* crops up again in Buddhist Sanskrit; e.g. Saddharma-puṇḍarika, ed. Kern and Nanjio, 149. 1.

svadhā pitrbhyo 'ntarīkṣasadbhyaḥ (AV. *antari*°, GG.† '*ntarī*°) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. HG.

§518. The only other absolutely final *i:ī* concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhī*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. several mss. of MS. read *śrudhi*; but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant.* II. 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg.* 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf. *RVRep.* 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ.) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there):

imam me varuṇa śrudhī (AŚ. *śrudhi*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
ApMB.

§519. Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants; the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*):

imam agne camasaṁ mā vi jihvaraḥ (TA. *jī°*) RV. AV. TA. AG.
yiṇapsyata (AŚ. *yī°*) *iva te manaḥ* (AŚ. *mukham*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Desiderative from *yabh*; the form with *yī°* is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots.

udgrābhenod ajigrabhat (KS. *ajīgrabham* and *ajīgrbham*) MS. KS.

§520. There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant*:

mādhyamīdinasya savanasya niṣkevalyasya bhāgasya śukravato (ApŚ. adds *manthivato*) *madhuścuta* (KŚ.* *manthīvata*, v. l. *manthi°*) *indrāya* (MŚ. *savanasya śukra° manthivato niṣk° bhāgasyendrāya*) . . . KŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthi*) + *vant*.

parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu . . . *raśmivatīm* (MŚ. *raśmī°*) MS. KS.

§520a. In one case *ī* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kr*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *in*-stem before *cārin*:

ima udvāsikāriṇa ime . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsicāriṇa ime* . . . MŚ.
Cf. §59.

§521. And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member: *yā te agne hariṣayā* (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahvar-eṣṭhā* VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MŚ.)

2. Final *ī* in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522. No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II. 1 §56 e-g (cf. also Leumann, *Gurupūjakaumudī* 13 ff.). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening; that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, *ī* was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis.

§523. Radical *ī* is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527); the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS. alone has the shortening:

tasya rathagrtsaś (KS. *°krtsaś*, MS. *°krtsnaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānī-grāmaṇyau* (TS. *senānī°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *tārkyas cāriṣṭanemiś ca*, *senajic ca susenaś ca*, *rathaprotas* (TS. *rathe°*) *cāsamaraṭhaś ca*, *rathasvanaś ca rathecitraś ca*.

§524. The other cases concern the feminine nouns *prthivī* and (once) *prapharvī*:

yā devy asīṣṭake prāṇadā . . . prapharvīdāh (ApŚ. *°vīdāh*) . . . KS. ApŚ. *namo 'gnaye prthivīkṣite lokasprte* (ChU. *prthivīkṣite lokakṣite*, MU. *prthivīkṣite lokasmṛte*) TS. KSA. ChU. MU.

prthivīśadam (MS. *prthivī°*; VS.† *°śadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS. †adds *divīśadam devasadam*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

prthivīsprñ (MS. *prthivī°*) *mā mā hīnsīh* MS. TA.

ye devā divībhāgā . . . ye prthivībhāgās (TS. KS. *prthivī°*, but 2 mss. of KS. *°vī°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

svadhā pīr̥bhyah prthivīśadbhyah (MŚ. GG. *prthivī°*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. HG.

3. Miscellaneous final *i:ī*

§525. There is very little else. On *na ced avedī* (*avedi*) etc., see §530 below; it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified. Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or *ī*:

agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśrutī (MS. *°ti*, TB. *°śrīto*) *divas* (TB. *divah*) *prthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The form is locative of an *i*-stem;

MS. is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?).

ado (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS. *devī*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV. °*mānā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Nominative and vocative.

stomatrayastrinše bhuvanasya patni TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastrinše bhu° patnī* MS. As prec.: see §818.

sarī devī (KS. *devī*) *devyorvaśyā* . . . TS. KS. ApŚ.

rātri (TB. *rātrī*, v. 1. of KS. *rātriḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB.

satyād ā (ApŚ. *satyā tā*) *dharmanas patī* (Vait. MŚ. *pari*) AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

aśvinendram na jāgrvi (TB.° *vī*) VS. MS. TB. The *-vī* form is a dual adj., and so Mahīdhara takes the *-vi* form also; but possibly it may be a neut. sing. adverb.

gāyatrī (MG. °*tri*) *chandasām mātā* (MG. *mātāḥ*) TA. TAA. MahānU. MG. Nom.: voc.

na śīsarīdata (HG.† *śīsarīdataḥ*) ApMB. HG. See §384.

4. Noun stems in *i:ī*

§526. It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax; many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527. We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī*. First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

namaḥ senābhyah senānībhyāś (VS. TS. °*nībhyāś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS TS. MS. KS.

§528. In the same context occurs the following variant. Boehtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs'; this seems improbable in the light of the variants; both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith):

namaḥ śvanībhyo (MS. *śvanī°*) *mr̥gayubhyāś ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. KS.: *namo mr̥gayubhyah śvanībhyāś ca vo namaḥ* TS.

Other cases of probably original *ī* are:

sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām (MG. *akṣi°*) *bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG. N. The *ī*-form is regular in the older language: Wackernagel III p. 303. *varūtrīm* (KS.† *varu°*, TS. *varūtrīm*) *tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhīm* VS. TS.

KS. ŚB.: *tvaṣṭur varutrīm va° nā°* MS. MŚ.

rātrīm-rātrīm (AV. TS. *rātriin-rātrim*) *aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

rātrīm (KS. *rātrīm*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

rātrīm (TS. *rātriin*) *pīvasā* TS. KSA.

śam rātrī (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātriḥ*) *prati dhūyatām* AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA.

rātrīm (SMB. PG. MG. *°rīm*) *dhenum ivāyatīm* (AV. *upāyatīm*) AV. HG. ApMB. SMB. PG. MG.

ye rātrim (KS. *°rīm*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS.† *°ṣṭhatha*) AV. KS.

prati tvā parvatī (TS. TB. *°tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See §490.

veṣāśrīr (TS. *°śrīr*) *asī* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. IŚ.

mahīnām (VSK. *mahinām*) *payo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Even from the stem *mahi*, the VSK. form would be anomalous.

hrādunībhyaḥ (KSA. *°nībhyaḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. This is uncertain; both short and long *i* are otherwise known. RV. has *hrādunim*, but *hrādunī-vṛt*. See also *dūṣikābhīr hrādunim* etc., §543.

śimībhiḥ (KSA.† *śimī°*, VS. *śamī°*) *śimiyantu* (VS. *śam°*) *tvā* VS. TS. KSA.

§529. But in the rest stems in short *i* seem to be primary:

svāhākṛtibhyaḥ (TS. ApŚ. and most mss. of MŚ. *°kṛtī°*) *preṣya* TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'To hail-makings'; suffix *ti*.

ayās cāgne 'sy.anabhiśastiś (AŚ. ApMB. HG. *°tīś*) *ca* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. Suffix *ti*, as in the last.

ākūtīm (SMB. *°tīm*) *devīm manasaḥ* (SMB. *°sā*, AV. *subhagām*) *puro dadhe* (SMB. *prapadye*) AV. TB. SMB. As prec.

ātīr (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. *āti* is Rigvedic.

abhiṣṭīr (HG. *°ṣṭīr*, ApMB. *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh. ApMB. HG.

diva (*divas*, *divaḥ*) *skambhanir* (VS. ŚB. *°nīr*, VSK.† *skambhany*) *asī* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Here fem. gender is responsible for the long *ī*.

śiraḥ-śiraḥ prati sūrī vi caṣṭe TS. ApŚ.: *śiro devī prati sūrīr vi caṣṭe* KS. Here too *sūrī* is made fem., agreeing with a fem. entity.

śronibhyām (TS. *śronī°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

yakṣmaṁ śronibhyām (ApMB. *°ṇī°*, v. 1. *°ṇī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV. ApMB.:
yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śronibhyām bhāsam AV.

mitrāvaruṇau śronibhyām (TS. *śronī°*) TS. KSA.

śaṁ methir (ApMB. *śaṁ te methī*) *bhavatu śaṁ yugasya tardma* (ApMB. *trdma*) AV. ApMB.

ṛtūn prṣṭibhiḥ (KSA. em. *prṣṭibhiḥ*, ms. *bhr°*) TS. KSA. Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2. 358 f.

prṣṭibhyaḥ (KSA.† *prṣṭī°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

imām khanāmy oṣadhīm (ApMB. *°dhīm*) RV. AV. ApMB.

oṣadhībhyāḥ MG.: *oṣadhībhyāḥ* ŚG.

kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta RV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV.

sam arir (VS. ŚB. *arīr*) *vidām* (KS. *vidaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nom. sing. of stem *ari*; the anomalous VS. ŚB. form is noted in BR., s. v. 2 *arī*.

adhā jivri (AV. *atha jivir*, ApMB. *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. Stem *jivri* (or, with most mss. of AV., *jirvi*). RV. has a dual form; ApMB. an isolated sing. from a stem in *i*, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms. On the *i* of the initial syllable see §544.

plāśir (TB. *°śir*) *vyaktaḥ śatadhāra utsaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī . . . MS.: *ambā dulā nitatnir* . . . TS.

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.: *apo mahi vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV. TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form.

vi te bhinadmi takarīm (KS. *°rim*, AVPpp. [Roth] *tagarim*, AV. *mehanam*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. See §49. There is no way to determine the original quantity of the *i* here.

§529a. There are also cases in which a nom. sing. in *i*, apparently from a stem in *in*, varies with one in *iḥ* from a stem in *i*:

vyānaśiḥ (SV. *°śi*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmāṇā*) RV. SV. *tan no danti* (TA. *°tiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Comm. on TA. *mahādantaḥ*.

dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB.† *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PB. *°triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: *dūr° patatrī vājīnīvān* MŚ. MG.

suparṇo avyathir (SV. *°thī*) *bharat* RV. SV.

§530. In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also verb forms:

na ced avedī (BṛhU. *avedī*) *mahatī vinaṣṭiḥ* ŚB. BṛhU. So Conc., with

the printed texts. But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation; mss. *avedī*. The Kāṇva recension, however, has *avedir*; and Kena Up. (not in Conc.) *avedin*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster'). *avedir* would be nom. sing. of a noun stem *avedi*: 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster.' *avedī* is taken by comm. as nom. sing. of *avedin*: 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc. These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5. Verb forms containing *i:ī* and *i:ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531. This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character. We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

suśamī śamīṣva (TS. TB. *śamīṣva*, KS. †*śamnīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. *avanty asya pavītāram* (SV. *pavi*°) *āśavaḥ* RV. SV. The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura).

§532. The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure:

antarikṣam purītātā (TS. *puri*°, MS. *pulī*°, KSA. *pulī*°) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

ulo halikṣṇo (TS. *ūlo halī*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Name of some animal. A theory as to the origin of this *ī* in Wackernagel, I §39 note.

§533. At least in origin, the *i* of the *iṣ* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion. When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf. VV I p. 189:

tena (TB. *tato*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv* (MS. °*ṇā*) *aviṣtam* (TB. *avī*°) RV. MS. TB. The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin. The *ī* of TB. is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avīt*. So in the next.

amāmadanta pitaro (Kauś. also *patnyo*) *yathābhāgam* (. . .) *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (Aś. °*yīṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Aś. Lś. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. Cf. prec.

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS. °yīd, KSA. °yed, MS. *ghanayīd*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceding; TS. shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms.
ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ. On the anomalous TS. form see VV I p. 27.

ā gharma agnīm ṛtayann asādi (TA. °dīt) RV. TA.: *ā gharma agnir amṛto na sādi* MS. See VV I §84.

§534. Probably rhythmic in character is the *ī* which varies with *i* in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign; cf. VV I p. 155, and above §478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*:

putrīyantaḥ (AV. *putriyanti*) *sudānavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

janiyanto nu (AV. *janiyanti nāv*) *agravaḥ* RV. SV. AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§535. In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening of *i* in stem syllables; at least it occurs in positions where the meter favors a long:

prati śma (SV. *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV. *rīṣ*°, and so p.p. of RV. and MS.) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. The p.p. readings confirm our opinion that the *ī* is metri gratia.

avāmba (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *adī*°, and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., and p.p. of MS.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§536. But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some cases where it cannot be rhythmic; the explanation varies and is sometimes obscure:

sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣīyema (AV. *kṣi*°) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The root *kṣi* 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with *ī*, perhaps under the influence of the other root *kṣi* 'perish', from which *ī* forms are familiar.

yūpāyocchrīyamāṇāyānubrūhi (MŚ. °chriya°) ApŚ. MŚ. Here the *ī*, in the passive of *śri*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in MŚ. with most mss.

samiṅgayati (ŚB. *samī*°) *sarvataḥ* RV. ŚB. BṛhU. The root *iṅg* appears sporadically as *iṅg* in the Brāhmaṇas; the true reading of BṛhU. is *samīṅg*° in this passage (text emended).

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ji* and *jyā*, *jī*: *ajitāḥ* (TA *ajitāḥ*, ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *ajitā*) *syāma śaradaḥ śatam* TA. ApMB. HG.

vājino vājaito vājam sasrvāṅso (KS *jigivāṅso*, TS. *sasrvāṅso vājam jigivāṅso*) . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

§538. We have classified the form *iyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *i*; see VV I p. 126:

iyānaḥ (SV. *īy*^o) *kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ* RV. SV. AV. KS. TA.

stotr̥bhyo dhr̥ṣṇav iyānaḥ (SV. *īy*^o) RV. AV. SV.

§539. The participle *īḍita* appears as *īḍ*^o, probably under the influence of the nouns *īḍ*, *īḍā*:

īḍito (MS. KS. *īḍ*^o, VSK. *īl*^o) *devair harivān abhiṣṭiḥ* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§540. The present and past passive participles of root *kṣi* 'perish', *kṣiṇat* and *kṣiṇa*, are concerned in the following:

namo vikṣiṇatkebhyaḥ (TS. KS. *vikṣiṇak*^o) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *nama ākṣiṇakebhyaḥ* MS. If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings; but the mss. vary, and it is likely that *ākṣiṇak*^o was intended.

The 3 plur. perfect ending *ire* appears once as *īre*:

tāḥ prācyā (Vait. *°yaḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† *°īre*, Vait. *saṃji-gāire*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

6. Noun suffixes containing *iḥ*

§541. Twice in MS. the suffix *iya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*; but both times the p.p. of MS. has *iya*:

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. *'gryāya*, MS. *'grīyāya*) *ca prathamāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*; MS. *sahasriyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

§541a. We have quoted in §249 (q. v.) three variants in which AV. reads *varīyaḥ* for older *varivaḥ*:

asmabhyam indra varivaḥ (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyam mahi varivaḥ sugam kaḥ* RV.

sakhā sakhībhyo varivaḥ (AV. **varīyaḥ*; so one ms. of GB.; Ppp. *varivaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* RV. AV. *TS. KS. GB.

tvaṣṭā no atra varivaḥ (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* AV. TS.

§542. Several times forms in *īna* vary with other forms containing short *i*:

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginā (ApŚ.* *viśobh*^o, KS. *veśabhaginī*) . . . MS. KS.

ApŚ. *-bhaginā*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here; KS. substitutes a more regular form (fem. of *bhagin*).

tiraścirāḥ (MS. *tiraścinarāḥ*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS. Again *īna* varies with *in* (weak stem *i*).

namo yuvabhyo nama āśinebhyaḥ RV. ApŚ.: *namo yuvabhya āśinebhyaś*

(MS. *āṣi*°, p.p. *āsi*°) *ca vo namaḥ* (MS. *namo-namaḥ*) MS. KS. *āṣina* is ἀπ. λεγ. in RV.; in MS. it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *īna*.

§543. The shortening of *ī* to *i* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings. Cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 95 f., 111. *dūṣikābhīr hrādunīm* (KSA. †*hra*°) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīh* VS. MS.

7. Miscellaneous *i* and *ī*

§544. Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious: *īṁkārāya*, and °*kṛtāya* (KSA. *im*°, VS. MS. ŚB. *him*°) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

īryatāyā (TB. *ir*°) *akitavam* VS. TB. From the equivalent adjective forms *īrya* (RV.) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. *īrya*).

uṣṭārayoḥ pīlwayoḥ (ApŚ. *pīlwayoḥ*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. the word *pīlu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree. Obscure.

vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan VS.: *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB. Comm. on TB. *dr̥ḍhasaktayaḥ*, that is equivalent to *vīḍu*, for which *vīḍu* is not recorded.

adhā jīvrī (AV. *atha jīvrir*, most mss. *jīrvir*, which Whitney would restore; ApMB. *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā(ji)* or *jṛ*. The *ī* in the first syllable in ApMB. is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jīv* or of the *ī* forms of *jyā* or *jṛ* (*jīrṇa* etc.). See §529.

anamīvāsa idāyā (MS. *anamīmāsā idāyā*, p.p. *idāyā*) *madantaḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The MS. form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *īḍ*? cf. the lexically quoted *īḍā*), corrected in p.p. *dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS.° *tīr*, MS. °*tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tīr*) *vāvr̥dhānā* (AV.° *nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different case forms of an *i*-stem. See §236.

śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ ApMB.: *śaṇḍikera* (PG. *śaṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG. PG. See §489.

§545. The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations; thus in the first: *subhūtāya pīpīhi* (MS. *pīpīhi*) MS. TA. ApŚ. And others, with *iṣe*, *ūrje*, *brahmavarcasāya*, etc. In MS. always *pīpīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpīhi* is from *pyā(pī)* 'swell'. The result, how-

ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity; cf. VV I p. 182.

sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak (TB. ApŚ. *abhīṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. See §142.

sudītir asi TS. PB.: *sudītir asi* KS. GB. Vait.: *suditinādityebhya ādityān jinva* MS. Boehtlingk: *sudīti* Anklang an Aditi; *sudīti* glanzvoll (*dī*). *Sudīti* is Rigvedic.

viśvam id dhītam (MS. *dhitam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ. Roots *dhī* and *dhā*.

tigmam āyudham (AV. *anīkam*) *vīḍitam* (AV. *viditam*; KS. °*dham* *īḍitam*) *sahasvat* AV. TS. MS. KS. See §169.

kavir yaḥ putraḥ sa im ā (TA. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N.

ati vā (AV. Kauś. *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate naḥ* RV. AV. Kauś. Metathesis of quantity.

śan padan magham *†rayiṣiṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. *rayi-ṣin*: *rayi-san* (so Keith; or, *-sani*).

ghasīnā (ApŚ. *ghasīnā*) *me mā samprkthāḥ* VSK. ApŚ. Corruption in ApŚ.; perhaps for *ghāsīnā* (RV. *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf. Caland's note.

ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (SV. KB. ŚŚ. *hariha*, AŚ. *harī iha*) AV. SV. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless read, in all except AV., *hariha* (= *harī iha*), with Whitney on AV. and Keith on KB.

gaurīr (TB. TA. °*rī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

indrāpāsya phaligam ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śephām alīkam* . . . HG. See §46.

samidhho agnir vṛṣaṇāratiḥ (AV. °*ṇā rathī*, ŚŚ. °*ṇā rayir*) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

rādhānsit (MS. MŚ. °*si*) *saniprcānāv* (MS. MŚ. °*nā*) *asam*° MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. And others; see §180.

[*atikiriṣam* (comm. °*ṛiṣam*) *atidanturam* TB. So Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed.; probably misprint; Poona ed. comm. with text *atikiriṣam*.]

[*†vaṅkrīr* (so all!) *āśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti* RV. VS. TS. KSA.]

8. Final *u* lengthened

§546. As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i*: *ī*, and add nothing further to the subject.

§547. Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS.):

o šu (MS. *ṣū*) *varṭta* (MS. KS. *varṭa*) *maruto vipram aḥa* RV. MS. KS. *taṃ ū* (MS. *u*) *śuciṃ śucayo dīdivāṃsam* RV. ArS. TS. MS. KS.

imam ū (MS. *u*, p.p. *ū[m]*, and MŚ. *ū*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

idaṃ ta ekaṃ para ū (TB.† ApŚ.† *u*) *ta ekaṃ* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB.

TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (*u-ta* = *uta*.) On *puru*: *purū*, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555.

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*; the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf. VV I p. 182:

grhān ajūgupataṃ yuṃam AŚ.: *grhān* (MŚ. *grhāñ*) *jūgupataṃ yuṃam* MS. MŚ.

prajāṃ me (ApŚ. **no*) *naryājūgupah* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. 1. °*jūgupah*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

paśūn me (ApŚ. **naḥ*) *śaṃsyājūgupah* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. 1. °*jūgupah*) MS. MŚ. ApŚ.: *dhanam me śaṃsyājūgupah* KS.: *śaṃsya paśūn me 'jūgupas tān me pāhy eva* ŚŚ. And others in the same passages.

ahirbudhnya mantram me 'jūgupah (v. 1. °*jū*) . . . MŚ.

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*:

savitre tvarbhūmate (VS. ŚB. *tvā rbhu*°, MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. If MS. understands a form of *rbhu*°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS. (see §916); and two mss. read *svārbhūmate*.

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf. under §516).

anurohaṃ jinva Vait.: *anuroho* (KS. *anū*°) 'si TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anurohāya tvā* PB. Vait.: *anūroheṇānūrohāyānūrohaṃ jinva* MS. (with p.p. and v. 1. each time *anu*°).

anuvṛd (KS. *anū*°) *asi* KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anuvṛte* (KS. *anū*°) *tvā* KS.

PB. Vait.: *anuvṛtaṃ jinva* Vait.: *†anūvṛtānūvṛte 'nūvṛj jinva* MS. *panthām anūvṛgbhyām* (KSA. *anu*°) TS. KSA.

anukāśena bāhyam MS.: *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS.: *antareṇānūkāśam* TS. KSA.

§551. Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*; in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts:

saṁdhātā saṁdhiṁ (MS. °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (TA. ApMB. and p.p. of MS. *puro*°; MS. *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

urūṇasāv (TA. *uru*°) *asutr̥pā* (AV. TA. °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulu*°) RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

mithucarantam (TS. *mithuś ca*°, KS. *mithū*°, AV. *mithuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS.

sindhoḥ śiṁsumāraḥ (KSA.† *śiśū*°) TS. KSA.: *samudrāya śiśumāraḥ* VS. MS. See §305. Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain.

§552. Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū*:*u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff.), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf. also §563):

brahmaṇas pate suyamasya (MS. *sū*°, p.p. *su*°) *viśvahā* RV. MS. TB.

The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura).

suyame me adya ghṛtācī bhūyāstaṁ svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau ApŚ.: *suyame me bhūyāstaṁ* VS. ŚB: *sūyame me 'dya staṁ svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau* MS. MŚ.

kuyavaṁ ca me 'kṣitiś (VS. °*taṁ*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS. (v. l. *kū*° in MS.): *akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.

9. Final *ū* shortened

§553. Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV. as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening:

kūṣṭho (read *kū ṣṭho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV.: *ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām aśvinā* SV.

See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5. 74. 1.

10. Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554. The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of -*bhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition:

hanūbhyām (KSA. *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

hanubhyām (TS. *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In this and the prec. Tait. texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*.

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.

śūrāso ye tanūtyajāḥ (TA. *tanu°*) RV. AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening.

iyam te yajñīyā tanūḥ (VSK. *tanuḥ*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.

avasyur (VS. ŚB. °syūr) *asi duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ.

śundhyur (VS. TS. °yūr) *asi mārjālīyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

Only -*yu* in RV.

ārādhyai (see §474) †*didhiṣūpatim* TB : *arāddhyā edidhiṣūḥpatim* VS (on the latter see §381).

varenyakratūr (AV. °tur, ApŚ. *īdenyakratūr*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.

Whitney calls °tur 'an improvement'. See also §383.

vibhūr (PB. *vibhur*) *asi pravāhaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ.

vibhūr (KSA. *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūḥ* (KSA. *prabhuḥ*) *pitṛa* VS. TS. MS.

KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

śambhūr (KS. °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

Note *mayobhūr* even in KS.

ābhūr (VS. TS. *ābhur*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °dhiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS.

savitre tvarbhūmate (etc., §549) *vibhūmate* (MS. *vibhū°*) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA.

phalgūr (KSA. °gur) *lohitornī* . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA.

havanaśrun (TB. *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. Comm. on

TB. *āhvānasya śrotā san*. Irregular lengthening of *śru* in composition.

§555. Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom.-acc. forms, both sing. and plur., in either *u* or *ū*:

sa hi purū (SV. *puru*) *cid ojasā virukmatā* RV. SV. Adverbial.

[*saṁ grbhāya purū* (TB. *puru*, Poona ed. *purū-*) *śatā* RV. AV. MS. KS.

TB.]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*:

dadhad ratnaṁ . . . *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṇṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §819.

vrṣā punāna āyusu (SV. *āyūṇṣi*) RV. SV.

§556. In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel: *kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *dakṣakratubhyām* (sc. *me* etc.) TS. ApŚ.: *dakṣakratubhyām me varcodāḥ pavasva* MŚ.

§557. The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c). In the ApŚ. form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhiḥ*; and conversely in the KS. form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound; note that in the 'correct' MŚ. form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur. Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc., stigmatizes KS. *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for *°ram*) as corrupt; and Knauer proposes to emend KS. on the basis of MŚ. But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants:

yathādhuram (KS. ms. *°dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS. *dhūro*) *dhūrbhiḥ kalpantām*
KS. MŚ.: *yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhiḥ kalpantām* ApŚ.

11. Other *u: ū*

§558. The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing. In verb inflexion there is practically nothing. Once TB. presents an anomalous *ūḥ* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uḥ*; it occurs at the end of a pāda, and remains unexplained:
upo ha yad vidatham vājino guḥ (TB. *gūḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

§559. The various forms of the root *su*, *sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc., show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel. Thus: *prasāstaḥ pra suhi* (KŚ. *sūhi*, MŚ. *suva*, ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Both *sūhi* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p. 189 it is suggested that *suhi* is a blend of the two. Cf. next.

ardhamāsyam prasutāt pitryāvataḥ JB.: *pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ* KBU. Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise. JB. 1. 18 has v. l. *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, *JAOS* 19 [2], 112, 115; delete in Conc. *tam ardhāmāsam* . . .).

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*:

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ. *°bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. l. *°bhūvam*) MŚ.

§560. Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uḥ*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings . . . hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*); indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *uhyate*) as identical from the two roots. Of course they are ultimately variants of each other:

mā hiṁsiṣur vahatuṁ uhyamānam (ApMB.† *ūhyamānām*) AV. ApMB.

Here *ūh* does not fit very well; AV. means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds'. (In ApMB. the pple. is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off'.)

samūhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ ŚŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ* ApŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvavedā* . . . VSK. KŚ. Here, contrary to the prec., it is *sam-ūh* that is meant, even in ŚŚ.

phalgunībhyām vy ūhyate ApG.: *phalgunīṣu vy uhyate* AV. Kauś.

§561. The present participle of the 'root' *tūrv* varies with the related adjective *tura*:

tūrvan (KS. *turo*) *na yāmann etaśasya nū raṇe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§562. Several times the word *varutrī*: *varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vr* 'cover', varies in its two forms:

varūtrīṣ *tvā* (KS. *varutrīs tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.:
varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr . . . TS.: *varūtrī* (once, 2. 7. 6, *†varu*°,
 and so v. l. in the other passage) *tvā devī viśva*° . . . MS. (bis)

tvaṣṭur varutrīm varuṇasya nābhīm MS. MŚ.: *varūtrīm* (VS. ŚB. °*trīm*,
 KS.† *varutrīm*) *tvaṣṭur var*° *nā*° VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

varutrīr awayan KS.: *varūtrayas †tvāvayan* ApŚ.

§563. The word *sumna* or *sū*° has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf. §547) also appear with *sū*:

sumnāya (VS. *sū*°) *nūnam īmahe sakhibhyaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. Kauś.

dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (AV. °*yau*; VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB.

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread:

viṣṇo (°*ṇoh*, °*ṇos*) *stupo* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stūpo*) 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *viṣṇoh stupah* MS. MŚ.

reṣmāṇam stupena (MS. *stū*°, but p.p. *stu*°!) VS. MS.

§564. The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v., may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran AV.: *ūrvaṁ gavyām pariśadanto agman* RV. KS. See §46.

urv (AŚ. once *urvy*, once *ūrvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf. Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint.

ūrva (TB. *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmo asme* RV. †3. 90. 19c, TB. N. Comm. on TB. *urva iva, vāḍavāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*.

rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

§565. The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank':

kulyābhyah (TS. *kū°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Here the TS. comm. takes *kū°* as a secondary adjective from *kūla*; but it is probably only an equivalent of *kulyā*, cf. next. Keith, 'to those of the pools'.

medasaḥ (HG.* *ājyasya*) *kulyā* (HG. *kū°*) *upa tān* (AG. *upainān*, SMB. *abhi tān*) *sravantu* (HG. ApMB. *kṣarantu*) VS. AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. HG. ApMB.: *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhiniḥsravantu* MG. Cf. also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* . . . in Conc., and prec. Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *kū°*.

§566. The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA. Poona ed. reads *pū°* with v. l. *pu°*:

ato (AV. ArS. ChU. *tato*) *jyāyānś ca pūruṣaḥ* (TA. *pu°*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. ChU.

§567. Twice the RV. writes *ūgra* for *ugra*. According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 165. 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable; cf. Wackernagel I p. 293 f.). One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p.p. *hi*, *ugraḥ*. Both *pādas* occur in the same hymn:

ahaṁ hy ugras (RV. *ū°*) *taviṣas tuviṣmān* RV. MS. KS. TB.

ahaṁ hy ugro (RV. *ū°*) *maruto vidānaḥ* RV. MS. KS.

§568. Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words:

ūlena parimīdho 'si HG.: *ulena pariṣīto 'si* ApMB. Followed by: *parimīdho 'sy ūlena* HG.: *pariṣīto 'sy ulena* ApMB.: *utūla parimīdho 'si* PG. The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown. Cf. next.

ulo halikṣṇo (TS. *ūlo halt°*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. prec. Here apparently some animal is meant.

godhūmāś ca me masūrās (TS. and KapS. *masu°*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Both forms are otherwise known; *masūra* seems to be commoner. *hotā vediṣad atithir duroṇasat* (VS. *dū°*, but comm. *du°*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TA. MahānU. KU. NṛpU. VaradapU. The word *dūroṇa*, for the usual *duroṇa* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded.

kurkuro nīlabandhanaḥ HG.: *kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ* (ApMB. *vāla°*) PG. ApMB. The usual form is *kurkura*; perhaps cf. Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant). Cf. next.

kurkuraḥ sukurkuraḥ HG.: *kūrkuraḥ* (ApMB. °ras) *sukūrcuraḥ* PG. ApMB. Cf. prec.

kuṣmāṇḍāḥ, °*dāni*, °*dyah*, and *kuṣ*°, *kūṣ*°, *kūs*°. See §290.

prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāḥ (AV. *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ. *bhūma ne*°) AV. AŚ.

ŚŚ. Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma(n)*.

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS.: *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV.

āpura stā ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā* . . . TS. AŚ.

atikulvaṁ (VSK. °*kūlvaṁ*) *cātilomaṣaṁ ca* VS. VSK. *kulva* 'bald', regularly with short *u*.

agnaye dhūṅkṣṇā (KSA. °*kṣā*) TS. KSA.: *dhuṅkṣāgneyī* (VSK. °*kṣvā* or °*kṣyā*°) VS. VSK. MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown.

uṣo (PB. *ūṣā*) *dadṛkṣe* (PB. *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV. PB. Conc. suggests reading *uṣā* in PB.

pūlyāny (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants). Cf. §151.

§569. The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhva*:

ugro (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG. °*jam*) *apa* (MG. *upa*-) *sedha* (AV. *vṛṅkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

ugradhanvā (TS. MS. KS. *ūrdhvaḍha*°) *pratihitābhīr astā* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ud vaṇsam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

yad annam admi (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāṇāgU. *virād-dham*, vv. ll. *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

brahmādhiguptaḥ (etc.) . . . : *brahmābhigūrtam* . . . , see §742.

athā jīvaḥ (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *athaitam*, AV. *adomadam*) *pītum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prasūtaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aghnyau śūnam (AV. *aghnyāv aśunam*) *āratām* RV. AV. *śūna* 'want': *aśuna* 'unprosperity'.

suhutakṛtaḥ stha AŚ.: *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.

utem (SV. *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. In RV. etc. *uta-īm*, in SV. acc. of *ūti*. But the Saṁhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the *u* vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final *u*.

sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahma-jyasya* AV. 'Burns up': 'shatters'.

trīṇi padāni rūpo anv arohat AV.: *pañca padāni rupo anv aroham* RV.

Read *rupo* in AV., with many mss., comm., and Whitney's Transl. *udno* (AV. text *ūdhno*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV. MS. *dhātaḥ*) AV. TS. MS.

KS. *ūdhno* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note.

Cf. §106.

namo vaḥ pitarāḥ śuṣmāya (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*)

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720.

CHAPTER XIII. QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1. Short *a* and *i*

§570. The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a: i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571. We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut; it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *śakya* (by which TA. comm. glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *śikvas*); according to Wackernagel (l. c., p. 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ*: *satām śikyah* (MahānU. *śa*°, v. l. *śi*°) *provācapaniṣat* TA. MahānU.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in:

dātum cec chikṣān sa (TA. *chaknuvāṅsaḥ*, or °*vāṅ sa*) *svarga eva* (TA. *eṣām*) AV. TA. See §826.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam*: *śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p. 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant *pādas* VS. uses only *śam*, TS. KS. only *śim*:

śamābhiḥ śamyantu tvā VS.: *śimābhiḥ* (KSA. †*śimi*°) *śimyantū tvā* TS. KSA.

kas te gātrāṇi śamyati (TS. KSA. *śim*^o) VS. TS. KSA.

māsā āchyanu śamyantaḥ VS.: *māsās chyanu śimyanthaḥ* TS. KSA.

śimāḥ (KSA. Conc. *śimām*, ed. with v. l. *śimāḥ*; VS. *śimāḥ*) *kr̥ṇvantu* (VS.* *śamyantu*) *śimyanthaḥ* (VS. *śamyantāḥ*) VS. TS. KSA. Note that VS. denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading *śimāḥ* with *s*, not *ś* (comm. interprets by *śimā rekhāḥ*).

sūcibhiḥ śamyantu (TS. KSA. *śim*^o, MS. *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§573. Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf. Wackernagel I §21; but most of the cases are obscure or dubious; only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar; SV. has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hiri*:

hriṣmaśruṁ (SV. *hari*^o) *nārvāṇaṁ* (SV. *na varmaṇā*) *dhanarcam* (SV. ^o*cim*) RV. SV.

asyai nāryā upastare (ApMB. ^o*stire*) AV. ApMB. Infinitive forms; Whitney emends to ^o*stire* with Ppp.

śiśirāya vikakarān (KS. *ṭvikarān*, ApŚ. *vikirān*, vv. ll. *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. With *karasyu* cf. the noun *kāras*, RV.?

rudra yat te krayī (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri*^o) *paraṁ nāma* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47; all the forms are unintelligible.

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently; and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e*: *i*) also appears among the verbal variants (§582). Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms.

§575. First, cases in which *r* follows (cf. §578). Here we find two cases in which *pratara*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tṛ* 'cross'. The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident.

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA. †*pratarām*, MG. *pratiram*) *dadhānāḥ* (AV. **te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. TA. AG. MG.: *dirgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajāni* TB.: *āyur dadhānāḥ pratarām navīyah* AV. Here *pratirad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣeṇa dadātu*, comm.); *pratarām* an adverb (comm. *prakarṣeṇa*); *pratiram*, if correct, is the Rigvedic infinitive *pratiram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss. read *pratarām* in MŚ.

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. *pratarām na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

§576. Before other consonants than *r* (cf. §§570 ff.); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁviś*, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between *kṣan* 'injure' and *kṣi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms:

indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ (AV. *akṣitah*) RV. AV.

akṣatam asy (SMB. omits *asy*) *ariṣṭam* . . . SMB. ŚG.: *akṣitam* (*akṣitir*) *asi* . . . (see §586).

prthivī darvir akṣitāparimitānupadastā (ViDh. *akṣatā*) . . . Kauś. ViDh.: *yathāgnir akṣito* . . . ApMB. HG.

§577. Other near-synonyms:

yajñam devebhir anvitam (TS. TB. *inv*^o) TS. MS. ApŚ. TB. †1. 4. 4. 5b. 'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*): 'impelled'.

śiṣṭe śrñge rakṣase (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS. *vinakṣe*, AV. mss. °*nikṣve*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. *nikṣ* 'pierce': *naś* (as if causative) 'destroy'. But no such form of *naś* is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable.

pavamāno daśasyati (SV. *diś*^o) RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV. form from stem *diśas* = *diś* (lex., and class. in composition).

§578. Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha*: *hi*, etc.):

ato (AV. MahānU. *ito*, TB. *tato*) *dharmāṇi dhārayan* RV. AV. SV. VS. TB. MahānU.

pūrvō ha (TA. MahānU. *hī*) *jātaḥ* (JUB. *jajñe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. JUB.

rṣir ha (ŚŚ. *hī*) *dirghaśrutlāmāḥ* TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

eṣo (TA. MahānU. *eṣa*, ŚirasU. *eko*) *ha* (TA. MahānU. *hī*) *devaḥ pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

viśvam hi (KS. *ha*) *ripram pravahanti* (MS. °*tu*) *devīḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnih sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā MŚ.: *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.

śreṣṭho ha (Sāyaṇa, AV. Introd. p. 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhijātaḥ* GB. *amutrabhūyād adha* (AV. *adhi*) *yad yamasya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. *anūdhā yadi jījanad* (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*)

RV. SV. Two cases in the same pāda.

vācā cit prayataṁ (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devaheḍanam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV.

tāv ehi (AV. *iha*, AB. *eha*, MG. *tā eva*) . . . AV. AB. AG. ŚG. PG. MG.

Others, §888. *ehi* contains the verb *ihi*; *eha* is probably corrupt (Weber, *ISt.* 10. 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary.

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ. *asūrte* (TS. MS. KS. °tā) *sūrte* (TS. °tā) *rajasi* (TS. °so) *niṣatte* (MS. °tā, KS. *na sattā*, TS. *vimāne*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

mā no agne 'va (MG. *vi*) *srjo aghāya* RV. AG. MG.

sūryo apo vi (MG. 'va) *gāhate* MS. ApŚ. MG.

Miscellaneous pronominal forms:

āre asman (MS. NilarU. *asmin*) *nī dhehi tam* VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU. *asmat* 'from us': *asmin* 'in it' or 'in him'. MS. has v. l. *asman*, and its p.p. *asmat*.

prajāyai kam (AV. *kim*) *amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇta* RV. AV. Both forms are used as particles here.

yad vā me api (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. *apa*) *gachati* AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

yo gā udājad apa (MS. *api*) *hi valaṁ* (MS. *balam*) *vaḥ* RV. MS.

ahir jaghāna (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kim*) *cana* AG. PG. ApMB.

HG. MG. Here true pronoun forms; 'no one': 'nothing'.

māmīśāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ RV SV. VS.: *maiṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣāṁ uc cheṣi kim cana* AV. As in prec.

§579. Remoter lexical variants:

mā no vidad (KS. *vadhīd*) *abhibhā mo aśastiḥ* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. These forms are still quasi-synonyms; 'find' (in a hostile sense): 'injure'. *dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ* (SV. *hitah*) RV. SV. 'Guided': 'placed'.

jāmim itvā (Poona² ed. *jāmi mitvā*) *mā vivitsi lokān* (Poona ed. *lokāt*)

TA.: *jāmim rtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.

śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV.

vatajavair (HG. *vātājirair*) . . ., see §268.

anarśarātīm (SV. *alarṣirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292.

hr̥tsu kratum̐ varuṇo (°*ṇam̐*) *vikṣv* (*ap̥sv*, *dikṣv*) *agnim*, see §360.

mītrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām̐ (MS. °*nā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

tisro yahvasya (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*) *samidhaḥ pariḥmanah̐* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192.

viśvakarman bhauvana mām̐ didāsitha (ŚB. *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

abhi dyumnām̐ (RV. VS. *sumnam̐*) *devabhaktam̐ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitam̐ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

rāyah̐ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. See §255. *yaśo* (AŚ. *diśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇām̐* (AŚ. °*ṇāh̐*) TB. AŚ.

agniḥ pareṣu (AŚ. *pratneṣu*, SV. VS. ŚB. *priyeṣu*) *dhāmasu* AV. SV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

hinwāno hetrbhir̥ yataḥ (SV. *hitah̐*) RV. SV.

alivandāya svāhā KSA.: *ilwardāya svāhā* TB. ApŚ. Followed by *balivardāya* (KSA. °*vandāya*), which suggests that KSA. has an assimilated form.

śam̐ padam̐ magham̐ ṭrayiṣiṇe na kāmam̐ (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. See §545.

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhr̥jāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB.

mīham̐ na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mah̐ no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV. Metathesis of *a* and *i*.

§580. The following seem to be false readings:

ahim̐ (RVKh. *aham̐*) *daṇḍenāgatam̐* RVKh. AV. Both words make good sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads *ahim̐* for RVKh. with his ms. *tādītṇā* (TB. Poona ed. *ṭtādīknā*) *śatrum̐* (TB. *śatrūn̐*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. *vivatse*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. *vivitse*; comm. gloss *na labhase*.

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān̐ (AV. *ma ichāt*; TB. with two AV. mss. *ṭachāt*) RV. AV. KS. TB. *achān̐* is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney; see VV I p. 130.

[*añṣisakhāya* (KSA. °*ṣak̐*, Conc. °*ṣik̐*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*namah̐ śaspiñjarāya* (TS. *sasp̐*; Conc. wrongly *śiṣp̐* for MS.) *twiṣimate* VS. TS. MS. KS.]

[*mā no vadhiḥ* (Conc. *vidhiḥ* for TS., wrongly) *pitaram̐* . . . RV. VS. TS. TAA. MŚ.]

§581. In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*; included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:

pra bhānavah sisrate (SV. *sa*°) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.

On this and the two next see VV I §272.

vr̥ṣāva cakradad (and °*do*) *vane* RV.: *vr̥ṣo acikradad vane* SV. See prec. *tāh prācyā* (Vait. °*yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ. °*ire*, Vait. *sanji-gāire*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīs cojjagāhire* ApŚ. See prec. two.

stotāram id didhiṣeya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 90.

hastagrābhasya didhiṣo (AV. *da*°) *tavedam* (TA. *tvam etat*) RV. AV. TA.

Many mss. of AV. *di*°, which Whitney would read. Cf. however next. *vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *da*°) *havīṇṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

Cf. prec. The MS. reading is not certain; several mss. *di*°.

§582. In present formations of different classes:

suvirābhis tīratē (SV. TS. *tarati*) . . . RV. SV. TS. KS. Note the following *r* (§573).

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB.: *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema* Vait. 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p. 125. In the latter *y* is epenthetic.

yac ca prāṇiti (AV. °*ati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB.† TB. BṛhU.† 1st and 2d class presents; VV I p. 123.

yah prāṇiti (AV. *prāṇati*) *ya im śṛṇoty uktam* RV. AV. Cf. prec.

kati krtvaḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca (ŚB. *prāṇiti cāpa cāniti*) GB. ŚB. Cf. prec. two.

ni ṣṭanihi (AV. *abhi ṣṭana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. three.

§583. The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf. Whitney §1030:

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ. *ali*°) AB. ŚŚ. An aorist in AB. See VV I p. 87.

sa bhikṣamāṇo (SV. *bha*°) *amṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* RV. SV. Both *bhikṣ* (a sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhaj*, but function as quasi-independent roots.

§584. In various miscellaneous verb forms;

ajījapata (TS. TB. °*jipata*) *vanaspatayaḥ* TS. MS. TB. MŚ. See VV I p. 192. Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists; the form with radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root.

grhā mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. See VV I p. 133.

nābhā samdāyi navyasī (SV. °*dāya navyase*) RV. SV. *samdāyi* is 3d sing. passive aor.; *samdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb).

yenā samatsu sāsahāḥ (SV. °*hiḥ*, MŚ. °*hi*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV. (perfect subj.): 'whereby (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV. (adjective). In MŚ. the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in prec.

sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See VV I p. 105.

pitā no bodhi (TA. *bodha*) VS. ŚB. TA. See VV I p. 123.

a: i in noun formation

§585. The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them; at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and *i* may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti*; the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti*; or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na: nī* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra: ri*; patronymics in *ka: ki*; heteroclitic stems in *a(an): i*; stems in *ana: in(a)*; stems in *in* (in composition *i*): *a(n)*; stems in *a-ka*: *ikā*; and a remnant of unclassifiable *a: i* forms.

§586. We begin with the suffixes *ta: ti*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning; see also §599 below: *yam akṣitam* (ŚŚ. N. °*tim*) *akṣitayaḥ pibanti* TS. ŚŚ. N.: *yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti* AV.: *yathākṣitim akṣitayaḥ pibanti* (KS. °*yo madanti*) MS. KS. 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV. imperishable ones) drink (or the like).'

akṣitam asi mā pitṛṇām (with variants) *kṣeṣṭhā* . . . ApG. ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāḥ* TS.: *akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāḥ* MS.: *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* . . . VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. And other variations.

apā vṛdhi parivṛtam (TB. Conc. °*vṛttim*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*vṛtim*) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB. 'Open up as it were hidden treasure': 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'.

bradhnaś cid atra (SV. *yasya*) *vāto na jūtaḥ* (SV. *jūtim*) RV. SV. *jūtaḥ* 'speedy', adj. with *vāto*; *jūtim* 'speed', with change of construction.

pra samrājo (SV. °jam) *asurasya praśastim* (SV. °tam) RV. SV. KB. *atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt* (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS. *vavrṣvān pūta rāvaṭ*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

§587. These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *tī*:

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe . . . MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °pate) *puṣṭiś* . . . AŚ. ApŚ. *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV. SV. PB.: *pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtim* AV.

nyañ (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °tim) RV. AV. KS. *ākūtim* (MS. MŚ. MG. °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.

vāco vidhṛtim (MS. °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In same passage with prec.

sviṣṭam (MŚ. v. 1. °ṭim) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.: *sviṣṭim no abhi* (KŚ. 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.

krṇṇutam naḥ sviṣṭim (MS. KS. °ṭam) VS. TS. MS. KS.

mayi puṣṭim (AV. °ṭam) *†puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭa*°, KS. **puṣṭipatnī*) *dadhātu* (AG. *†dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. (four times) TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.

kuyavam ca me 'kṣitīś (VS. 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS. MS. KS.: *akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.

[*ādityās te citim* (KS. Conc. wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS. ApŚ.]

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nītir, KS.* °dhītam, v. 1. °dhītim; KS.* [38. 12b] *†°nītha*, KapŚ. °dhītam or °tim, MS. °dhīte) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. °nītha is a variant for °nīta, see §93.

§588. Coming to variants between *na* and *nī*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*:

asapatnā sapatnaghñī (ApMB. °nighñī) RV. ApMB. ApG. Cf. *sapatnī*, for which *sapatnī* is recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa (BR.).

gandharvāya janavide (ApMB. *jani*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. Cf. the stems *jani* and *janī*. Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root *jan*).

somāya janivide (MG. *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. In same passage as prec. *teṣām yo ajyānim* (PG. 'jyānim) *ajūtim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajūjim āvahāḥ*, but Jørgensen text and comm. as others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.: *teṣām ajyānim* (MŚ. °nam) *yatamo vahāti* (KS. MŚ. *na āvahāt*) AV. KS. MŚ. *a-jyā-ni*, 'non-oppression': *a-jyā-na* id., not recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears as *na* after *ā*.

hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ HG.: *hiraṇyaparna śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

pururūpaṁ suretasaṁ maghonam (TB. °nim) VS. TB. *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc. sing. of *maghavan* (cf. RV. *maghonas*, nom. plur.) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem; *maghonim* (masc.) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same. TB. comm. *annavantam*; VS. comm. *maghavantaṁ dhanavantaṁ*.

§589. Of the suffixes *ra:ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri: °ra*. The usual form is °ri, but °ra occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS. p.p. reads *tittiriḥ*:

maṇḍūko mūṣikā tittiris (MS. °ras) *te sarpaṇām* VS. MS. Cf. §598, *varṣābhyas* . . .

§590. The suffixes *ka* and *ki* exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*; all occur in the same passage:

śaunakam (ŚG. °kim) AG. ŚG.

kaholaṁ kauṣītakam (ŚG. °kim) AG. ŚG.

mahākauṣītakam (ŚG. °kim) AG.†ŚG.

§591. Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan: asthi*:

asthabhyaḥ (KSA. *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohīākṣi (MahānU. *puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohīākṣa*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds):

anakṣikāya (KSA. °akāya) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

anasthikāya (KSA. °akāya) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

§592. A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*:

dhruvas tiṣṭhāvicācaliḥ (AV. MS. KS.° *calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB.

parvata ivāvicācaliḥ (AV. MS. KS.° *calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB.

dadhir (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayānsi* RV. SV.

enaś cakrūn mahi baddha eṣām TS.: *eno mahac cakrūn baddha ṛeṣa* MS.

§593. Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (*ina*):

tan nau saṁvananaṁ kṛtam MG.: *tena saṁvaninau svake* HG. *saṁvanana* 'concord': *saṁvanin* 'concordant'.

manyoh krodhasya nāśanī PG.: *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB. *mṛdhrasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG. Feminines of *nāśana*: *nāśin*.

mā no vidad (KS. *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥jinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °*anā*) *dveṣyā* †*tyā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown.

śunām agram suvīraṇaḥ (ApMB. *subīraṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Cf. next. *subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB.: *suvīraṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and meaning.

§594. Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*):

tasya te †*vājipītasyopahūtasyopahūto* (Vait. *vājipītasyopahūto*, LŚ. *vājapītasyopahūta* [text °*hata*] *upahūtasya*) *bhakṣayāmi* AŚ. LŚ. Vait.: *tasya te vājibhir bhakṣamkṛtasya vājibhiḥ sutasya vājipītasya vājīnasyopahūtasyopahūto bhakṣayāmi* ApŚ.: *vājy aham vājīnasyopahūta upahūtasya bhakṣayāmi* VSK. KŚ.

vājam tvāgne ... Vait.: *vāji tvā* ... ApŚ. MŚ.: *vājīnam tvā vājīn* ... KS.: *vājīnam tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatnasāham)* ... VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.

ava jyām (HG. *dyām*) *ivā dhanvanah* (HG. *dhanvīnaḥ*) AV. ApMB. HG. See §159.

matsvā suśīpra (SV. °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV. *bodhinmanā* (SV. *bodhan*°) *id astu naḥ* RV. SV. In SV. pres. pple., *bodhat*.

§595. Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i* replaces *a*, see Edgerton, JAOS 31. 95 f.:

vidyutam kanīnikābhyām (VS. *kanīna*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS.

vr̥trasyāsi (KS. *mitrasy*°) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. °*akah*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vr̥trasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*akāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

agner akṣṇaḥ kanīnakam (VSK. °*kām*, TS. MS. KS. °*ikām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

nī galgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgulīti* (KSA. ms. †*jalgalūti*, em. °*līti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

avajihvaka nijihvaka ApMB.: *avajihva nijihvika* HG. Here, in a masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous; it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form **jihvin*, with suffixal *in*.

§596. The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a*: *i* in suffixes and endings: *tasmīn ma indro rucīm ā dadhātu* AV.: *tasmīn somo rucam ā dadhātu* HG. ApMB. Stems *ruci* and *ruc*. Cf. next.

hriṣmaśruṁ nārvāṇam dhanarcam RV.: *hriṣmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcīm* SV. Stems *rc* and *rc-i* (possibly with confused thought of *arcis*?).

- kwayaḥ* (KSA. °yih, VS. TS. *kvayih*) *kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājinām* (TS. KSA. *sinivālyai*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. A name of an unknown animal; p.p. of MS. also *kuvayih*.
- indraḥ* (ŚŚ. °as) *patis tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Stems *tavas* and *tuviṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word).
- tilvilāstām* (ed. misprinted *tilva*°, see Stenzler's Transl. p. 83 n.) *irāvatiṃ* AG.: *tilvilā sthājirāvati* ŚG.: *tilvalā sthirāvati* MG.† 2. 11. 12b: *tilvilā syād irāvati* ApMB. The word is otherwise *tilvila*; probably MG. is to be emended.
- vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS. †*sūrah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
- agne varcasvīn* (VSK. °van) *varcasvāns* (ŚŚ. °vī) *tvam deveṣv asi varcasvān* (ŚŚ. °vy) *aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.
- pradakṣiṇin* (AV. °ṇaṃ) *marutām stomam ṛdhyām* (MS. *aśyām*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The old adverb *pradakṣiṇit*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.
- mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. *harṣamāṇāso dhrṣitā* (TB. °atā) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N. See §122 and VV I §86.
- kṛkalāsaḥ* (KSA. *kṛki*°) *pippakā śakunis* (TS. KSA. *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyāyai* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*.

2. Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few. The most interesting group concerns ā varying with ī as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound. We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings ī and ā in this connexion. These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples:

- saṃhitāsi viśvarūpā* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °pī, TS. ApŚ.* °pīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis)
- upasthāvarābhyo dāsam* VS.: *upasthāvarībhyo †baindam* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB.
- sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. °padā) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. MG.

śivā rutasya (TS. and v. 1. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

grdhrah śitlikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ (KSA. *vārhi°*, ed. em. *vārdhrī°*, te 'dityāḥ) TS. KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with ī) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. *vārdhra*?

uṣtro ghrṇvān vārdhrīnasas (MS. *ghṛṇvān vārdhrā°*) te *matyai* VS. MS. Cf. prec.; p.p. of MS. *vārdhrī°*. In *ghṛ°* we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here.

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS. °thālavas, VSK. *māndhālas*) te *pīṭṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktrah* (KSA. *†pāṅktaḥ*; mss. of both *pāmtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA. *†man°*) te *pīṭṇām* (KSA. *†pīṭ°*) TS. KSA. See §77.

yā te agne hariṣayā (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MŚ.) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*.

vidyutam kanīnikābhyām (VS. *kanīna°*) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

§598. The other variations of *ā* and *ī* are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort.

agne tejasvīn tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāḥ TS.: *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS. See also *agne varcasvīn* etc., §596. *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS. °yāvān, MŚ. °yavān) . . . TS. KS. MŚ.

śivā viśvāha (VS. °hā) *bheṣajī* (TS. °habheṣajī; MS. °jā) VS. TS. MS. KS. *viśvacarṣaṇiḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān* (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS.

śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ (VS. °vyah) VS. MS.: *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS. KSA. Fem. and masc. forms, nom. plur.

samānī va ākūtiḥ RV. AV. TB. AG.: *samānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtāni* MS. KS. MG. *ī* of fem. sing.: *ā* of neut. plur.

varṣābhyas tittirīn (MS. °rān) VS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. Acc. plur. of the words which vary in §589.

dhiyā manotā prathamō manīṣī (SV. °mā manīṣā) RV. SV. 'The foremost intelligent one': ' . . . intelligence'.

sā śamītāti (SV. °tā, TB. ApŚ. °cī) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śamītāti* acc. neut., and *śamītātā* loc. sing., from *śamītāti*; on *śantācī* see §156.

aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS. and v. l. of MS. *'sthīni*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Stems *asthan:* *asthī*.

teṣām saṁ hanmo akṣāṇi (AV. *saṁ dadhmo akṣīṇi*) RV. AV. (Ppp. has *akṣāṇi*.) Stems *akṣan:* *akṣī*.

bahu ha vā ayam avarṣād . . . MS.: *bahu hāyam avṛṣād* (KS. °*ṣad*) . . . TS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (JB. *īyuh*) AV. JB. Imperfect and perfect of *i*.

In VV I p. 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (n)*ā*: (n)*ī*, which we shall not repeat here. Add the following:

śṛṇīhi viśvataḥ prati RV.: †*śṛṇāhi viśvatas pari* SV.

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī*. As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older: *avāḍ dhavyāni surabhīṇi kṛtvā* (RV. VS. *kṛtvī*) RV. AV. VS. TS. ApŚ. SMB.

kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā (RV. °*tvī*) RV. AV. ApMB.

kṛtvī (AV. *kṛtvā*) *devair nikilbiṣam* RV. AV.

kṛtvī (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savarṇām adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV. AV. N. *pūtvī* (SV. TS. *pūtvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB.

vayo ye bhūtvī (AV. °*tvā*) *patayanti naktabhiḥ* RV. AV.

svinnah snātvī (AV. °*tvā*, VS. ŚB. *snāto*) *malād iva* AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

hītvī (SV. *hītvā*) *śiro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

apālām indra (MG. °*ras*) *triṣ* (*triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

3. *a* and *i* with shift of quantity

§599. Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality; these will not be repeated. We begin with variants of *ā* and *i*; the first two belong with those of *a* and *i* in §586:

prācīm jīvātum akṣītām (ŚŚ. ŚG. °*tim*) AV. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. AG.† (Stenzler's Translation, p. 36 n.) ApMB. N.

vyacasvalīṣayantī subhūtiḥ AŚ. MS.: *viśvavyacā iṣayantī subhūtiḥ* (KS. °*tā*) TS. KS. In the latter *subhūtā* is an adjective going with *aditir* in the next *pāda*.

tan no durgā (TA. °*giḥ*) *pracodayāt* TA. MahānU. Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here.

śriyo (AV. TB. °*yaṁ*) *vasānās carati svarociḥ* (TB. °*cāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB.

āṅgūṣāṇām (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. Different case-forms of *a* and *i* in stems.

adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ (ArS. *kṣamā viśva°*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB.

kara ād (SV. *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV. SV.

anādhṛṣṭā . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā* . . . TS. See §176.

§600. Between *a* and *i* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic: *sīrāḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *sarāḥ*, AV. *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS. MS. KS. °*nīḥ*) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtva*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *sīrā*, *sirā* is also found (RV.). All are from root *sr*; cf. §§570, 573.

amṛtenāvr̥tām puram (TA. *purīm*) AV. TA. Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *purī*.

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakikārīm (TB. *kaṇṭakakāram*) VS. TB. Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd., show shift in gender. *nayanto garbham vanām dhiyaṁ dhuh* RV.: *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ* SV. Lexical.

āsmīnn (KS. *ā sim*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Lexical.

vīreṇyaḥ kratuḥ indraḥ suśastīḥ RV.: *varenyakratūr* (AV. °*tur*, ApŚ. *īḍenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. See §§383, 554.

4. Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601. Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a*: *i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel. Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ū*. There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV.; and the like seems to be largely true of MS.

§602. In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation. The following are those from *ū* roots: *acikradat svapā iha bhuvat* (Ppp. *bhavat*, Barret, JAOS 30. 244) AV.

Ppp. Add to VV I l. c.

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS. KS. TB.† [Poona ed. text and comm.]

ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

pra bravāma (MS. *bruvāma*, v. l. *bra°*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB.

ApG. HG. MG.

saṁmiślo aruṣo bhava (SV. *bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

ula trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Kauś.

nemiś cakram ivābhavat (SV. MS. °*bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

yat some-soma ābhavaḥ (SV. *ābhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ (SV. °*bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV. SV. KS.

asapatnā kilābhuvam (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB.: *asapatnaḥ kilābhuvam* RV.

saṁpriyaḥ (TA. °*yaṁ prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. †*huvemahi*) RV. †1. 101. 1-7, SV. [*svāveśo anamīvo bhavā* (Conc. wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB.) *naḥ* RV. TS. MS. SMB. PG. ApMB.]

§603. From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer:

abhi pra ṇonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root.) Here SV. goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV. *uv*.

upa śravat (MS. *śruvat*, p.p. *śra°*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. On the anomalous and doubtful MS. form cf. VV I p. 106.

tad aham nihnave (ŚŚ. °*nuve*) *tubhyam* AB. ŚŚ. To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (*hnute*) is more regular.

nedīya it sr̥ṇyaḥ pakvam ā yavan (Ppp. *yuvan*, Barret, JAOS 30. 207) AV. Ppp. (Others, see Conc.) Add to VV I l. c.

§604. The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems:

abhibhuve (MS. °*bhve*, KS. °*bhave*) *svāhā* MS. VS. KS. TB. ApŚ. And, in same passage:

vibhuve (MS. *vibhve*, KS. †*vibhave*) *svāhā*, same texts.

samudram na suhavam (*suhavam*, *subhuvas*) . . .; *mahiṣam naḥ subhvam* (*subhavas*) . . ., see §119.

indrah (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patis tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Cf. §596.

śitibhravo (MS. °*bhruvo*) *vasūnām* VS. MS.

puṁsavanam *puṁsavanam* AG.: *puṁsuvanam asi* ApMB. The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV.).

tad viprāso vipanyavaḥ (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VasuU. SkandaU. AruṇU. MuktiU.

tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavaḥ (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV.

sumnāyuvah (KS. °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS. *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS. KS. MŚ.

tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ (MS. *bhīravo nāma*) TS. MS.

§605. Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff., we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf. §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo*: *kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par*:- *pur*-, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work:

sukarīrā svopasā (v. l. *svau*°) MS.: *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

The usual form is *kurīra*; the etymology is unknown. If MS. is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*).

avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicaṅkuṇa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuṅkuṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. N. See §150.

Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. *nicaṅkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuṅkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Cf. prec.

saṁkasuko vikasukah AV. MS.: *saṁkusuko vikusukah* TA. ApŚ. The root is *kas* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf. next.

asmin vayan saṁkaśuke (ApŚ. °*kusuke*) AV. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

nī nivartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB.

See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

etām saṁkṛṣya (MS. MŚ. °*kaśya*, v. l. °*kuśya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

Here the original form was neither *a* nor *u*, but *r*; see §631.

tuce tanāya (SV. Svidh. *tunāya*) *tat su naḥ* RV. SV. Svidh. The SV. form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*.

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable.

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a: u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal; assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *karo-*, *karu-* (VV I p. 116 f., and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

karaṇam (TS. *karuṇam*) *asi* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work'; but *karaṇam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karuṇam* in this variant. *varaṇo vārayātai* (and, *vārayiṣyati*) AV.: *varuṇo vārayāt* TA. The root *vṛ*, like *kṛ*, has dissyllabic forms in *u*. It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuṇa* is derived from it; the god's name (if the reading is correct; Poona ed. has *varaṇo* with v. l. *varuṇo*) is here used obviously with punning intent.

So with the verb-forms *vanate*: *vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p. 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l. c.), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*:

agnir no vanate (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṇsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§607. The rest are more dubious in character:

pitvo (VS. MS. *pidvo*, KSA. *bidvo*) *nyaṅkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakūṭhas*, TS. KSA. *kaśas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °*yāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. There may be assimilation in VS. or dissimilation in MS., but the forms are wholly obscure.

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣaṇam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal; yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group. No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf. RV. *cetu*.

somasya rājñah kuluṅgaḥ TS.: *somāya kuluṅgaḥ* (MS. *kulaṅgaḥ*) VS. MS.: *somāya rājñe kuluṅgaḥ* KSA. The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable. In both this and the next variant MS. p.p. has *kulu*°; contrariwise VS. comm. reads in both *kula*°, glossing *kuraṅga*.

sādhyebhyaḥ kuluṅgān (MS. *kulaṅgān*) VS. MS. Cf. prec.

yādase śābalyām (TB. *śābulyām*) VS. TB.: *parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words; *śāmulya* means a kind of woollen garment, and is not connected with *śabala* 'spotted'. A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS. TB., whose comms. interpret 'a woman with spotted skin'; the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b*. ApMB. is clearly thinking of *śabala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment'; in RV. AV. ApMB. reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf. §241.

§608. Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms *cakṣas* and *cakṣus* interchange. Note the misreading *cakṣaṣī sāmavedasya* in GB. Bibl. Ind. ed., which is a mere misprint for *cakṣuṣī* as shown by the following §; Gaastra reads correctly *cakṣuṣī*. *Cakṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *cakṣus*:

namaḥ samudrasya cakṣase (PB. *cakṣuṣe*) TS. MS. KS. JB. PB. LŚ.
apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.: *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV.
āyus ca prāyus ca cakṣas ca vicakṣas (ApŚ. *cakṣus ca vicakṣus*) *ca* . . .
 MS. ApŚ.

§609. Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation:

tarakṣuḥ (KSA.† °*kṣaḥ*) *kṛṣṇaḥ* . . . TS. KSA. Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown.

sādhu (SV. *sādhaḥ*) *kṛṇvantam avase* RV. SV. As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV. by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*.

tā mandasānā manuṣo duroṇa ā RV. ApMB.: *sā mandasānā manasā, śivena* AV. Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically; but resembles the case of *cakṣas*: *cakṣus*, §608, superficially.

daivyā minānā manasā (VS. *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.
sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ*
karaḥ karasyuḥ LŚ. Cf. §573.

ārdraḥ prathasnur (MŚ. †*prthusnur*, v. l. *prathasnur*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ*
 TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Knauer, note on MŚ., would understand *prathasnu*
 (TB. comm. *prathanaśīlo*) as dialectic by-form of *prthusnu*.

samsrṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.
Note metathesis of *a: u* in KŚ., which is poor and secondary; and cf. next.

puñjikasthalā (KS.† *puñjiga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu*°) *cāpsarasau*
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, compounded of *kṛta: kratu*;
cf. prec. Really lexical, since the words are radically not related.
dhanaspr̥tam (MS. *dhanu*°, but p.p. *dhana*°) *śūśuwāṇsam sudakṣam* RV.
MS. *dhanu*° could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of
'wealth-winning'; it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by
assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following.

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a
shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitar*:
ghṛtavatī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'.

§611. In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels
is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect
indicative) endings, (*n*)*tu: (n)ta*. The instances are gathered in VV I,
mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics
are hardly concerned. We add a few other stray cases:

adārasr̥d bhavata (AV. °*tu*) *deva soma* AV. TB. ApŚ. *bhavata* seems
uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see
VV I p. 283.

ā pitarāṁ vaiśvānaram avase kaḥ (PB. *kuḥ!* comm. *akaḥ*, glossed *kuru*)
PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *kuḥ* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a
gross corruption for *kaḥ* ('*kaḥ*'); VV I p. 283.

§612. The remaining cases of *a: u* are purely lexical. A large group
concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms
as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other;
also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa: su*, of
various character, are included here:

ye sajātāḥ samanasaḥ (Kauś. *su*°) TB. ApŚ. Kauś.: *ye samānāḥ samana-*
saḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

śataṁ jīvema śaradaḥ sarvavīrāḥ (TB. *savīrāḥ*, ApŚ. *suwīrāḥ*) AV. TB.
ApŚ.

ā tvā vahantu harayaḥ sucetasāḥ (ApMB. *sa*°) MS. ApMB. HG.

ādityāsaḥ sumahasāḥ (SV. *sa*°) *kṛnotana* RV. SV.

agnīḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtṵvā MŚ.: *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.†
°*nūr*) *hi bhūtṵvā* TS. KS.

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS. *saṁvṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS.
suṛdhvane) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

sajātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam AV. TS.: *sa° madhye śraiṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā* MS.: *suajātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS.

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣaṇam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

marutvān astu gaṇavān sajātavān (AŚ. *suajātaiḥ*) TB. AŚ.

akaḥ su (TS. *sa*) *lokaṁ sukrtaṁ prthivyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*vyām*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*. *ayaṁ sa* (ŚŚ. *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

pra sumartyaṁ (*su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB.: *pra sa mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG. Here *sa* seems uninterpretable; Conc. would read *su*.

dadhad yo dhāyi sute vayāṁsi SV.: *dadhir yo dhāyi sa te vayāṁsi* RV.

Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of different character, involving false divisions of words.

saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS.

nṛcakṣāḥ (MŚ. *sucakṣāḥ*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm. and Poona ed. *śuśrug*; MŚ. *sasrud*) *astu* TB. MŚ. If Poona ed. is right, TB. has *śu-*, the reduplicating syllable. See §145.

§613. Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or with other *a-*:

yajñāḥ pratyasṭhāt (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ.

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV. In VV I p. 26 we have suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated from the vowel only by the aspirate.

irām u ha (AV. *aha*) *praśaṁsati* AV. ŚŚ. AG.

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other *na*, sometimes involving false division of words:

taṁ te vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt (MS. KS. *nu madhye*) VS. MS. KS.

ŚB.: *idaṁ te tad vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt* TS.

yajñāyate vā paśuso na (MS. *nu*) *vājān* RV. MS. KB.

upānasah saparyan RV.†: *upo nu sa saparyan* SV.

avasyuvātā bṛhatī (TS. °*līr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS. °*rīḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

mahān indraḥ paraś ca nu (SV. *puraś ca naḥ*) RV. AV. SV. Metathesis of *a: u*.

§615. Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange; this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in §605, q. v. Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur:

pari pūṣā parastāt (AV. *pu°*) RV. AV.

yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kiṃ canāsa TA.: *yasmāj jātāṃ na purā kiṃ canaiva* VS.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmāt paraṃ nāparam asti kiṃcit* TA. MahānU. N.: *yasmād anyan na paraṃ kiṃ canāsti* Vait.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātāḥ* PB.: *yasmān na jātāḥ paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. 'sti) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.

[*ye devāḥ puraḥsado* . . . TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. BDh.: *ye devā agni-netrāḥ puraḥsadas* . . . VS. ŚB. Conc. quotes *paraḥsado* for TS.]

§616. Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words; sometimes with false division of words:

pra na (SV. *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

sarve rādhyāḥ stha (ŚŚ. °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

devāṅśo yasmai tveḍe tat satyam upariprutā (ApŚ. *apariplutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

ugro (MG. *agne*, HG. *ūrdhvo*) *virājann* (MG. *virājam*) *apa* (MG. *upa*-) *sedha* (AV. *vṛṅkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG. *upaśṛṇvate* (ŚŚ. *apa*°; corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ. ŚŚ.

apa snehitīr etc. RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* etc. TA. See §110.

tāni brahmā tu (AV. ApMB. *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*, ApMB. *śaṇṣati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§617. The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another:

mitro yatra (AV. *no atra*) *varuṇo ajyamānaḥ* (AV. *yujya*°) RV. AV.

devebhīr aktam (VS. TS. *yuktam*) *aditiḥ sajośāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

vācā cit prayataṃ (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

pramade (TB. °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS. TB.

anu stomāṃ mudīmahi (PB. *mademahi*) RV. AV. PB.

asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīḥ (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś.

See §152; note *p* before *u*.

sā saṁnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam (MŚ. *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV. MG. (Others, §52.) *ā-san-* *su*, near-synonyms.

añjanti suprayasaṃ (Ppp. *yuñjanti suprajasaṃ*) *pañca janāḥ* RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

vāyosāvitra (MS. *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ (AV. *āśāśānāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS.

aśīmahi (MS. *uś*°) *tvā* MS. TA.

ā raśmīn (RV. °*miṃ*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. °*vaḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

nī galgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgulīti* (KSA. ms. *ṭjalgalūti*, ed. em. °*liti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA. Onomatopoeic forms?

ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (AV. *ye apa°*, some mss. *ya upa°*; comm. *u. parāsaḥ*) *īyuh* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

[*yaje samrāadhanīm aham* ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt, p. 250) *ṭsamardham im aham* ŚŚ.: *agnau samrāadhanīm yaje* HG.]

§618. And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote: *praṭīpaṁ prātisutvanam* (AB. °*satvanam*) AV. AB. ŚŚ. Boehtlingk regards the reading °*subv°* as a corruption of the other. But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *satvan*.

svastī naḥ putrakṛteṣu (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, v. l. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV. AB. MG.

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. °*kośā°*) TS. TA.

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. See §401.

adha syāma (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. See §840.

praṭīśrutkāyā artanam (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. See §651.

śumbhānas (stambh°) . . ., see §287.

vi no rāṣṭram unattu . . . TB.: *saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV. See §139.

bhakṣīmahi (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhukṣ°*) *prajāṁ iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

rajani . . ., *rajjuni* . . ., see §107.

īde agniṁ svavasam (AV. *svāvasuṁ*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §466.

imau stām anupakṣītau (ApMB. *anapekṣ°*) AV. ApMB.

āśuṁ jayantam anu (KS. *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

abhi sprdha usro vedīm tatarda ŚŚ.: *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB.

The TB. looks generally secondary. Comm. *asro nirasanakusālḥ. priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṇi* (Vait. *aṅgā sukrta purūṇi*) TB. Vait. [*hotā yakṣat vaṣṭāram aciṣṭum* (TB. Conc. °*ṭam*, Poona ed. °*ṭum*, which certainly read) . . . MS. KS. TB.]

[*haviṛ haviṣṣu* (SV. *haviṣṣu*) *vandyah* (SV. Conc. wrongly °*yuh*) RV. SV.]

[*asmākam aṅśuṁ maghavan puruṣprham* SV. Conc. 'read *aṅśam*' for *aṅśuṁ*; but cf. Benfey's Glossary; perhaps *aṅśuṁ* is correct.]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ.† *oṣum*, AŚ.† *payasā goṣam*) AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both AŚ. and ŚŚ. probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV.]

5. Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

§619. The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*:

divyo gandharvaḥ ketapūḥ (VSK. °*pāḥ*) *ketam naḥ* (MS. KS. omit *naḥ*) *punātu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. SMB. 'Purifying (protecting) the will'; the verb *punātu* is cognate with -*pūḥ* of the original reading.

pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasuḥ (ApŚ. MŚ. *vibhā*°) RV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. *drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aghadvīṣṭā devajātā AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ.

yad annam admi (PrāñāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāñāgU. *virād-dham*, vv. II. *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāñāgU.

§620. Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in:

sakhā suśevo advayāḥ (Mahānāmnyaḥ °*yuh*) RV. KS. AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. Nom. sing. masc. of *as*: *u* stems.

yo naḥ (AV. *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsati druḥā* (AV. *druhuḥ*) RV. AV. *druḥā*, instr. sing. of stem *druḥ*; *druhuḥ*, nom. sing. of adj. *druhu*.

sā prasūr (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG. Pronoun *sā*: prefix *su*.

pumānsam u (ŚG. *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG. †*dadhād*) *iha* AV. ŚG. Add to VV I §§167, 193.

§621. Variants of *a* and *ū*:

yad adya hotṛvārye (ŚŚ. °*vūrye*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. °*vūrya* is Rigvedic; its long *ū* seems anomalous. For the *u*-vocalism cf. *virūta* etc. (VV I §10).

nakiḥ (RV. *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV. SV. *nū* = *nu*.

druhaḥ pāśān (TS. KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §612.

utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK. °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §228.

6. Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622. These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical. Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittiriya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables. These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

v for *y* (§§247–8). The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change; so in:

pareyivāṁsam (TA. ApŚ. *pareyu*°) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV. *iti*) RV. AV. MS. TA. AŚ. N. (Pratikas, ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. Rvidh.) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *i* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance; possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*.

hlādike hlādikāvati (TA. *hlāduke hlādu*°) RV. AV. TA. Here, too, another motive is discernible. The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling'. This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix *uka*; cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 104 ff. But again the form appears only in a Tait. text.

goṣv aśveṣu śubhriṣu (TB. °*uṣu*) RV. AV. KS. TB. The stem *śubhru* occurs only here; the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation).

made-made hi no dadīh (TB. *daduh*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. *daduh* can only be a noun form equal to *dadīh*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable). The saṁhitā mss. of MS. have a different phonetic corruption, *dadrk*; ed. follows p.p.

§623. In other texts *i* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous: *acety agniś cikituḥ* (SV. KS. °*tih*) RV. SV. KS. Perhaps assimilation in SV. KS.

daivyā (AV. *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS. °*rā*, AV. °*raḥ*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vaniṣ*°, KS.† *vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS. The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end. It is historically quite as justified as *vaniṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS., contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation.

§624. In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned:

rkṣo jatūḥ suṣīlikā (MS. *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. (p.p. of MS. *suṣīliketi suṣi-līkā*). See §279.

dṛṣe ca (MS. *dṛṣā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā brhatā suśukvaniḥ* (RV. *śuśu*°; KS. °*vabhiḥ*; MS. *suśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §240.

§625. In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *i* and imperatives in *u*. They need not be listed here; see VV I, e.g. §116. Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt; unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *him* and (commoner) *hum*:

paśūnām tvā himkāreṇābhijighrāmy (GG. °*mi*; HG. *hum*°) *asau* . . .

SMB. GG. ApMB. HG.

§626. In several variants forms of root *śri* exchange with *śru* or *sru*:
agne tvaṁ sūktavāg asy upaśruti (ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tī*; TB. *upaśrito*) *divas*
 (TB. *divaḥ*) *prthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *upaśrito divaḥ prthivyoḥ*
 TS.

śavasā hy asi śrutah (AV. *śritah*) RV. AV. But SPP. *śrutah* for AV., with many mss. (other mss. *śṛtah*); and so Whitney's Transl.

ā tvā parisrutah (MG. °*sṛtah*, mss. °*taṁ*; AG. °*śritah*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† °*aḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. And others; see §275.

§627. The rest are sporadic:

prajāvatīḥ sūyavasam (AV. °*se*) *ruśantīḥ* (RV. TB. comm. *riś*°) RV. AV. TB. See Whitney's note on AV. *ruś*° 'shining', tho no doubt secondary to *riś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is clearly the reading of AV. tradition.

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) 'si (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ. This, as between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the mss. of MŚ.

svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣṇan (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. See §401.

pāti priyaṁ ripo (and, *rupo*) *agram padam veḥ* RV. (both): *pāty agnir vipo agram padam veḥ* ApŚ. Read *rupo* in both RV. passages; cf. Ludwig ad loc., Bloomfield, JAOS 27. 75, and RVRep. 184.

apām tvā sadhiṣi (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §353. The MS. is mangled; is its ending felt as loc plur.? (*sadhiṣi* loc. sing.)

upa yajñam asthita (MŚ. *astu no*, AV. comm. *astṛta*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

ā suṣe (SV. *āśiṣe*) *rādhase mahe* RV. SV. The RV. has a verb form from *ā-śvas*: 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty'. In SV. we have an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form. The ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhase*; hence *āśiṣe* 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb. Benfey supplies 'we summon'.

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* (p.p. *tú, enam, mā'm, uttām ma!*) MS. (corrupt in both forms). TA. comm. takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpnuta*).

mandāna ud vṛṣāyate (SV. *id vṛṣāyase*) RV. SV.

ṣaḍ id yamā (TA. udyamā) ṛṣayo devajā iti RV. AV. TA. N.

ud it te vasuvittamāḥ ApŚ.: ud u tye (MS. MŚ. ud-ut te) madhumattamāḥ
RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

sarvān it tān anu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ RV.: sarvam uktam anuvīdur vasiṣṭhāḥ
JB.

viśvair devai rātibhiḥ sanirarāṇaḥ (MG. devair rtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ)
ApMB. MG.

sugandhiṃ (subandhuṃ) . . ., see §152.

lokam (RV. ulokam) u (ApŚ. id) dve upa jāmī (RV. jāmim) īyatuh
RV. MS. ApŚ.

[vātāpe pīva id bhava RV. KS.†—Conc. ud for KS. id.]

nāḍya śatruṃ nanu (ŚB.† na nu) purā vivitse (ŚB. yuyutse) RV. SV.

See §255; and other interchanges of vi: yu in §805.

alivandāya svāhā KSA.: iluwardāya svāhā TB. ApŚ. See §579.

achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuḥ TS.: achidrośijah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuḥ
(so text, em. by Caland; ms.† padānitakṣiṣvat) KS.

vratāni (MS. TB. ApŚ. vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā adabdhah (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
ŚG. adābhyah) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

7. Interchanges of long ī and ū (u)

§628. Here are found only a few stray variants:

ūrjam saṃsūdena (KSA. °sīdena) TS. KSA. Parts of a horse's body;
wholly obscure. TS. comm.: saṃsūdam saṃtataḥṣaraṇo nāsikādih.
viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyāmānaḥ VS.: apūtāpā ādhūyamānaḥ TS. The
passages are rather low bathos.

ahir na jūrṇām (TB. ahir ha jūrṇām) atī sarpati tvacam RV. SV. TB.
Both participles of the dissyllabic root jṛ. The ī form is regular in
Sanskrit, but the Vedic ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton,
Ind. Stud. C. R. Lanman 27).

ṛkṣo jatūḥ suśilūkā (śuśulūkā) . . ., see §624.

sam īm (SV. u) rebhāso asvaran RV. AV. SV.

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ . . . VS.: pītṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhr-
vanūkāśān ApŚ. See §742.

CHAPTER XIV. VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629. With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *r* (*l*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *r* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *r* and consonantal *r* with another vowel; especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *r* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *r* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical; that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

1. *r* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631. We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the Rigveda itself:

ava sma durhañāyataḥ (SV. *durhrñ°*) RV. SV. The SV. has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hrñ*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *hañ*.

īṣām khr̥galyam śavam (ApŚ. *khagalyam śapham*) MS. ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khr̥gala*, RV., if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

paṣṭhavād (MS. *prṣṭhavād*, p.p. *paṣṭavād*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS.

TB. The p.p. form of MS. suggests that its *saṁhitā* form may be a hyper-Sanskritism; in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word.

etāṁ saṁkṛṣya (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. The MS. MŚ. forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words; Boehtlingk chooses the form °*kuṣya*. But they are probably Prakritic after all.

achalābhiḥ (KSA. °*rābhiḥ*, MS. [m]atsarābhiḥ, VS. ṛkṣalābhiḥ) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184. The AV. knows ṛcharā; probably ṛ is older than a.

§632. The following cases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with *ṛ*:

sarvaṁ taṁ masmasā (VS. *bhas*°) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāṁs tān maṣmaṣā* (MS. †*mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS. KS. TA.: *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV. In this onomatopoetic word (cf. Eng. mash) there is no doubt that the *a* vowel is original; MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritic and 'hifalutin'.

atirātraṁ varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) TS. MS. KS. And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations. Despite the lingual *ṭ* in MS. *rāvaṭ*, which might be argued to point to an original *ṛ*, we believe with Keith that *āvṛt* is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing. Cf. §168.

vanasade (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛj*°, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. The SMB. form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt; one ms. *bhajāsi*; Stönnner 'geniessen' (as if *bhaj*).

yajuryuktam sāmabhir āktakham tvā (MS. *ṛktakham tā*, p.p. *ṛktakhām iti ṛkta-khām*, *tā* [unaccented]) MS. TA. This is the only case of *ā* varying with *ṛ*; it is highly problematic. See §365.

§633. The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character. In the first we have probably a mere textual error:

jīvasūr devakāmā (HG. *vīrasūh*) *syonā* ApMB. HG.: *prajāvatī †vīrasūr devṛkāmā* AV.: *vīrasūr devakāmā* (AV. *devr*°, SMB. °*sūr jīvasūr deva*°, GG. °*sūr jīvasūr*) *syonā* (AV. omits; GG. *jīvapātnī*) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. MG. Most mss. of AV. read *deva*° both times, and this is doubtless the true AV. reading, as Whitney observes. Either reading would however make sense.

indro nāma śruto gr̥ṇe (TB. ApŚ. *gaṇe*) SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *gr̥ṇe* is dubious; Benfey suggests taking it as 3d sing. passive; *gaṇe* is simple enough but may be a lect. fac.

jātena jātam ati sa pra sarsṛte (TB. *ati sṛt pra sṛṇsate*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. *sṛt prasṛtam, ati prasṛṇsate 'tiśayena prasraṇsayaty adhaḥ karoti*. TB. is evidently secondary.

§634. In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in the words. We omit cases of *br̥hat* and *mahat*, cf. §241.

vadhūr jajāna (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB. See §46.

jagdhā vitṛṣṭir (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭi svāhā* ApMB.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir jagdho maśakah* HG. See §156.

ud usriyāḥ sṛjate (TB. *sacate*) *sūriyaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

dadhr̥g (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. °*kṣan*) *paryañkhayāte* (TA. °*tai*, AV. *pariñkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. See §145.

ajanti (SV. *mṛjanti*) *vahnīm sadanāny* (SV. °*neṣv*) *acha* RV. SV.

savitā bhr̥tyām (KS. †*manyām*) TS. KS. So ms. of KS.; ed. em. *bhr̥tyām*.

yad adya dugdham̐ pr̥thivīm asṛpta (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §152.

satyaujasā dṛṇhaṇā (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*dr̥haṇā*) *yam̐ nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhaṇo yau nudethe* AV. See §305.

somah̐ sutaḥ pūyate ajyamānaḥ (SV. *suta rcyate pūyamānaḥ*) RV. SV. See §57.

rasena sam asṛkṣmahi (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

yāv (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhr̥to* (KS. † °*tho*, AV. *viśato*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS. † °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

deva puraścara saghyāsam̐ (MS. *devapuraśc carasa ṛdhyāsam̐*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. But cf. §838; it is doubtful if this belongs here.

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny āṇṛdhuḥ (TS. *āṇṛhuḥ*, MS. *ānaśuḥ*) AV. TS. MS.

āsanniṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

2. *r* and *i* (once *ī*)

§635. Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either form. Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following.

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts; and even in the fourth a v. l. has it:

tejo yaśasvi sthaviṛaṁ samiddham (ŚG. *saṃṛddham*, v. l. *sami*°) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34; *samiddham* is pretty clearly for *saṃṛddham*.

dadhiṣa ehi ApŚ.: *dadhr̥ṣy ehi* MS. The forms are voc. sing. fem., and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhṛṣ*; so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kühne'.

To these may be appended another, in which however *i* for *r* seems to be a textual corruption:

ayaṁ śatrūṇ jayatu jarhṛṣāṇaḥ (AŚ.† *jarhiṣ*°) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. But elsewhere AŚ. has the vikāra: *ahaṁ śa*° *jayāmi jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*, indicating that *jarhiṣ*° is corrupt.

§636. An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next; *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhid*), cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34:

puraṁdaro gotrabhid (MS. °*bhṛd*, all mss.; TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§637. In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *i* and *r*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct:

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV. *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA. The roots *r* and *i* are synonyms. But Poona ed. of TA. *jāmi mitvā*.

ādityānām prasitir (MS. °*srtir*) *hetir ugrā* MS. TB. TA. 'Extension': 'progress'. Cf. next two.

prayatiṣ ca me prasitiṣ (MS. KS. °*srtiṣ*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. and next.

dīrghām anu prasitim (KS. *saṃṛtim*) *āyuse dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasṛtim saṁspr̥sthām* MS. Cf. prec. two.

tām dhīrāso anudṛśya (VSK. °*diśya*) *yajante* (KS. †*anudṛśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo* 'nudiśyāyajanta MS.: *tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante* VS. ŚB. *anu-diś* 'assign': *anu-dṛś* 'survey'.

taṁ ghed (MS. *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvati* (MS. *vidh*°) RV. TS. MS. In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avati*. MS. is obscure and probably corrupt; p.p. *vadhā* (sic!), *avati*.

§638. To this same group belongs the single case involving long *i*; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ. mss. read °*mṛte* with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mi* 'change, alter':

tasmin sīdāmṛte pratitiṣṭha (MŚ. text *sīdāmīte pratitiṣṭhan*) TB. ApŚ.
MŚ. Add to VV I §250.

§639. Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hita* (or *dhita*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhr* (*hr*):

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitaṁ dadhātu* TB.

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat VS.: *ga° nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. And others; §855.

devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ RVKh. (but Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*): *devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtāḥ* (TB. °*bhṛtāḥ*) SV. TB.

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtaṁ (AŚ. *prahitaṁ*, MŚ. *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

hiraṇye 'smiṁ samāhitāḥ (RVKh. Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*, HG. °*bhṛtāḥ*) RVKh. ApMB. HG.

garbha iva (SV. KU. [Poley's ed.] *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhīṇibhiḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhīṇīṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

sūryaraśmīṁ samābhṛtaṁ TS. TB.: *sūryāñ* (p.p. °*yāt*) *śukraṁ samibhṛtam* MS.: *sūrye santaṁ* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhitam* (KS. TA. *samābhṛtam*) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

§640. Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants:

priyo ma hṛdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) 'si (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ.

imā (MS. *idam*) *brahma pīpihi* (MS. *pipṛhi*, v. l. *pipīhi*) *saubhagāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vṛṣajūtir no 'vṛtaḥ (SV. 'vitā) RV. SV. *a-vṛ-taḥ*: *av-i-tā* (nom. ag., root *av*). *hotrāvidaḥ* (RV. °*vida*, TB. °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. *mā no vidad* (KS. *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °*anā*) *dveṣyā* † *yā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

indrantubhir brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā samvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV. *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ (RV. N. *vṛṣṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Viṣṇu is meant even in RV.; later texts substitute the name for the epithet.

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīr (SV. *prāntarikṣāt sthāvīrīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV. SV. *vācaspace hr̥dvidhe nāman* (MS. MŚ. *hinvidhe*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on the strange form. Even *hr̥dvidhe* is none too clear (TA. comm. *hr̥dayasya vidhātāḥ cittaprarakety arthaḥ*).

vṛtrasyāsi (mitra°) . . . see §235.

made-made hi no dadīḥ (TB. *daduḥ*; MS. samh. mss. *dadṛk*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. See §622.

adṛṇhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (MŚ. *tribhr̥ṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §222.

iśāno vi śyā (= *ṣiyā*; TS. *srjā*) *dṛtim* AV. TS. MS. KS.

upa yajñam asthita (AV. comm. *astṛta*, MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

dame-dame suṣṭutā (TS. °tīr, MS.° *tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. °tīr) *vāvr̥dhānā* (AV. °nau, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

[*eṣa iṣāya* (AV. Berlin ed. *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV. ŚŚ. Keep *iṣāya* with AV. mss.]

3. *r* (ṛ) and *u* (ū)

§641. The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be prevailingly Prakritic in character. We should expect *u* for *r* especially in the vicinity of labial consonants; but except in the first variant (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case; the only other instances with labials (e.g. *bhr̥* and *bhū*) are lexical. The most clearly Prakritic cases are:

tvastṛmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvastṛi*°, ApŚ. *tvastṛu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. *tvastṛīmatī* (TS. ApŚ. and TA. Poona ed. *tvastṛi*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. The Taittiriya form is feminized.

ut (Vait. *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ. Vait. °yor) *ava gudaṁ* (TS. KSA. ApŚ, *sakthyor gr̥dam*) *dhehi* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. Altho *gr̥da* seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be the original form of *guda*.

etām sam̐kr̥ṣya (MS. MŚ. °kaṣya or °kuṣya) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §631.

rtaprajātā (MŚ. *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vaḥ syāma* TS. MŚ. This may be called a lexical variant, since MŚ. makes sense; but it is doubtless fundamentally Prakritic.

§642. Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably both are mere textual errors or corruptions:

sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (TB. Conc. *nahrṣo*) *yahvo agniḥ* RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading.

devaṃ manaḥ kuto (AV. *krto*) *adhi prajātam* RV. AV. Altho all mss. of AV. apparently agree on *krto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kuto*, with Whitney.

made-made hi no dadih (*daduh, dadrk*), see §§622, 640.

§643. More purely lexical variants are:

priyo me hrdo (MŚ. *hito* or *huto*) 'si (MŚ. *ṭbhava*) TS. MŚ. See §640. *agner* (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. *°vah;* ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

vaniṣṭhor hrdayād (AV.* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

upa yajñam asthita (*astrta, astu no*) . . ., see §640.

avimuktacakra (*°rā*) *āsiran* PG.: *vivṛttacakra* *āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.

Note labial consonants preceding *r*: *u*.

āyurdā deva (AV. *agne*) *jarasaṃ vṛṇānaḥ* (ApMB. ApG. HG. *grṇ°*) AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. HG. ApG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyuṣmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣānaḥ* (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

§644. The only cases of long *ū* and *r* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhr*, which are practically synonyms here:

adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ (TA. MahānU. ApŚ. *sambhūtah*) *prthivyai* (MS. KS.† *°vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. KŚ. ApŚ. PG.

saṃveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*; TS. ApŚ. *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhaḥ pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. omit) *'bhībhūtaye* (TS. ApŚ. *abhibhūtyai*, ŚŚ. *'bhībhṛtyai*, KŚ. *'bhībhūtyai*) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ariṣṭyā avyathyai saṃveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā* (also *triṣṭubho, jagatyā, anuṣṭubho, pañktyā*) *abhibhūtyai svāhā* ApŚ.

Once *ṛ* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms.:

tāsām svasṛ ajanayat (MS. *svar ajanan*, KS. ms.† *svasūr* [ed. em. *svasṛ*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS.

4. *ḷ* and *u*

§645. There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form. A perfect middle participle of root *kḷp* appears twice in ApŚ. with *u* for *ḷ*. There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS. variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism. It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots.

samvatsara rtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ (KS. °bhiḥ cākḷpānaḥ, ApŚ. °bhiḥ cākupānaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ.
satyaṁ pūrvair (KS. °vebhīr) ṛṣibhiḥ *samvidānaḥ* (KS.† °bhiḥ cākḷpānaḥ, ApŚ. cākupānaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ.

5. *r* and *o*

§646. In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots *grh* and *guh*:

grhyopagrhyo mayobhūr . . . ŚG.: *gohya* †*upagohyo* . . . SMB. PG.

6. *r* and *ar*

§647. The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut. That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation. Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular.

§648. The following concern various finite verb forms:

parṇy agniṁ ahr̥ṣata (VSK. †*ar̥ṣata* or *ahar̥ṣata*) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme* 'gnim *ar̥ṣata* AV. (Ppp. ms. *ahar̥ṣata*; Barret JAOS 43. 99 em. *ahr̥ṣata*.) Sigmatic aorists from *hr̥*, weak-grade or *guṇa*; the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf. VSK. and AVPpp.) it is to be regarded as a blend of *ahr̥ṣata* and *ar̥ṣata*.

bahu hāyam (MS. *ha vā ayam*) *av̥ṣad* (TS. *av̥ṣād*, MS. *avar̥ṣād*) *iti śruta rāvat* (MS. °*vaṭ*, TS. *śrutar āvrt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

pratṇy u adar̥ṣy (TB. *uv †ad̥ṣy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. This can only be a 3d sing. aor. pass., with *r* in TB. anomalously for *ar* (comm. *d̥ṣyate*). To be added to VV I §281.

bhartam (VS. ŚB. *bhr̥tam*) *agniṁ puriṣyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See VV I p. 188.

agne 'bhyāvartinn *abhi mā ni vartasva* (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS. *abhi no nivartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā vav̥rtsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.: *abhī na ā vav̥rtsva* RV. See VV I p. 126.
punar ūrjā ni vartasva (Kauś. *ūrjā vav̥rtsva*) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

ime jīvā vi m̥rlair āvav̥rtan (TA. *āvavarttin*, Poona ed. °*rtin*) RV. AV. TA. See VV I p. 42.

nādh̥ṛṣa ā dadh̥ṛṣate (AA. *dadhar̥ṣa*, ŚŚ. *dadhar̥ṣayā*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 89.

§649. In various participles and gerundives:

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 147.

jāgaritāya (KSA. *jāgrtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Both equivalent participles. *adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyaḥ* (TB. *rdhyaḥ*) RV. TB. Gerundives; cf. Whitney §963b, 4.

dāma grīvāsv avimokyaṃ yat (TS. *avicartyam*) AV. TS.: *pāśaṃ grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS. ŚB. °*crtiyam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. AVPPP. according to Whitney has °*crtiyam*.

§650. In other noun and adjective formations:

śaṃ methir (ApMB. *śaṃ te methī*) *bhavatu śaṃ yugasya tṛdma* (ApMB. *tṛdma*) AV. ApMB. No stem *tṛdman* is otherwise known.

atandrāso yuvatayo tvibhṛtram (TB. *vibhartram*) RV. TB. Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *bibhartram*. Agni is referred to; TB. comm. *poṣakam*.

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyaṃ pautramartyam* SMB. Comm. on SMB. repeats the form, glossing *putrasaṃ-bandhimaraṇam*.

pra sa (tead *su*?) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG.: *pra sumartyaṃ* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuṃ*) *yuyotana* ApMB. SMB.: *prathamam artim yuyotu naḥ* MG.

agñer (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vaḥ*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ. In ApŚ. a blended stem *-martyu* (fused from *marta*, *martya*, and *mṛtyu*); cf. prec.

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB. *martave*) RV. PB. Infinitive in PB.

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS.: *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi* SV. JB.

vanasade (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veḥ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV. in compounds. It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here. The next preceding phrase in KS. is *nṛṣade veḥ*; the *r* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°.

devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṃ nyarthāt (AV. *nirṛthāt*) RV. AV. TS. Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition'; *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic.

[*niṣkartā* (RV. KŚ. *iṣ*°, ApMB. Conc. wrongly *niṣkṛtā*) *vihrutam* (PB. TA. ApMB. *vihṛtam*) *punaḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.]

§651. Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words:

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. *artanam*, comm. *duḥkḥinam*; BR. 'reviler'; *ṛtulam*, comm. *deśarājavārtākathanaśīlam*.

sarṇīkāya tvā TS.: *ṣṛḍīkāya tvā* MS. Both words wholly obscure; said to mean 'water'.

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ.° *yai*) *rṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KB. AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase* AV.

7. *r* and *ār*

§652. Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the vridhhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *r*. Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*:

aprajāstvam mārtavatsam AV.: *aprajastām pautramṛtyum* ApMB. HG. Others, §650.

ārtavā (MS. KS. *rtavo*) *adhipataya* (MS. KS. 'dhi°) *āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt* TS.

rtavo 'srjyanta VS. TS. ŚB.: *ārtavā asrjyanta* MS. KS.

agnir gr̥hapatinām (MS. KS. *gārhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ārtyai (TB. *rtyai*) *janavādinam* VS. TB. Stem *rti*, from *r*: *ārti*, from *ā* + *r*.

8. *r* and *ir*, *ur*, *ūr*

§653. Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to *r*: *ir*, we find just two cases in which the *sarṇhitā* mss. of MS. (the same text each time!) read *r* for proper *ir*. In both cases the p.p. points to the reading *ir*. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *r* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other; there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other:

nama ānirhatebhyah (MS. *ānr°*, p.p. *ānir°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS. mss. *nakrṇu*, ed. em. *nakir ṇu*; p.p. *nakis, tu*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

§654. Under *r*: *ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious: *agnir dvārā vy rṇvati* RV. TB. Conc. quotes *urṇvati* for TB.; but Poona ed. text and comm. *rṇ°* without v. l.

satyaujasā dr̥ṇhaṇā (MS. *durhr̥ṇā*, KS. †*dṛhaṇā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS. And others: see §305.

nābhimṛṣe (MS. KS. *nābhidhr̥ṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhr̥ṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Might also be classed in §643.

§655. Of *r*: *ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *r* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrṇu*, really a form of *vr*:

tveṣas te dhūma rṇvati (AV. *ūrnotu*) RV. AV. SV. LŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

9. *r* and *ra*, *rā*

§656. In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp. 69-71, and cf. the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *va* in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of *r* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p. 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation): and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657. The cases of so-called Samprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *grbh*, on which see especially VV I §281:

agrbhūt VSK.: *agrabhūt* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agrbhīṣata VS.: *agrabhīṣata* KS.

udgrābhēṇod agrabhūt (MS. *ajigrabhat*, KS. *ajigrabham*, and *ajigrbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnaye tvā mahyaṁ . . . pratigrahātṛe (ŚŚ. °*grhṇate*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *prāṇo dātra edhi . . . pratigrahātṛe* (ŚŚ. °*grhṇate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. The

same with *hayo dātra . . .*

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms:

viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ (aprāg api) AV. (both)

§658. In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel l. c.; some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical:

hradaṁ (MS. *hṛdaṁ*) *na hi tvā nyrṣanty ūrmayaḥ* RV. MS. 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāṇi*).' The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *saṁprasāraṇa*. Cf. next.

namo nīveṣyāya (p.p. *nī°*) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS.: *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hr̥dayyāya*, KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS. *°ṣyyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS. See §248. The MS. and VS. forms simulate derivatives of *hr̥d* and *hr̥daya*, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hr̥da* = *hrada* found in MS. in the preceding variant.

prkṣasya (ArS. *prakṣ°*) *vr̥ṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. *prkṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse; its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere.

nimrado (ApŚ. *nimr̥do*) 'si MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p. 71.

avātīratam br̥sayasya (TB. *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV. TB. See §69.

bhr̥jaś chandaḥ MS.: *bhrajaś chandaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *bhr̥jaś chandaḥ* KS.† (but v. l. *bhra°*). The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhr̥āj*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l. c. but may be related to *bhr̥ajj*, Wackernagel p. 69; cf. also *bhargas* etc. There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots. Cf. next.

kṣuro bhrajaś (TS. *bhr̥jvāñ*, MS. *bhr̥jaś*, VS. *bhr̥jaś*, stigmatized by Conc. as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

ārdraḥ prathasnur (MŚ. †*prthusnur*, v. l. *pratha°*) *bhūwanasya gopāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §609, and Wackernagel p. 71.

svasty apsu vr̥jane svarvati (MG. †*vrajanē svarvataḥ*) RV. AB. MG. Really a lexical variant; *vrajana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda. But some MG. mss. read with RV.

[*digbhyaś cakravākaḥ* (KSA. Conc. *cakrv°* with the sole ms.; ed. em. *cakrav°*) TS. KSA. This is probably a mere corruption; if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same.]

§659. The roots *rādh* and *rdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin; and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group. Cf. also §806:

rdhyāsam adya makhasya śiraḥ MS. TA. ApŚ.: *makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyaśam devayajane prthivyāḥ* VS. ŚB. [The references to MS. MŚ. in Conc. seem to be erroneous.]

tan me rādhyaatām VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.: *tan me samr̥dhyatām* (Kauś. *samr̥ddham*) TB. SMB. Kauś.

harivato graham ṛdhyāsam KS.: *harivato hariyojanasya harivantam graham rādhyāsam* MS.

§660. The single case noted of *r* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p. 212 f.) is:

saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu MS.: *saṁsraṣṭā* (AV. v. 1. *saṁsṛṣṭā*) *sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.

§661. From the root *śr*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise:

suśrātam (AV. *suśṛtam*) *manye tad ṛtam navīyaḥ* RV. AV.

§662. The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflexion forms in *r* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*:

āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG.: *āpo jāgrta* MS. KS. MŚ.: *āpo haviṣṣu jāgrta* ApŚ.: *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 123.

ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (KS. *jāgrtha*) AV. KS. See VV I p. 221.

yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ.: *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 96.

te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS. † *jāgrta*) AV. KS.

yat paśur māyum akṛta TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG.: *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś. See VV I p. 257.

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS. Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p. 158), and obscure as to interpretation.

§663. Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *r* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*:

hotrakāṇām (MŚ. *hotṛk°*, v. 1. *hotrak°*) *camasādhvayavaḥ* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

The words *hotṛka* 'secondary *hotṛ*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest.

See Caland on ApŚ. 12. 23. 4.

§664. Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated; notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kr*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology:

puñjikasthalā (KS. † *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, and so naturally flexible.

saṁsṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. ApŚ. KŚ. *indra kratvā* (MS. *indraḥ kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. The

MS., which is certainly secondary and poor in *indraḥ*, reads the

gerund *kṛtvā* for *kratvā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness.

mainā arvā reṇukakāṭaḥ pṛṇak (MS.† [v. 1. *pṛṇak*] KS. *praṇak*) MS. KS.

TB. *pra-ṇak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*; *pṛṇak* from *pre*.

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. See §277.

§665. The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague:

drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV.

AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vague assonance only.

taṁ tvāṁ viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ kratūn (KS. °*bhya rtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ.

sā (read *sa*?) *naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānaḥ* (p.p. *ahāh, ānī, yāmānaḥ*!) MS.: *sa no rucam dhehy ahrṇīyamānaḥ* TA. The MS. is hopelessly corrupt; probably read *ahrṇīyamānaḥ*.

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS. *bhadrā vṛṣaṇā agrbhṇām*) RV. VS. TS. KS.

iḍāsmān anu vastām ghr̥tena ApŚ. MŚ.: *iḍāvāsmān* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastām vratena* RVKh. AV. Scheftelowitz reads *ghr̥tena* in RVKh.

idam ahaṁ sarpāṇām . . . grathnāmi (MŚ. mss. *kṛtsnāmi*) TS. ApŚ.

MŚ. See §47; MŚ. perhaps corruption for *grath*°.

nadayor vīratayoh śūra indraḥ RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indraḥ* SV. See §828.

viśvair devai rātibhiḥ samrarāṇaḥ (MG. *devair rtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ*) ApMB. MG.

āvītte dyāvāpṛthivī rtāvṛdhau MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB. In this and the next, TS. has interchanged the two old adjectives *rtāvṛdh* and *dhṛtavrata* (both RV.).

āvittau (TS. *āvinnau*) *mītrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. °*ṇāv rtāvṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

10. *r* and *ri*, *rī*

§666. Since *r* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *r* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects). On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp. 31 ff. It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss., including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard. As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5. 14. 3, apropos of the pāda: *rīśasyeva pariśāsam*. So the Berlin ed. prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss. read *rśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most mss., but with some of them and with the comm., Whitney would also read *rśyapadīm vṛṣadatīm* in AV. 1. 18. 4a, where both editions have *rīśya°*.

§667. These AV. cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS., which presents *triṣu* for *trṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *trṣ*) and *tvāṣtri* for the god-name *tvāṣṭr*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss., despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyaṇīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

trṣu (MS. *triṣu*) *yad annā vevīṣad vitiṣṭhase* RV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

trṣucyavaso (MS. *triṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS.

tvāṣṭrmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvāṣtri°*; ApŚ. *tvāṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Others, see §641.

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *krimi*, altho its original form seems to have been *kṛmi* (Wackernagel I p. 33; Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.*, s. v.). Several variants show both forms of this common word:

hataṣ te atrīṇā krimiḥ (GG. *kṛ°*) SMB. GG.: *atriṇā tvā krime hanmi* TA. ApŚ.: *atrivad vaḥ krimayo hanmi* AV.

hatāḥ krimayaḥ (but Jørgensen text and comm. *kṛ°*) *sāśātikāḥ sanīla-makṣikāḥ* SMB.: *āśātikāḥ kṛmaya* (but Poona ed. *kṛi°*, v. l. *kṛ°*) *iva* TA. Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nīlamgoḥ (MS. *°gave*) *kṛmiḥ* (TS. *kṛi°*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *r*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism; or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *r* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss. is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *r* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially.

§670. Take for instance the proper name *Trita*, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrita*). Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV. (6. 113. 1 and 3) it is spelled *Trta*, according to all mss. known to both editions. In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB. parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trita*. In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss.:

trta enam (read *enan*; TB. *trita etan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamrje* (TB. *mā°*)
AV. TB.

trte (TB. *trite*) *devā amṛjataitad enaḥ* AV. TB.

§671. There is little doubt that the MS. form *āpaprvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpaprivān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pr*, as Whitney questioningly suggests. The MS. p.p. has °*pri°*.

āpaprivān (MS. *āpaprvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§672. The verb *sredhati* makes it clear that *sridh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant. In fact many AV. mss. read *sridhaḥ*, which Whitney regards as the true AV. reading:

ati niho ati sridhaḥ (AV. MS. *sṛdhaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§673. In the next *krivi* is the only form known to RV., and so may perhaps be assumed as the original; both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown:

ā va indram kriviṁ (SV. Svidh. *kṛviṁ*) *yathā* RV. SV. ŚŚ. Svidh.

adha tviṣmān abhy ojasā kriviṁ (SV. *kṛviṁ*, v. 1. *kriviṁ*) *yudhābhavat*
RV. SV.

§674. According to Wackernagel I §180b, *r* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law; when *r* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy. In the second variant the original (AV.) reading was pronounced *pitriyāc*, and for this TA. *pitryāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *r* for proper *ri*:
vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS.† KS.† °*mā*, TS. and p.p. of MS. *jāgriyāma*)
purohitāḥ VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dyaurnah pitā pitryāc (TA. *pitryāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA. *bhavāsi*) AV. TA.

Cf. the next where the RVKh. reading is doubtful:

āvryuṣam jāgrtād aham AV.: *dvryuṣam jāgriyād aham* RVKh. Aufrecht.

but Scheftelowitz *avyuṣaṁ jāgryām* (em., for ms. °yāmy) *aham*. Cf. VV I. p. 102.

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning; presumably MS. is secondary:

vikirida (KS. °ḍa, VS. °dra, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS.

§676. Finally a few corruptions and false readings:

ya rte (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rte*, PB. †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV.

SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.: *jari cetid* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśriṣaḥ* MS. (grossly corrupt; cf. §193).

saṁ tvā riṇanti (Vait. *rṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. Note the anomalous sandhi in Vait.; *saṁ-r* and *saṁ-ri* would be virtual synonyms; but a 9th class present from *r* is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup., but not known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*). The Vait. reading is therefore doubly suspicious. See §992.

[*imau te pakṣāv* (°ṣā) *ajarāu patatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS. KS. °*naḥ*; Conc. wrongly quotes TS. as *patatṛṇaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.]

§677. Twice *r* varies with *rī*; both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases:

śṛtas tvaṁ śṛto 'ham ApŚ.: *śrītas tvaṁ śrīto* 'ham KS. Participles of the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śr*, *śrā*, *śrī* 'cook, mature'.

adbhir viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ ApMB.: *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG.

In ApMB. a distinctively feminine stem *bhartṛī* is used, to agree with *adbhiḥ*; ŚG. uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender.

11. *r* and *ru*

§678. The shift between *r* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than that between *r* and *ri*. There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *r* of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*, instead of *ri* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr. 14. 12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarau kurvanty oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau*). There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with *r*:*ri*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *r* in conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring.

§679. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

bhṛmīṇ (TB. *bhṛumīṇ*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛṇata* RV. TB. Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original *bhṛmi* is not very clear; one of Sāyaṇa's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhṛumi* by TB. comm., who derives it from root *bhram*.

ḍṛvāsi VS.: *ḍṛbāsi* KŚ.: *drubāsi* VSK. An obscure word; note the following *b*. There is no way of determining the original form.

§680. A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *r* for original *ru* is the stem *prṣvā*, found several times in Tait. texts for regular *pruṣvā*; note the preceding *p*. BR. call *prṣvā* a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA. comm. explains by *jalabinduh*. It seems clear that it was the established Tait. school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters; see e.g. Keith on TS. 7. 4. 13. 1.

pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ VS. MS.: *aśrubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *prṣ°*) TS. KSA.

pruṣvābhyaḥ (TS. *prṣ°*, KSA. ed. *pruṣṭābhyas*, ms. *praṣṭā°*, read probably *pruṣvā°*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

śam u prṣṭhāva (read with Poona ed. text and comm. *prṣvāva*) *śīyatām* TA.: *śam te pruṣvāva śīyatām* AV.

§681. Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *r* in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the *r* form seems quite well established in the Tait. school; the MS. is more seriously corrupt: *purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jartrbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vakṛbhyaḥ*!) *ātrdaḥ* (MS. *°da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

§682. The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots *sr* and *sru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *sruti* both mean 'course, way': *dve srutī* (VS. KS. ŚB. BrhU. KŚ. *sṛtī*, and so TB. Conc., but Poona ed. *srutī*) *aśṛṇavaṇ pitṛṇām* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. BrhU. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS. 38. 2 to *srutī*.)

namaḥ srutyāya (KS. *sṛt°*) *ca pathyāya ca* VS. TS. KS.: *namaḥ pathyāya ca srutyāya ca* MS. Derivatives of the words concerned in the prec. *ā tvā parisrutāḥ* (AG. *°sritāḥ*, MG *°sṛtaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† *°āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *enam parisrutāḥ kumbhyā* ŚG.: *emām parisrutāḥ kumbhaḥ* AV.: *pūrṇān parisrutāḥ kumbhān* ŚB. No form *parisṛt* is otherwise recorded; despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG. (all mss.) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutāḥ*.

hiranyam asṛtaṁ (ŚB. BṛhU. GP. *asrutam*) *bhava* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Here *sru* varies with *str*; 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold).

Cf. *mṛgasya sṛtam* (HG. *śrtam*, ApMB. vv. ll. *srutam*, *śrutam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB. HG. See §278.

§683. Similarly *hr* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*; the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like. A third variation between *hr* and *hru* is merely a textual corruption.

avinaṣṭān avihrutān (AŚ. °*hrtān*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

iṣkartā vihrutaṁ punaḥ RV. KŚ.: *niṣkartā* (Conc. wrongly °*kṛtā* for ApMB.) *vihrutaṁ* (PB. TA. ApMB. *vihrtaṁ*) *punaḥ* AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. ApMB. In TA. there is a v. l. *vihrutaṁ*, adopted in the text in Poona ed.; but the comm. even there reads *vihrtaṁ*, and glosses *viśeṣeṇa bhagnam*.

aśloṇā (comm. *aśroṇāḥ*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svarge* AV.: *aśloṇāṅgair ahrtaḥ svarge* TA. But Poona ed. text and comm. *ahrutāḥ*, v. l. °*tā*, for TA., and this is the only possible reading. The simple *hr* is not a synonym of *hru*; *ahrta* would make no sense; comm. *kaṇṭil-yarahitāḥ* (= *ahrutāḥ*).

§684. Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious:

ruvad dhokṣā (TB. *ṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. KB. TB. The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared'. This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB.

śivā rutasya (VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*, TS. and v. l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Original is certainly *rutasya*: 'healer of what is injured'. *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an obvious lect. fac., and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the ṛta' or 'the ṛta's healer', while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *r* and *ru*.

satyaujasā dr̥ṇhaṇā (MS. *durhr̥ṇā*, KS. †*dr̥haṇā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. Multiple confusion; see §305, etc.

mayobhūḥ śamtamā yad dhrudo (comm. *dhr̥do*) 'si TB. So Conc.; but Poona ed. text with comm. *dhr̥do*.

CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SĀMPRASĀRAṆA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e*: *ai* and *o*: *au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

1. *i*: *e*

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems; with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives:

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo* 'śivā ye asan VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahīta*)
ye asann aśevāḥ (AV. **aśivāḥ*, **asan durevāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. The meter properly requires *aśevāḥ* if the word be final (VS. ŚB. trans-
pose).

yā sarasvatī viśobhagīnā (MS. ApŚ.* *veśa*°; KS. *veśabhaginī*) . . . MS. KS.
ApŚ. *viśo-* is gen. sing. of *viś*.

divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*)
samubjītaḥ AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

divo jyote (KS. **jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.:
vivasvān aditir devajūtis . . . TS.

devya (ApŚ. *divyā*, v. l. *devyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ

sūryo divo (TS. KS.* *devo*) *diviṣadbhyaḥ* (TS. KS. °*bhyo* . . .) TS. KS.* MŚ.

punše putrāya vettavai (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*) ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApMB. ApŚ. HG.

pra swānāso (SV. *svā°*) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV. °*deveṣu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV. *lekaḥ salekaḥ* . . . TS.: *salilaḥ saligaḥ* . . . MS. KS. See §49.

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like **trayadhā* (cf. §§744 ff. below; Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347):

tridhā (MS. *tredhā*) *baddho vṛṣabho roravīti* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. N.

§688. In the stem-syllable of verbal forms:

maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana AV.: *maiṣām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *māmīṣām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS.

yaḥ prāṇato nīmiṣataḥ (v. l. KS. *nīmeṣ°*) *ca rājā* MS. KS.: *yaḥ prāṇato nīmiṣato* (VS. *nīmeṣ°*) *mahitvā* RV. AV. VS. TS. KSA. Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *nī-miṣ*; the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded. Add to VV I §197. *vāmī te saṁdrśi viśvaṁ reto dhiṣṭiya* (MS. *dhe°*) . . . MS. KS.: *viśvasya te* . . . *vāmīr anu saṁdrśi viśvā retāṁsi dhiṣṭiya* TS. Cf. next. The form *dheṣṭiya* seems to be established in the Maitr. school. It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guṇa *dhe*! perhaps by confusion with root *dhi*?). See VV I p. 186.

somasyaḥam devayajyayā suretā (MŚ. *viśvaṁ*) *reto dhiṣṭiya* (MŚ. *dhe°*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§689. In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere. See VV I §§39-79 and 82 *et passim*.

§690. Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat.-abl. plur. forms in *ibhyas*: *ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n)*: *a*.

divācarebhyo (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyaḥ* (sc. *namaḥ*) MG. ViDh.: *ahaścarebhyaḥ* (sc. *namaḥ*) ŚG.

naktamcarebhyaḥ ŚG. ViDh.: *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyaḥ* MG.

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MŚ. °*dhebhyo*) 'nubṛūhi ŚB. MŚ.

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS. *vaṣ°*, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

svāheṣṭibhyaḥ (Kauś. °*ṭebhyaḥ svāhā*) KS. Kauś.: *iṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā vaṣaḍ aniṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā* TB. ApŚ.

§691. The others are miscellaneous case-forms; since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists:

pūṣṇe śarase (MS.† °si) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS.

ŚB. KŚ. The majority reading (dat.) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc. of MS. is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage.

hiranyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ HG.: *hiranyaparna śakune* PG. Nom.: voc. *pra vo mahe mahivrdhe* (SV. PB. *mahevrdhe*) *bharadvham* RV. SV. AV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The SV. seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding).

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS.† *sūrah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Nom.: gen.

agnir hotā vetv agnir (AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu* (*vettu*) . . . TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir hotā vetv agner hotraṁ vetu* . . . ŚB. Nom.: gen.

kratvā variṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV.

§692. Oddities of noun stems:

agner agneyāny (KS. *agni*°) *asi* (MS. v. l. and p.p. *agner agner yāny asi*) MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §357, and cf. *vāyosāvitra* . . ., §716.

śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (AV. *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. See §248; both forms have the force of gerundives.

§693. The remaining variants are lexical; but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688:

sa idhāno (KS. *edh*°) *vasuṣ* (MS. *vasuḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to *guṇa*.

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. °ṣv *ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The MS. form could be interpreted as a 2d sing. impv. from *jan* but for the accent (*jāniṣva*), which seems to call for emendation.

ino (AV. *enā*) *viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ* RV. AV. N. *ino*, nom. of stem *ina*; *enā*, adverbial pronominal form.

utem (SV. *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-īm*: acc. sing. of *ūti*.

krīḍī ca śākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ. *sākī* †*corjiṣī* *ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. See §407.

āsanniṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuváho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*vācā mendriyāviśa* TS. KS. MŚ. Conc. *vācam indr°* for KS.; so ed. reads at 4. 14, but at 31. 15 (p. 18, n. 1) it is corrected.]

§694. Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*:

indram (SV. *endram*) *agnim ca voḍhave* RV. SV.

iha (MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. *eha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS. MS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. †1. 14. 19.

tve iṣaḥ (KS. *viśve*; MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS. † *bhūri-retasaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See Von Schroeder's note. If correct, MS. must intend *tve, ā, iṣaḥ*; but the p.p. reads *tve iti tve, iṣaḥ*.

tāv (*tā*) *ehi* (*eha, eva*, AV. *iha*) . . . , see §§578, 888.

ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA. See §180.

ādityānām patvānv (PB. °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA. †*ehi*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB.

2. ī: e

§695. Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different:

viśo yantre (KS. *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātim* KS. TB. ApŚ. Duals from stems *yantrā* and *yantrī*.

śaṁgayī (MS. ŚB. °*gavī*, TB. °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva°*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Also feminine duals.

vairāji (KSA. † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA. †) TS. KSA. Also fem. duals; there seems no reason to emend KSA. as von Schroeder would do. *rātri* (TB. °*rī*, KS. v. l. °*rīḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS. † TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB.

mahī viśpatnī sadane (KS. °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *sadane* is loc. sing.: '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*'. KS. makes *saḍanī* fem. dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *araṇis*); the other reading is simpler and most likely original.

vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī (ArS. °*se*) *śuciḥ* RV. ArS. Nom. sing. fem.: dat. sing. masc. (with *agnaye* in next *pāda*).

nābhā saṁdāyī navyasī (SV. °*dāya navyase*) RV. SV. As prec.

rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe (AV. °*ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. As prec.

ūrṇamradā yuvatir (AV. °dāḥ *pr̥thivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA. °tī) RV. AV. TA.

As prec.

tava praśastayo mahīḥ (SV. °taye *mahe*) RV. SV. Nom. pl.: dat. sing. *satyasya dharmaṇas paṭi* (ApŚ. *pate*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. Vocatives, dual and sing. *graha viśvajanaṇa niyantar viprāyāma te* (KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṭsatī*)

MS. KS. See §838.

sa supraṇīte (ŚŚ. °tī) *nṛtamaḥ svarāḍ asi* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms are uncertain. The two text mss. of ŚŚ. have °te; comm. apparently °tī which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc. ('in good guidance?'). Sāyaṇa on AA. takes °te as loc., and Keith follows him, rendering 'when (the rite) is duly paid'; but in his note Keith suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc., 'O good leader'.

īdiṣvā hi mahe (ApŚ. *mahī*, v. l. *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV. ApŚ. Acc. dual (with *dyāvāpr̥thivī*): dat. sing. (with *hotrāya*).

śruṣṭī (SV. °ṭe) *jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidah* RV. SV. Instr. (?) of *i*-stem: loc. of *a*-stem. SV. comm. in one of two places reads *śruṣṭī*.

iyam oṣadhe (PG. °dhī) *trāyamānā* PG. HG. ApMB. The voc. cannot be construed; see Winternitz on ApMB., Introduction, xxiv.

mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣṭbhīr arcinaḥ (TB. °ṣebhīr *ūrmibhīḥ*) RV. TB. The adverbial instr. of RV. (from the noun *taviṣṭ*) is made an adj. agreeing with *ūrmibhīḥ* in TB.

daiivibhyas (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS. °yas) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś. 'To the bodies of the gods', or 'to the gods, to (their) bodies.'

viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. °ṣebhyah) AV. KS.

§696. A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which simulate that relationship:

agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB. ApŚ.

apa snehitīr (SV. *sn̥hitim*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS. †*nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmaṇām* (Poona ed. *nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.

suṣīman somasatsaru AV.: *suṣevam somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.

dhenā'm antaḥ sabardughām SV.: *dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah* RV. The gen. pl. of *dhī* is changed to an acc. sing.; but the accent of SV. shows that it has a false form (the true stem is *dhénā*); cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 9. 12. 7.

lālīlāya (MahānU. *lāle*°) *dhīmahi* TAA.† (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agni, of unknown origin. Hardly to be classed as ablaut. The two comms. have different and equally ridiculous explanations *aṣādḥāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB. *mīdhuṣe*) RV. TB. N. Lexical.

In the reduplicating syllable:

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge ni dīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nidhītaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS. is felt as such; cf. VV I pp. 149, 160.

§697. Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor. ind. varies with a present opt. But the KS. ed. reads as ApŚ., with v. l. as Conc.: *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) . . . KS. ApŚ. VV I p. 86.

anu stomam mudīmahi (PB. *made*°) RV. AV. PB. Optatives of different verbs.

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS. °*yīd*, KSA. °*yed*, MS. *dhanayīd*) . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§698. Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf. §694:

vāmaṁ pītrbhyo ya idam samerire (AV. *samī*°) RV. AV. ApMB.

ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS.

See §180.

3. *i*: *ai*

§699. Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vridhhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vridhhi:

vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah AV. KS.: *yo vaiśvānara uta †viśvadāvyah* (ApŚ. *vaiśvadevyah*) MS. ApŚ. Whitney's Transl. adopts for AV. *viśvadevyah*, which he states is the reading of Ppp., but this is an error; Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 32. 358) has °*davyah*, intending °*dāvyah*. Only ApŚ. has a derivative of *viśvadeva*.

divyah kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ MS.: *daivyah kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

achinno divyas (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

brhanto daivāḥ (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

nirbādhyena (AV. *nair*°; Ppp. *nir*° according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV. TB. ApŚ.

brhatā tvā rathamtareṇa traiṣṭubhyā (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* . . . MS. KS.: *brhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* . . . TS.

aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāham śivena*) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB.

indrasya vimṛdhasyāhaṇi (KS. *indrasyāhaṇi vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-sapatno* (ApŚ. but not †MŚ. adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

kapota (MS. °tā) *ulūkaḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

nirṛtyai svāhā MŚ.: *nairṛtyai* (sc. *diṣe*) *svāhā* VāDh.

vihāyaso (PG. *vaiḥ*°) 'dhi *bhūmyām* HG. PG. *vi*°, abl. of *vihāyas*; *vai*°, nom. of adj. *vaihāyasa*.

indrasya śuṣmaṁ irayann apasyubhiḥ RV. SV.: *aindraḥ śuṣmo viśvarūpo na āgan* AV.

vaivasvato (AV. *vivasvān*) *no abhayam kṛṇotu* AV. TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. *vai*°, of course, means Manu.

hairaṇyanābhaḥ (ŚŚ. *hir*°) *kausalyaḥ* ŚB. ŚŚ.

indropānasyakehamanaso (MŚ. *aindro*°) . . . ApŚ. MŚ. The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ. to *indro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe.

§700. Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection:

indrādhipatiḥ (MS. KS. °patyaiḥ) *pipṛtād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc.

taṁ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °yi) TS. MS. TA. The form in *yai* is dat. of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor'. The *yi* form would seem to be acc. neut. of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf. §247), perhaps used adverbially.

Two concerning aorist verb forms:

āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣīt (ApŚ. *prāṇijan*) AV. ApŚ. See VV I p. 129. *pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam* (ApMB. °bhaiṣam) ApMB. HG. See VV I pp. 139, 186.

And one in which *ai* contains the augment:

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

4. ī: ai

§701. Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr. plur. and nom.-acc. plur. (fem.) forms:

indreṇa devīr (MŚ. *devair*) *vīrudhaḥ samvidānāḥ* TS. MŚ.

devīr devīr (ApŚ. *devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

sapta ca vāruṇīr (PG. °nair) *imāḥ* AG. PG. ŚG. MG.: *sapta ca mānuṣīr imāḥ* ApMB. HG. Followed in all by:

tisraś ca rājabandhavaiḥ (HG. °vaiḥ) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to prec. pāda) *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG. °vyah) PG. MG.: *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (ŚG.† °bāndhavaiḥ) AG. ŚG. ā *dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB. °śīr, MG. °śam) *aguḥ* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.

§702. There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous; and one aorist verb form, also anomalous:

straiṣūyam anyatra dadhat AV.: *strīṣūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) ā *dadhat* ŚG.

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai°*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In the pres. mid. pple. the vriddhi is quite out of place; 'blundering corruption', Whitney.

yad adīvyann (MS. *daivyam*) *ṛṇam aham babhūva* (AV. *krṇomi*) AV. MS. TA. BDh.: *adīvyann ṛṇam yad aham cakāra* TB. The original is *adīvyan* 'not gambling'; MS. has a stupid lect. fac. Add to VV I §231.

indra enam (TB. ApŚ. *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.: cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarait* AV. But for the last SPP. with most mss. and Ppp. °sarīt, the regular form. See VV I p. 186.

5. *e: ai*

§703. Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them. They are fairly numerous; the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in *e: ai*; forms with *e: ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation; and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings.

§704. First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat. or loc.) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it'. *asmai* (TB. *asme*) *dṛyāvāprthivī bhūri vāmam* (Conc. divides AV. before *vāmam*) AV. TB. *asme* is secondary.

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS. ApŚ.: *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhālana* VS. KŚ. Keith assumes that TS. intends *asmai*.

asmai (MS. *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachalam* TS. MS. AŚ. *asmai* is certainly simpler.

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsme (AV. *kartam asmai*, VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. 'For him': 'for us', equally possible.

savitṛā prasavitṛā . . . indreṇāsme (VSK. °*smai*) . . . VS. VSK. As prec. *asme* (AV. *asmai*) *dhārayataṁ* (MŚ. °*tām*) *rayim* RV. AV. MŚ. Different contexts; both possible.

asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhatta vasavo vasūni* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Equally possible.

asme (KBU. *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin* RV. KBU. AG. PG. N.

asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhārāya (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asme kṣatrāṇi dhārayer anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya* TS.: *asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārāyantam agne* AV. Kauś. Different contexts.

asmai (MS. *asme*) *karmaṇe jātaḥ* MS. ApŚ. 'For our rite': 'for this rite'. Probably lect. fac. in ApŚ.

asme (AŚ. *asmai*) *indrābhraspatī* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Probably misprint in AŚ.

§705. Other dative forms in *e*: *ai*, including infinitives:

tā (VS. ŚB. *yā*, TS. *te*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS. °*ye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

The TS. form is anomalous; cf. Keith's note and Whitney, *Grammar* §976a. Infinitives.

havyāyāsmāi voḍhave (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedaḥ* TS. MS. KS. Kauś. Infinitives.

sugam meṣāya meṣyai (RV. °*ye*) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ.: *sukham meṣāya meṣyai* VS. ŚB.

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TB. Cf. §396.

ābhiṣ tvāham . . . *sūtave* (HG. °*vai*) HG. ApMB.

kuhvai (KSA. *kuhve*, ed. em. °*vai*) *trayo 'ruṇaitāḥ* TS. KSA.

puṇise putrāya vettavai (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*, KS. †*kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. l. °*ve*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.

śakrāya sunavai (JB. °*ve*) *tvā* RV. JB.

śriyai (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) ApMB. MG.

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG.: *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG.: cf. *parīdam vāso adhithāḥ* (HG. °*dhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. ApMB. HG. These forms are taken as datives by the PG. comm., followed by Stenzler and Oldenberg. It is uncertain whether this is correct, or whether they are verb forms; see VV I p. 112.

§706. Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc. sing. and instr. pl.):

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*yaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

avyo (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV. SV. *punar brahmāṇo* (*brahmā*) . . . *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*), see §339.

§707. When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with *vridhhi* varying with other related forms without *vridhhi*:

daivīm (VS. *devīm*) *nāvaṁ svaritrām anāgasam* (AV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

devīḥ (AV. *dai°*) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *ṇaḥ*, and so Whitney for AV. with most mss.) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.

daivībhyas (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS. °*yas*) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś.

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

devān mā bhayād iti SMB.: *daivān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ.

imā yā devīḥ pradiśaś catasraḥ AV.: *yā daivīś catasraḥ pradiśaḥ* TB. ApMB. HG.

saṁ devena savitrā TA.: *saṁ daivena* (and, *daivyena*) *savitrā* VS. ŚB. *divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ* MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

vācā tvā hotrā . . . *pañcabhir daivyaḥ* (MŚ. *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmi* ApŚ. MŚ.

mā devānām (TA. *daivyas*) *tantuś chedi mā manuṣyāṇām* (TA. *manuṣyaḥ*) MS. KS. TA. ŚŚ.

indro jyēsthānām (MS. KS. *jyaisṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaisṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

vaiśvānaram kṣaitrajityāya (TB. *kṣetra°*) *devāḥ* VS. TB.

somaindrā (KSA. †*saumendrā*) *babhrulālāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanaḥ (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ*, MG. *śraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanaḥ*, read *svastyā°* with most mss.) *pāram aśīya* AŚ. ApMB. MG.

meghyā (VS. *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§708. A couple of cases with *e*: *ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding; it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary *vridhhi* or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants.

avārāya kevarṭam VS.: *pāryāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*, evidently of non-Aryan origin; and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke°* is a Prakritism.

veśantābhyo dāśam TB.: *vaiśantābhyo baṇḍam* VS. Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin; but this time the usual form is *ve*^o. Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS.

§709. Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *ai* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269c). The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731. Wackernagel, l. c. (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *ai*, *au* to *e*, *o*; besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either. Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here. But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form:

adhi na indraiṣām (VS. *indreṣām*) RV. VS. Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS. is *indra-eṣām*. This is the most certain case.

neva mānse na pībasi AV.: *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG. The AV. p.p. reads *na*, *iva*; according to Barret JAOS 26. 205, Ppp. also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note). Yet it is possible that AV. really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading. *jagatyainaṁ* (AŚ. °*tyenaṁ*) *vikṣv ā veṣayāmaḥ* (MS. KS. °*mi*, AŚ. °*ni*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. In VV I p. 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenaṁ* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh; to be sure the edition of AŚ. inspires little confidence. But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc. *jagaty* instead of instr. *jagatyā*).

enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā KS. (prec. by *-mānā*; actual text, *-mānai-nāhne*^o): the MŚ. version quoted in Conc. as *idāhna id āharam aśīya* is Knauer's emend. of corrupt mss. which begin [-*mān*]-*enāhned*-, doubtless intending the same as KS.

See also *anāmayaidhi* etc., §344.

§710. In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *ai*; see VV I p. 28:

vi sakhyāni srjāmahe (ŚŚ. °*hai*, MŚ. *visrjāvahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG.

yaṁ jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS. °*he*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS. *havāmahe*) TS. MS. KS.

rayīm yena vanāmahai (SV. °*he*) RV. SV.

sacāvahe (MS. °*hai*, p.p. °*he*) *yad avrkam purā cit* RV. MS.

brahmāham antaram kṛṇve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV. KŚ. (? the proper subjunctive form would be °*vai*; °*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

anu nau śūra maṁsate (TS. °*tai*) RV. TS. KSA.

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

pari śvajāte (AV. °*tai*) *libujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV. N.

pra yaḥ satrācā (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*, text and comm. in Poona ed.) RV. TB.

dadhad vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayātai TA.: *dadhr̥g vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan pariṅkhayātai*) RV. AV.

manai (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. *yayā gā ākarāmahe* (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV.

varuṇeti śapāmahe (MS. † °*hai*; AV. *yad ūcima*, LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

§711. There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment: *mṛtyoḥ padam* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. °*ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

vācaspace 'chidrayā . . . *hotrām airayaṭ* (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. Augmented forms in ŚB. KŚ.; the ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

ā te garbho yonim etu (AG. *aitu*) AG. ApMB. HG.: *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV. ŚG.: *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV.: *ā garbho yonim etu te* ApMB. HG. The preceding *ā* proves AG. secondary.

aīṣu (AŚ. *eṣu*) *dyumnān svar yamat* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Perhaps misprint in AŚ., as Whitney on AV. suggests.

etat te agne rādha aiti (MS. KS. *eti*) *somacyutam* TS. MS. KS.

grhān aimi (LŚ. HG. *emi*) . . . AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

abhyaiti (SV. *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh. SV. VS.

§712. Miscellaneous cases:

he 'lavo he 'lavo ŚB.: *hailo hailo* ŚBK. Interjections.

mā bheḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *mā bhair̥ḥ* MS. KS. MŚ. Aorist verb forms, see VV I p. 129, and next.

mā bher mā . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā* . . . MS. KS. See prec. *uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122; and on the MG. form, VV I p. 87.

uttamān nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*, TA. °*rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Pronouns *imam*: *enam*.

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (MŚ. °retām, AŚ. °bhavatām) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. fusion of *sambhara* and *etam*; in the others dual verb forms.

śatruhaṇam amitrahaṇam (KS. *śatru° asi śatruhaṇam*) *bhrātrvyahaṇam asuraṇam twaindraṁ* (ApŚ. text *twendram*) *vajraṁ sādāyāmi* KS. ApŚ. Here *twendram*, if not a corruption or misprint, can only be a phonetic reduction of *twaindraṁ* (*twā + aindraṁ*).

[*endram* (TB. *aindraṁ*, but comm. and Poona ed. text *endram*) *acyaruḥ* . . . TB. ApŚ.]

6. u: o

§713. The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables; thus, in nouns and adjectives:

namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya (VS. ŚŚ. *šoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*)

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720. *matyai śrutāya* (*mahe śrotrāya*) *cakṣase* AV. (both)

ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt* PB.

duścyavanaḥ pṛtanāśād (°śāl) *ayudhyaḥ* (AV. MS. *ayodhyaḥ*) RV. AV. †19. 13. 7a, SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Gerundives.

deva gharma rucitas tvaṁ deveṣv ā MS.: *rocitas tvaṁ deva gharma deveṣv asi* TA. Causative and simple participles. Cf. next.

rucito gharmaḥ MS. KB. ŚB. TA. etc.: *rocito gharma rucīya* TA. Cf. prec.

ānandā modāḥ pramudaḥ AV.: *ānando modāḥ pramodaḥ* TB.: *modāḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB.: *mudaḥ pramuda āsate* RV. Stems (*pra*)*mud* and (*pra*)*moda*.

druṇā (SV. *droṇe*) *sadhasṭham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV. SV. Stems *dru* and *droṇa*.

714. With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations:

dyumnī ślokī (KS. *śuklī*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *sau°*) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB. *suśevan somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *suśīman somasatsaru* AV. See §180.

sumitraḥ soma no (Kauś. *sumano*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. An obvious lect. fac. in Kauś.

§715. Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists:

yan me mātā pralulubhe (ApMB. HG. *pralulobha*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. MDh.

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist and present; see VV I p. 82.

āditya (AV. also *sūrya*) *nāvam ārukṣaḥ* (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB. See VV I p. 130.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duriṭād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

mā bher mā roṇ (VSK. *mo roṇ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣām*) *kiṁ canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruṇ mo ca* (KS. *rauṇ mā*) *naḥ kiṁ canāmamat* MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

mā dyāvāprthivī abhi śocīḥ (TS. *śūśucaḥ*, KS. *śucaḥ*, MS. *hiṁsīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See *ibid.* p. 128.

devasya (°*syāham*) *savituh . . . ruheyam* (GB. *roh°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ. LŚ. See *ibid.* p. 132.

sa yathā tvaṁ rucyā . . . ruciṣīya (MS. *rociṣīya*) AV. MS. See VV I p. 186.

On the following form see VV I p. 281; the MG. form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*:

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG. °*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ* SMB. HG. MG.

§716. In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition:

vasuḥ (TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Nom. and gen. forms; the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.).

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV. °*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.

āyuskrte (ApŚ. *āyoṣ°*) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ. Both 'maker of life'.

vāyosāvitra (TS. p.p. °*trah*; MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA. TPr. 6. 8 explains *vāyo°* by *vāyusavitṛbhyām*; it is a secondary adj. in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyos*; cf. *agner agneyāny* etc., §692.

uror ā no (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

madhu reto (TS. *madhor ato*, KS.† *madhur ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §837.

§717. The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*; cf. below, §721:

saṁdhātā saṁdhiṁ (MS. °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (TA. ApMB. MS. p.p. *puro*°; MS. text *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. *puru viśvāni jūrvan* RV.: *puro rakṣānsi nijūrvan* AV.

§718. Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §§694, 698, 711:

obhe prṇāsi (TS. *ubhe prṇakṣi*) *rodasī* RV. TS. MS.: *prṇakṣi rodasī ubhe* RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB.

ā yā dyām (MS. *divām*) *bhāsy ā prthivīm orv* (KS. *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§719. The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant: *sajūr devair vayonādhaiḥ* (MS. MŚ. *vayu*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*; *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd. of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

ye devā manojātā (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS. *manu*°, ViDh. *manujuṣah*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. BDh. ViDh. ApŚ. Stems *manas* and *manu*.

agnir havyānumanyatām (MŚ. *havyā no man*°) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

pra nu (TA. ApMB. HG. *ṇu*; Kauś. *ṇo* with all mss. but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *ṇu*) *vocam cikitṣe janāya* RV. TA. SMB. Kauś. GG. ApMB. HG. MG.

pra nu vocam (ArŚ. *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasaḥ* (ArŚ. °*se*) RV. ArŚ. *yas te stanah śaśayo* (AV.° *yur*) *yo mayobhūḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. AŚ. Equivalent stems, *śaśaya*: °*yu*.

yā coditā yā ca noditā (TA. *yā cānuditā*) . . . MS. TA. *na-uditā*: *an-uditā*. *yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

agnaye tvā mahyam . . . *āyur* (MS. *mayo*) *dātra* . . . VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

sīdanto vanuṣo yathā RV. SV. LŚ.: *sīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV. See §227. *karma kṛṇvantu* (MŚ. °*to*) *mānuṣāḥ* AV. MŚ. The MŚ. form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation.

[*ato* (TB. *tato*) *no rudrā uta vā* †*nv* (Conc. *no*; TB. *nuv*, Poona ed. 'nv, comm. *anu*) *asya* RV. TB.]

7. *ū*: *o*

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut; but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §84).

abhi tyam devam savitāram onyoh (TS. *ūnyoh*) *kavikratum* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KB. AB. ŚB. AdB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The isolated TS. stem *ūni* must mean the same as the regular *oni*.

namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. Comm. on SMB. *śūṣa iti balanāma*.

saṁ pūṣā (ApŚ. adds *saṁ dhātā*; MS.* *poṣā*) *saṁ bṛhaspatiḥ* (KS. *dhātā*) AV. MS. (bis) KS. ApŚ. *poṣā* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guṇa forms of root *puṣ*. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmaṇa passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmaṇa *pūṣā* is read. Cf. next.

api (PG. *iha*) *pūṣā ni śidatu* (AV. ŚŚ.*^o*ti*) AV. ŚŚ. (bis) LŚ. SMB. PG. HG.: *rāyas poṣo ni śidatu* ApMB. ApŚ. Cf. prec.; *rāyas poṣo* is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

kukūnanānām (KS. *kūtanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* TS. Wholly obscure words.

yamasya pātūrah (KSA. *pāto*^o) TS. KSA.: *yamyai pātūrah* TS.: *yamyāḥ pātorah* KSA. Uncertain part of the horse's body.

aṅgoṣiṇam (RV. *āṅgūṣāṇām*) *avāvaṣanta vāṇiḥ* RV. SV. Cf. §490 and next.

aṅgoṣiṇam (RV. *āṅgūṣyam*) *pavamānam sakhāyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec. *mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyam me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

divo jyote (KS. *^o*tir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

§721. The stem *purū*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puro* for *purās*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q. v., and also in: *taṁ sakhāyaḥ purorucam* (SV. *purū*^o) RV. SV.

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §718 etc.:

yat kiṁ cāṇṛtam odima (TA. *ūdima*) MS. TA.

yad vācāṇṛtam odima (TB. TA. *ūdima*) MS. TB. TA.

devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (RV. *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. SV. TB. A complicated case, on which see *RVRep.* 131 f., VV I p. 237 f.

§723. The rest are miscellaneous:

amo 'ham asmi sā (AB. *sa*) *tvam* AV. KS. AB. ŚB. BṛhU. JUB. AG. ŚG. Kauś. PG. MG.: *amūham asmi sā tvam* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *sā* (AB. *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. *aham*, ApMB. *amūham*, MG. *asy āpy amo 'ham*) KS. AB. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG. *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama*; *amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū?* *amus*, *amūs?*) and *aham*; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p. xxvii.

aṅghriṇā viṣṇo (KS. *viṣṇū*, twice; ms. once *viṣṇu*) *mā tvāva* (KS. *vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS. TB. ApŚ. See Von Schroeder on KS. 1. 12 and Keith on TS. 1. 1. 12. 1. *viṣṇo*, voc. sing.; *-viṣṇū* in TS. *devatādvandva*, in KS. elliptic dual (note *vām* in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between *aṅghriṇā* and *agnā* of TS.

tapūṇṣy (MS. *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*.

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ. *sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīṇe na pra yaṇsat* RV. SV.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

8. *u*: *au*

§724. Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the aorist forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rau*k, see §715, *mā bher* etc.)

suślokyāya (ApMB. *sau*°) *svastaye* ApMB. AG. PG. MG.

māham pautram (KB. *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG. *niyām*, read *nigām*, with SMB.*; SMB. **nigām*, **riṣam*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KB.

ulūkhalā (ApMB. *aul*°) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) ApMB. HG. MG.: *aulūkhalāḥ sampravādanti grāvāṇaḥ* SMB.

udbhinnam (ApŚ. *audbhidyam*) *rājñāḥ* MS. ApŚ.

āśir ṇa (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam uta suprajāstvam* (AV. *sau*°) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.

kumbhīnasah (KSA. *kaum*^o) *puṣkarasādo lohitāhis te tvāṣṭrāḥ* TS. KSA.

Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the *vriiddhi*; the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun.

vāce krauñcaḥ (VS. *kruñcaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Again the two forms are apparently synonyms. In this case the form with *vriiddhi* is commoner, at least in the later language. The origin and primary form of the word are unknown.

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh.: *dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. See §833.

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG. *vyuchat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB.

ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB. Augmented and augmentless forms.

vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divaḥ* RV. SV. (both in each). As prec.

9. *ū: au*

§725. Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning *vriiddhi* of secondary derivation:

†aindrāsūrāḥ śyetalalāmās (KSA. *†aindrāsaurāḥ †śyāmalalāmās*) *tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

pauṣṇo (VSK. *pūṣā*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc. *mahāvīraḥ*) VS. VSK.

svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā KS.: *svarmūrdhā vaiyaśano vyaśyann* . . . MS.

dhruvāya bhūmāya (PG. *bhau*^o) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. PG.

ūrvaiḥ ŚŚ. Vait.: *aurvaiḥ* LŚ. With both sc. *pīṭrbhiḥ*.

§726. There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhauta*, from roots *dhu*(*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language:

nṛbhir dhūtaḥ (SV. *dhautaḥ*) *suto aśvaiḥ* RV. SV.

nṛbhir dhūto (SV. *dhauto*) *vicakṣaṇaḥ* RV. SV.

apsu dhautasya (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dhū*^o) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

apsu dhūto (SV. *dhautam*) *nṛbhiḥ sutāḥ* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV.

§727. In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment:

pratya auhatām (MS. *ūh*^o) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmat*) AV. TS. VS. MS. KS. TAA.

10. *o: au*

§728. Here again the largest group concerns the *vriiddhi* of secondary derivation:

dyumnī śloki (KS. *śuklī*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *sau*^o) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

namo mauñjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya . . . GDh : *namo mauñjyāyaur-myāya* . . . Svidh.

yat somyasyāndhaso (ApMB. *sau*^o) *bubodhati* RV. ApMB.

juṣantām somyam (TB. *sau*^o) *madhu* VS. MS. TB.

somaindrā (KSA. *ṭsaumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

somāpauṣṇāḥ (KSA. *sau*^o) *śyāmalalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

yadi somasyāsi rājñāḥ somāt . . . Kauś.: *yadi saumy asi somāt* . . . AG.

Rvidh.: *yady asi saumī somāya* . . . GG.

caurasyānnaṁ (TAA. BDh. *cor*^o) *navaśrāddham* TAA. MahānU. ViDh. BDh.

[*tvaṁ rauhiṇaṁ* (AV. misquoted *roh*^o in Conc.) *vyāsyah* AV. ŚŚ.]

§729. Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems:

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayaṁ*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māhaṁ rāy*^o *vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

ihaiva staṁ mā vi yauṣṭam (ApMB. *yoṣṭam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

mā bher mā etc., see §715.

§730. Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf. §722 etc.:

ā no (VS. ŚB. *mā*) *goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu* (TS. *auṣadhīṣu*; MS. *oṣadhīṣu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§731. A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e*: *ai*, §709, q. v.:

upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena (TS. *°noṣṭhena*, KSA. *adharoṣṭhena*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See TPr. 10. 14.

saha ojaḥ (VS. *sahaujaḥ*, VSK. *sahojah*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. Adverb *saha* plus *ojaḥ* in VS. VSK., the latter with irregular sandhi; the other texts *sahas* + *ojaḥ*.

ya āviveśoṣadhīr (MS. *°sauṣadhīr*) *yo vanaspatīn* AV. MS. There is a v. l. *°auṣadhīr* in AV., which Whitney adopts in the text.

[*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS. But several mss. and p.p. of MS. *svaup*^o, which should probably be read in the text. The second part of the cpd. is certainly *opaśa*, and the first probably *sva*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*; doubtless this was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS.]

§732. Miscellaneous:

asthūri ṇau (*nau*, *ṇo*, *no*) etc., see §950. Dual and plural pronouns *nau* and *no* (*nas*).

[*ye ke cobhayādataḥ* (TA. *cau*^o, Poona ed. correctly *co*^o) RV. VS. TA.: *ye ca ke cobhayādataḥ* AV.]

anupauhvaḥ (ApMB. *anu po* 'hvaḥ) *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayaḥ*) HG. ApMB. The ApMB. surely means *po* for *vo*; comm. says *p* is 'chāndasa' for *v*; cf. Winternitz, p. xxi. The HG. seems to intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure.

devī dvārau (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā saṁtāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait. is impossible.

sūryo rūpam kṛṇute dyor (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS. MS. TB.

Only a gen. can be construed here. On *dyauh* as abl.-gen. see Wackernagel, III p. 224, *infra*.

yatrādhi sūra udīto vibhāti (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Others, §63.

mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito (AV. °*cittā*, MS. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §399.

imau (Kauś. *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*ṣā*) *ajarau patatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °*no*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Nom. dual: gen. sing.

11. 'Saṁprasāraṇa'; *i*(*ī*): *ya*, *yā*, and the like

§733. We have already referred in §§656 ff. to the phenomena of so-called saṁprasāraṇa as they concern *r* in variation with *ra*, *rā*. Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaj*: *ij*, etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i*: *ya* as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint:

agne yat te tejas tena tam prati titigdhi (KS. *tityagdhi*, AV. *tam atejasam kṛṇu*) . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhi*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p. 191.

§734. All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following:

prapīnam (MŚ. v. 1. °*tam*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one.

yatrāsate sukrto yatra te yayuh (AV. *ta īyuh*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

'Roots' *yā* and *i*; the latter form here metrically poor.

vikirida (KS. °*ḍa*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word.

agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ. *iyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj*; possibly for metrical reasons, KS. presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p. 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present.

dhanāni śakro dhanyaḥ (AŚ. *dhanīḥ*) *surādhāḥ* TB. AŚ. The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyaḥ* to the monstrous *dhanīḥ* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanin*?).

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *id*, *īm*, varying with *yad*, *yam*; or the like:

apām payasvad it (KS. *yat*) *payah* RV. KS.: *apām payaso yat payah* AV. TS. TB. MŚ.

gomān id (SV. *yad*) *indra te sakhā* RV. SV.

muṣkāv id (VSK. °*kā id*, LŚ. °*kau yad*) *asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.

mītram na yaṁ (TB. *īm*) *śimyā goṣu gavyavaḥ* (TB. °*vat*) RV. TB.

samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *saṁ it*, KS.* *sarīt*, all mss.) *śravanti sarito* (TAA. °*tā*, Poona ed. °*to*) *na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ.* MŚ.

yadi tvam atra (Vait. *tvam tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *yad-yat tvam atra manasānuvettha* LŚ.

iti cid dhi (AV. **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV. AV. (both).

§736. In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *i*:

mā dhenur atyāsāriṇī (HG. *atisā*°) HG. ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB.; HG. has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea').

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ TB. ApŚ.: *yajñāḥ pratyasthāt* (v. 1. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ.

toyena jivān ivaśasarja (TA. text *vya ca sarja*, comm. v. 1. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. MahānU. The only possible reading in TA. is *vyasasarja*, which is itself anomalous enough; see VV I p. 140.

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. 1. °*bhūvam*) MŚ.

§737. Stems or endings in *i* varying with extensions in (y)a:

agnir grhapatīnām (MS. KS. *gārhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *sūpasthā asi vānaspatyaḥ* MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS.

ye 'gnayaḥ puriṣyāḥ (*puriṣīṇaḥ*), and others, see §907.

antimitraś (TS. *antyam*°) *dūre-amitraś* (MS. 'mitraś) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both probably mean 'having near friends'; *anti* and adj. *antya*. Weber and Keith follow the comm. on TS. in dividing *anty-amitraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible.

agnir havyaṁ (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ahāḥ śarīraṁ (TB. *ahāc char*°) *payasā sameti* (TB. °*tya*) TB. Vait. (also AVPPP.) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *sametya*; the 3d sing. *sameti* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasāraṇa'. Cf. VV I p. 164.

kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyaṁ bhūt (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV. TS. MS. N. The SV. form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.

tāḥ prācyā (°*yaḥ*, *prācīr*) . . ., see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection.

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions:

satyaṁ vadanty anu icha (KS. *anu yacha*) *etat* TS. KS. PG. *anu-iṣ* 'seek after': *anu-yam* 'follow'.

yebhir viśvam (SV. *vy āsvam*) *airayaḥ* RV. SV. *Vy āsvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift. Benfey takes *āśva* as a proper name.

anyām icha pītṛsadaṁ vyaktām (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmim icha pītṛsadaṁ nyaktam* (read °*tām*) AV. *vittām* is certainly secondary. Note that in *jāmim*: *anyām* we also have a kind of samprasāraṇa in the final syllable.

acittapājā (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnīt* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Also: *acittamanā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā*, same texts. Here *yu*: *i* vary; cf. the second variant in §736, and next.

bhujyuh (MS. *bhujī*) *suparṇo yajño gandharvaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *yu*: *i*, cf. prec.

pāhi mā didyoḥ (TS. TB. *mādyā divaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.

ayaṁ yo 'si (MŚ. *yo asya*) *yasya ta idam śiraḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter certainly secondary.

yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (ApMB. *carāty ayaṁ*, MG. *caraty ayaṁ*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

12. Samprasāraṇa: *u(ū)*: *va*, *vā*, and the like.

§739. Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants; almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences. The most clearly phonetic cases are:

sva (KhG. *sur*) *abhivyaḥkhyam* KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *sva abhivyaḥkhyam* (MS. MŚ. °*kṣam*) *jyotiṣ vaiśvānaram* MS. KS. MŚ. *sur* is certainly for *sva*; cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'.

kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāḥ MS.: *ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭiḥ* AV. Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'.

agnir havyam (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically.

agnir havyāni siṣvadat RV.: *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.

ayā no yajñam vahāsi KŚ.: *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. And others; see §502. Related roots *vah* and *ūh*.

And similarly in suffixal elements:

vidyullekheva bhāsvarā (MahānU. *bhāsurā*, v. 1. *bhāsvarā*) TA. MahānU. Both these stems are familiar adjectives.

madhūntamānām (VSK. *madhvant*°, MS. *madughānām*) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS. VSK. ŚB. MS. The VS. form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madin-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula. The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. So the printed ed. of LŚ.; BR. read *sugantvaḥ* 'leicht gangbar'; but no **gantva* is recorded. The text is evidently very corrupt.

§740. Several times the AV. presents the word *abhiśastipā(h)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhiśastipāvā*, as nom. of a suffixal form in *-van*; cf. Lanman's note in Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary: *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. *abhūr grṣṭinām* (AV. °*vasānām* in text, mss. *v āpīnām*; HG. *āpīṇām*, ApMB. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB.

ṛṣīṇām putro abhiśastipāvā (AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB.

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once:

yad vā (RVKh. *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV. RVKh.

§741. The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa* (§§364, 612): *nāvaś caranti svasica iyanāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo viyanti susico na vāṇiḥ* MS. KS.

imam yajñam svadhayā ye yajante (KS. *dadante*) KS. AŚ.: *imam ca yajñam sudhayā dadante* MS.: *ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante* (ŚŚ. *bhajante*) VS. TS. ŚŚ.

sugā (TS. ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS. N. *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*, KS. *devās sadanedam astu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. N.

sunīti svayaśastaram (SV. *su*°) RV. SV.

avabhr̥thaś ca svagākāraś (KS. *su*°) *ca* MS. KS. So the one ms. of KS.; but ed. em. *svagā*°, no doubt rightly; cf. *ava*° *ca me svagā*° *ca me*, in Conc.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §119.

prīyāṇy aṅgāni svadhītā parūṇṣi (Vait. *aṅgā sukr̥tā purūṇi*) TB. Vait.

§742. The rest are sporadic lexical variants:

urudrapso viśvarūpa induḥ TS. ApŚ.: *purudasmo viśurūpa* (KS. °*das-mavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Other cases of *viṣu*: *viśva* in §291.

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pitṛṇām somavatām VS.: *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān* ApŚ. *babhru* + *nikāśa* (*anūkāśa*).

brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. *brahmābhi*°) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*) *svāhā* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣāṇaḥ* (most mss. *svārarakṣāṇaḥ*) MG. For AG. Stenzler says: 'möge ich Lieder ergiessen'.

asmān (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso* †*vatā haveṣu* AV.

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv aj*°) RV. TB.

purutrā te manutām (AV. *vanvatām*, comm. *vanutām*) *viṣṭhitam jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. Sing.: plur.; see VV I p. 266.

indrah (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patiḥ tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ.

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. °*ṣv ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §§693, 826.

§743. A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or *vī* is found varying with *u* or *ū*:

vidyutām (PG. MG. *udyatām*) *iva sūryaḥ* ŚŚ. AG. PG. MG.

adyā kṛṇuhi vītaye (SV. °*hy ūtaye*) RV. SV.: *nṛvat kṛṇuhi vītaye* (SV. °*hy ūtaye*) RV. SV. The variation may also be considered one between *yū* and *vī* (§805).

achidrām pārayiṣṇum (SMB. °*yīṣṇvīm*) TS. SMB. Fem. acc. of *u* stem. *dr̥śāno rukma urvyā* (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Cf. §791, and next variant. The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS.

cakṣur ma urvyā (KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

dhiṣaṇe vīdū (vīdvī) . . ., and others, see §169.

yatrādhi sūra uditō vibhāti (TS. *udītau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yasminn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti* MS. KS.: *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā* AV. See §63.

13. *aya*: *e* and the like.

§744. On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5. 27 ff.; Wackernagel I p. 53 f. It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following; the MS. form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other:

namaḥ kiñśilāya ca kṣayaṇāya (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Epithet of land.

§745. In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents; but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:

arejetām (TB. *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV. TB. Cf. VV I p. 154; a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter.

uttamaṁ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*; TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. See VV I p. 152. The contracted form of TA. is unmetrical.

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV. MS. TB. The contracted form is again unmetrical. Cf. VV I p. 123.

agnir (also: *vāyur*, *prajāpatir* etc.) *dīkṣitaḥ . . . dīkṣayatu* (JB. *dīkṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. See VV I §160.

§746. Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles:

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88.

tasyed (AV. *tasya yad*) *āhuḥ pippalaṁ svādv agre* RV. AV. The AV. expansion is hypermetric; according to Whitney, Ppp. agrees with RV.

§747. As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e(ai)* and *avi*, *ayi*, *iye*, *iya*, *ā-yā*. For *e*: *ya*, *yā*, see §803:

saṁsṛāvabhāgā (VS. ŚB. *saṁsṛava*°; MS. °*gāh*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §96.

TS. p.p. *stha*, *iṣāḥ*; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *stha iṣā* 'ye are great by food'; Kauś., 'by strength'.

tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyaitu (TA. *dhārayitum*) AV. TA. The AV. form intends *kulyā-etu*; TA. suggests *dhārāitu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV. and its secondary reading.

āruroha tve sacā (KS. *tvayy api*) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā ā viśa* VS. ŚB.: *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS., and this is further broken up into *priyaṁ dhāḥ*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS.

vi dhūmam agne aruṣaṁ miyedhya (MS. *medhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. *miyedha* and *medha*, both RV., are synonyms; it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them.

agnīr devebhyāḥ suvidatriyebhyāḥ (TA. *suvidatrebhyāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. N.

In the original form °*datriyebhyāḥ* stands for °*datryebhyāḥ* (suffix *ya*). *pratiravebhyāḥ* (TA. *pratirebhyāḥ*) *svāhā* MS. TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS.; *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava*. TA. comm. *pratirebhyo 'bhivṛddhihetubhyāḥ prānadevebhyāḥ* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life]). *ā yāta* (SMB. GG. ViDh. *eta*) *pitarāḥ somyāsaḥ* (HG. *somyāḥ*) AV. SMB. GG. HG. ViDh. *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms.

Compare the interesting case *agnim* (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV. SV.; see §843.

14. *ava*: *o* and the like

§748. See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p. 54):

to-to (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§749. Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency: *yatra yanti srotyās* (KS. *sravatyas*) *taj jitaṁ te* AV. TS. MS. KS. The fuller form of KS. improves the meter. RV. knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravantī* = KS. *sravatī*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss. of KS. read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*.

sā naḥ priyā supratūrtir maghonī TS.: *sā naḥ supratūrtiḥ priyā naḥ*

suhār ṇaḥ priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi MS. In TS. the regular fem. of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*; in MS. an *i*-extension of the strong stem.

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. The KS. probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (-*bhū*), parallel to -*bhava*(s).

anābho mṛḍa dhūrte (read °*ta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ.: *anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. Cf. p. w. 5 Nachträge, s. v. Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last; but the readings are very obscure. Epithets of Rudra. KS. ms. reads *anānbhava*; KapS. *anār*°.

§750. We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*;

avamais ta ūrvais te kāvyais te pītṛbhir . . . bhakṣayāmi PB. LŚ.: *ūmaiḥ pītṛbhir . . . bhakṣayāmi* AB. ŚŚ. Vait. It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pītṛbhiḥ* so well. We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction. Caland does not translate the word in Vait.

For *o*: *va*, *vā*, see §804.

CHAPTER XVI. INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1. EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751. In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*; it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49–53; also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or *-riṣ-*, in VV I pp. 189–191. As Wackernagel says (p. 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752. In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel; and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

§753. Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp. 190–1, and Wackernagel I p. 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words: *pra na* (MS. *nā*, SV. PB. *na*) *āyūṇṣi tāriṣat* (VS.*TS.*KS.*ŚŚ.N.* *tāriṣah*, Kauś. *tārṣat*) RV. AV. SV. VS.*TS.*MS. KS.*PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.* The Kauś. form is bad metrically. *āchettā te* (TB. ApŚ.* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS. *riṣat*, MS. and all mss. of MŚ. *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Since the root is *riṣ*, the Maitr. form (to be read also in MŚ.) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*.

§754. In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms:

apo (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *anv*, AV. *divyā*) *acāriṣam* (JB.† *acārṣam*, AV. *acāyīṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Add to VV I §286a, p. 190. Note that JB. is unmetrical.

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (MS. MŚ. v. 1. *acārṣam*), VS. TS. MS.

KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

vratānām vratapate (Kauś. °*patayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

§755. The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek *πέλεκυς*. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *suastih*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious:

paraśur (TS. *parśur*) *vediḥ paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tih*) AV. TS.

§756. There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757. The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*; this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter; to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

§758. First, between *r* and sibilants: the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c.):

yad rātriyā (MahānU. TA. v. 1. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. 1. *akāriṣam*) TA. MahānU.

diteḥ putrāṇām aditer ākārṣam (MS. *akāriṣam*) AV. MS.

tan naḥ parṣad (MS. *pariṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS.

dakṣam te bhadram ābhārṣam (AV. *ta ugram ā bhāriṣam*) RV. AV.

§759. The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. reads *dhūrṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p. 56; likewise delete there the form *dhūruṣāh-*, which is supported by only one ms. in TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; the other mss. all read *dhūrṣāh-*.

ghṛtapratīkaṁ va (TB. *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. Bibl. Ind. *dhūruṣadam*)
RV. TB. ApŚ.

§760. There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant; most mss. of MS. (in three occurrences) and of MŚ. (in two) read with epenthesis *-valiṣā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valiṣā*:

sahasravalśā (MS.* MŚ. v. 1. °*valiṣā*) *vi vayan̄ ruhema* RV. VS. TS. MS.*
KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically.

§761. Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (*spārha*: *svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:

spārḥā (TB. *svāruḥā*) *yasya śriyo dṛṣe* RV. KS. TB.

spārḥo (TB. *svāruho*) *deva n̄yutvatā* RV. SV. VS. TB.

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*:
etad brahm̄n̄n̄ upa valhām̄asi (AŚ. *apa*°; LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

§763. Likewise one between *h* and *r*:

dahraṁ (v. 1. *daharaṁ*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (TA. Poona ed. *vipāpaṁ* [v. 1. *vipāpma*] *vara*°; MahānU. *vipāpman̄ varan̄* [v. 1. *vara-*] *veśma*°) TA. MahānU. Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known; the latter is required by the meter here.

§764. Before labial consonants, generally *v*:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśivān̄*) *voce* RV. SV. The inserted *i* in SV. is doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV. *dāśvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg).

sutaḥ sudakṣa dhanva (SV. *dhaniva*) RV. SV. Read *dhanua* in RV.; the *i* of SV. is to be explained as in the prec.

aśvinā gharman̄ pātān̄ hārdvānam (TA. *hārddivānam*, read with Poona ed. *hārdi*°) VS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. And others; see §267.

varṣmā (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KS. *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The *i*-forms of VS. are exceptional. Interesting is the TS. form, which suggests a middle stage **drāghivā* (blend of KS. *drāghvā* and VS. *drāghimā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*iv*: *uy*).

Here we may also mention the common forms *prthvī* and *prthivī*. In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form. It is a disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks *prthivī* (I p. 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e.g. Avestan *parəθhwi*):

prthvī (VaradotU. *prthivī*) *suvarcā yuvatiḥ sajoṣāḥ* TB. VaradotU.

§765. Finally, an isolated corruption:

yad asyā aṇhubhedyāḥ (LŚ. *aṇuhodbhyāḥ*) AV. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

Vait. LŚ. The LŚ. form is an uninterpretable corruption. The word *aṇu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it.

2. WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note; a briefer statement in Whitney 129d. The Prātiśākhya seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr., altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS. and other Tait. texts. In the commentary on TPr. 2. 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear.

§767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here. Certain broad general tendencies appear; the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittiriya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv*. Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases. The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait. texts beginning with RV. itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait. texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyant*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795). In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait. texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prorṇvāthām* (this time with VSK.) against *prorṇuv*^o of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a). Again, the word which in most texts is written *kuvala* seems to have in the Tait. school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782); nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages. Similarly the adverb *urviyā* (so RV. always) is spelled *urvyā* in TS. (also in VS., §791); and *kuwayi* or *°ya* of MS. KS is written *kwayi* in TS. and VS. A Tait. text (TA.) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait. school is otherwise so fond (§770).

§768. Nor is the Tait. school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character. KS. in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uw* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryavi*, KS. in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *triyavi* (§776). The RV. itself is guilty of one strange anomaly: the pres. mid. participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *suwāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*; the SV. in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794).

§769. Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic. Thus the writing *iy* or *uw* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait. school) substitutes *iy* or *uw*.

§770. To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uw* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v*. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 59. These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are:

mā twā ke cin ni (AV. *ke cid †vi*) *yaman viṃ* (SV. *ke cin ni yemur in*; TA. *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. The TA. form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *ni yemur*; so the comm. There is, to be sure, a v. l. *ni yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA.

graha viśvajānīna niyantar (KS. *nyantar*) . . . MS. KS. This and the next passage are prose. KS. can only intend *ni-nyantar*.

anvāsi PB.: *anuvāsi* . . . TS. KS. (not GB. Vait., see §255): *anuvāya* . . . MS. Here PB. can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

§771. In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apsu ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS. (§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañc*) is broken up into *ni yan* (thru the middle stage *niyañ*) in a secondary reading of AV. (§778). Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *api yā* in SV. (§785), and the RV. *abhvam* (two syllables, not **abhvam*) is revamped by TB. into *ab-bhvam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790). Other variants which have lexical bearings are *suwāñ*: *svān(a)*, §778; *nv* for *nu* varying

with 'nv for *anu* (wrongly printed *nuv* in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., §778); and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic.

§772. The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uw* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel; most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables; chiefly the one word *svar* (*suwar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k*- (in which the *iy* or *uw* form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *iya*, and written so in secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant. Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uw*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles.

§773. In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uw* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait. texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suwar*; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait. school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait. texts (such as KS., from which ApŚ. frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uw* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV. always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV. *suwāna* (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

A. *uw* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774. Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic. We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV. etc. is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a):

ghṛte śrito ghṛtam v (TA. *uv*) *asya dhāma* RV. VS. TA. AŚ. MŚ.
praty u (TB. *uv*) *adarśy* (TB. †*adṛśy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB. ŚŚ. AŚ.
na vā u (TS. TB. ApŚ. *uv*) *etan mriyase na riṣyasi* RV. VS. TS. KSA.
 ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

sa u (TS. *uv*) *ekaviṁśavartaniḥ* TS. MS. Prose.

§775. The spelling *uv* was regular from RV. times in the word *suṛita* (*svita*). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait. texts: *śarad dhemantaḥ suṛite dadhāta* (MŚ. °*tu*) KS. MŚ.: *śarad varṣāḥ svite* (TS. SMB. *suṛitam*) *no dadhāta* (TS. SMB. *astu*) AV. TS. SMB. The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS. SMB. because of their change to *astu*.

suṛite mā dhāḥ TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. N.: *svite* etc. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. Prose.

§776. The word *tryavi*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *triyavi* in KS., altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait. texts write this word *tryavi*(!). Two of the variants are prose; the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*:

tryavir (KS. *triyavir*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

tryavir (KS. *triya*°) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Prose.

tryaviś (KS. *triya*°) *ca me tryavī* (KS. *triya*°) *ca me* (MS. MŚ. omit *me* twice) VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. Prose.

§777. The rest are sporadic:

śrutudri stomam sacatā paruṣṇy (TA. °*niy*) *ā* RV. TA. MahānU. N. In a jagatī stanza; RV. certainly pronounced °*niy-ā*.

asikny (TB. °*niy*) *asy oṣadhe* AV. TB.

dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojaṣaḥ (TB. *dhṛṣṇuvo*°) RV. AB. KB. TB.

§778. False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following:

yad oṣadhīṣv apsv ā (TS. *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsuv ā*. As a matter of fact, this may be what TS. really intends; but p.p. divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith.

nyañ (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tim*) RV. AV. KS. The AV. has a corruption based upon *niyañ* for *nyañ*.

svāna bhrājā° . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *svān nabhrād* . . . KS.: *svāna bhrāt* . . . TA.: *suwān nabhrād* . . . MS. MŚ. In the latter *su-vāk* (*vāc*) is meant.

[*ato no rudrā uta vā* †*nv asya* RV.: *tato no rudrā uta vā nuw* (but Poona ed. 'nv, and comm. *anu*) *asya* TB. We assume that the Poona ed. is right, so that the variant does not belong here.]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*.

B. Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779. These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *suvar* is practically limited to Tait. texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait. texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ.) from non-Tait. sources, retaining the non-Tait. spelling. We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke saṁprorṇwāthām* TS. KSA. TB., the true reading of KSA. is †*sarge loke †saṁprorṇwāthām*; correct Conc.

§780. In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete):

pari lokān pari dīśaḥ pari svaḥ (TA. MahānU. *suvaḥ*) VS. TA. MahānU. *divi mūrdhānam dadhiṣe svarṣām* (TS. TB. *suw°*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

hiraṇyavāśīr iṣiraḥ svarṣāḥ (TB. *suw°*) RV. TB.—The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz.:

svarṣām (TB. *suw°*) *apsān* (TB. Poona ed. twice †*apsvān*, text and comm.) *vrjanasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB.

§781. There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait. text (TB.) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements; if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait. school, TA. and MahānU., write *suvar*:

tapasarṣayaḥ (MahānU. °*rṣayaḥ*) *suvar* (TB. *svar*) *anvavindan* TB. TA. MahānU.

§782. Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *iy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*; is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait. text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone; and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait. school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait. tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

pakṣmāṇi godhūmaiḥ kvalair (TB. *kvalair*) *utāni* VS. MS. KS. TB.

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalair* makes better meter. But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kvāla* in the Tait. school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 5. 3. 5.—The same word in:

ajo dhūmro na godhūmaiḥ kuvalair (TB. *kvalair*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. *kiyāmbv atra rohatu* RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA.

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling *i*.
kuwayaḥ (KSA. and p.p. of MS. °*yih*) . . . MS. KSA.: *kvayih* . . . VS. TS.

§783. Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *saṁdhwānā*, which TS. substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *saṁdhvānā* of other texts. We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *saṁdhvānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*):

saṁdhvānā (TS. °*dhvānā*) *vātā abhi no grṇantu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832; the word *bhiyaḥ* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending *-bhiyaḥ* (KS., or *-bhiḥ* AV.):

viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣṭbhiḥ (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣṭr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS.: *vy amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS.

C. Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784. Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in (*i*)*yañc*, (*i*)*yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing *iya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary. It occurs almost exclusively in Tait. texts. The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few (*i*)*yañc* stems:

asmadryak (TS. °*driyak*) *saṁ mimīhi śravāṁsi* RV. TS. MS. KS.

asmadryag (TS. TB. °*driyag*) *vāvṛdhe vīryāya* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB.

te pāyavaḥ sadhryaṅco (TS. *sadhriyaṅco*) *niṣadya* RV. TS. MS. KS.

mā te mano viṣvadyag (TS. °*driyag*) *vi cārīt* RV. TS. MS. KS.

vi mucyadhvam aghnyā (TA. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) *devayānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

vājam arvatsu payo aghnyāsu (TS. *aghniyāsu*) TS. KS.

payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB. ApŚ. *aghniyāsu*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

yad āpo aghnyā (TS. TB. *aghniyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS. TB. MS. KS. LŚ.)

AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *yad āhur aghnyā iti* VS. ŚB.

ni vīram (TS. *vīravat*) *gavyam aśvyam* (TS. *aśviyam*) *ca rādhaḥ* RV. TS.

MS. KS. Several mss. of MS. *aśviyam*.

sugavyam no vājī svaśvyam (TS. *°viyam*) RV. VS. TS. KSA. AŚ.

parā duṣvapnyam (TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. *°niyam*) *suva* RV. SV. TB.

TA. ApŚ. Kauś. MahānU.

achā devān ūciṣe dhiṣṇyā (TS. *dhiṣṇiyā*) *ye* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sa budhnyā (TS. TB. TA. *budhniyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ* AV. SV. VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. TA.

pra budhnyā (TS. *°niyā*) *va īrate* (TS. *īrate vo*) *mahāṇsi* RV. TS. MS. KS.

AŚ. ŚŚ.

ahim budhnyam (TS. *°niyam*) *anu rīyamāṇāḥ* (MS. KS. *anv īyamānāḥ*,

TS. *anu samcarantīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svāyām tanū (ApMB.†MG.†*tanūn*) *rtviye* (RV.† *rtviye*) *nādhāmānām*

(ApMB. *nātha°*, MG. *bādha°*) RV. ApMB. MG.

sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhiḥ (TB. *°ṇiyebhiḥ*) *samokāḥ* RV. AB. KB. TB.

taṁ sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni (TB. *vṛṣṇiyāni*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

brhat sāma kṣatrabhr̥d vṛddhavṛṣṇyam (MS. *°ṇam*, see §315; TS. *°ṇiyam*)

TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

§785. There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant (cf. §771):

ya usriyā apyā (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. *°ni*) RV. SV. The adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apiyā*, is falsely divided in SV.

§786. In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with *īy*; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary noun formations in (*ī*)*ya* sometimes; the rest are either comparatives in *yaṁs*: *īyaṁs*, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in *īy* is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in plain *y* secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary forms without *ī* occurs in TS.!

apo vṛṇānaḥ pavate kavīyan (SV.† *°yān*, TS. *kavīyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative participles.

turīyāditya (VSK. *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV. *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical, and is twice found in Tait. texts alone:

taṁ tvā grṇāmi tavasam atavyān (TS. *°vīyān*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. N.

Comparatives.

sanim gāyatram navyāṅsam (TA. *navīyāṅsam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Comparatives. In the next case the meter is ambiguous:

devā devebhyo adhvaryanto (KS. *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *sviṣṭim* (°*taṁ*) *no abhi* (°*bhi*) *vasyo* (TS. KŚ. *vasīyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KS.

KŚ. MŚ. Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling *vasyo* seems older.

yathā no vasyasas (TS. °*saḥ*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

unnetar vasīyo (KS. *vasyo*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. Prose.

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Prose.

pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ (KSA.† 'vārīye°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pārīye*°) TS. KSA. Prose.

§787. The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *iya*: *etāni te aghniye* (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the latter form quasi-meter.

ā pyāyadhvam aghnyā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yāsyā aputryā (ŚG. °*triyā*) *tanūs* . . . ŚG. SMB.

ahir asi budhnyah (TS. ApŚ. *budhniyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi* MŚ.: *ahe budhniya mantram me gopāya* TB. ApŚ.

ahir budhnyo (TS. °*niyo*) *devatā* TS. MS. KS.

namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS. °*niyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS.: *namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca* KS.

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS. 'grīyāya) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (TS. °*miyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

namo vīdhryāya (MS. °*riyāya*, p.p. °*ryāya*; TS. *nama īdhriyāya*) *cāta-pyāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namaḥ śīghryāya (TS. °*riyāya*) *ca śībhyāya ca* VS. TS.: *namaḥ śībhāya ca śīghrāya ca* MS. KS.

sumitrā (VS. ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. °*triyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

And similarly *durmitrās* etc., see §315.

āsvibhyām tirohnyānām (MŚ. *tirohnyānām*) . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

tirohnyān (MŚ. *āsvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

D. Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788. Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uv* is in

accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait. texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) *ī* and *ū* stems. In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uw* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait. texts (and rarely others) show *iy*, *uw*. Second, derivative *ī* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *ū* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *ū* stems of the *vrkī*s type; the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

§789. Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *ī*, *ū*. Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhī*, *bhū*, and *pū*.

svādhyam (TS. °*dhiyam*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV. VS. TS. MS.

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *manasā devayantaḥ* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. PG.

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajī*°) RV. TB.

taṁ tvā vyaṁ sudhyo (TB. *sudhiyo*) *navyam agne* RV. MS. KS. TB.

pāhi mām yajñanyam (TS. TB. °*niyam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

vaneṣu citraṁ vibhvaṁ (TS. *vibhuvaṁ*) *viṣe viṣe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vibhuve (MS. *vibhve*, KS.† *vibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

abhibhuve (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

Prose.

śalam yasya subhvaḥ (SV. *subhuvaḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV. SV.

mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ (AVPpp. ms. *subhavas*, Barret JAOS. 35. 46

subhuvas) *tasthivāṁsam* AVPpp. MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā*

abhiṣṭayaḥ RV.: *samudraṁ na subhuvas tasthivāṁsam* AV. Others,

see §119.

ghṛtena no (MS. KS. *mā*) *ghṛtapvaḥ* (TS. °*puvaḥ*) *punantu* RV. AV. VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. According to Roth, AVPpp. also °*puvaḥ*.

devas tvā savitā punātu vasoḥ pavitreṇa . . . supvā (ApŚ. *supvā*) VS. ŚB.

ApŚ.: *devas tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvotpunāmi* Kauś. Prose.

§790. A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following:

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvaṁ (TA. *abhuvaṁ*) RV. TA. The *pāda* occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvaṁ* was undoubtedly a dissyllable in RV. In TA. it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam* 'originating in water', according to the comm.; see §392.

§791. Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type. The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases. The first is the only case of an *ū* stem:

samrājñī śvaśrvām (ApMB. *°ruwām*) *bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB. On this form cf. Wackernagel III p. 189, l. 1.

asiknyā (TA. *°niyā*) *marudvṛdhe vitastayā* RV. TA. MahānU. N.

sūro rathasya naptyaḥ (ArS. *naptryaḥ*, TB. *°triyāḥ*) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB.

ubhayaor ārtnyor (TS. *°niyor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS.

devyo vamryo (VSK. *vamriyo*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. Prose.

ṛṣāno rukma urvyā (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. This adverb is always spelled *urviyā* in RV.; the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS.; cf. next.

cakṣur ma urvyā (MS. *uruyā*; KS. *urviyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose. Cf. prec.

apīparo mā rātriyā (MŚ. *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *apī° māhno rātriyai* (*rātryai*) etc., same texts.

yad rātriyā (MahānU. and v. l. of TA. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akāriṣam*) TA. MahānU.: *yad rātriyāt kurute pāpam* TAA. Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form.

rātryai (TB. *°triyai*) *kṛṣṇam piṅgākṣam* VS. TB.

rātryai (TS. *rātriyai*) *tvā* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

rātryai (TA. ApŚ. *rātriyai*) *mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

rātryai (TS. TB. *rātriyai*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB.

viśvapsnyā (TS. *°psniyā*) *viśvatas pari* SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form.

saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (TS. ApŚ. *°triyās*) . . . TS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

sa gāyatryā (TS. TB. *°triyā*) *triṣṭubhā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Kauś.

gāyatryai (TS. *°triyai*, MS. KS. *°tryā*) *gāyatram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mano gāyatryai (TB. ApŚ. *°triyai*) VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

§791a. The following case is peculiar:

viliptī yā (*viliptyā*) *brhaspate* AV. (both). In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12. 4. 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical. Whitney would emend *viliptyā* to *viliptī yā*; but this is unnecessary; *viliptyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *āśnīyāt* of pāda c: 'of the *viliptī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'.

§792. Genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems. On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoh* and *-voh* (rather than *-iyoh* and *-uvoh*) 'durchweg'; the occurrence of the Tait. spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked. As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV.:

indrāgnyor (TS. ApŚ. °*gniyor*) . . . (prose formulas, see Conc.) VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ayāḍ agnir indrāgnyoś . . . TB.: *ayāḍ indrāgnyoś* . . . MS.

bāhvor balam TS. TAA.: *bahu bāhvor balam* AV.: *bāhvor balam* Vait.

MŚ. PG.

bāhvōs (TS. *bāhvos*) *tava hetayaḥ* VS. TS.: *hetayas tava bāhvoḥ* MS. KS.

patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoḥ (TS. *bāhvoḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

ūrvoor (TS. TAA. *ūruvor*) *ojaḥ* AV. TS. TAA. Vait. MŚ. PG.

§793. The stem *tanū* and its type. The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem. accus. sing. *sudrvam* (from **sudrū*, fem. to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV.—The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait. texts alone are not listed in full.

nemiṁ taṣṭeva sudrvam (SV. *sudruvam*) RV. SV.

yasyai bahvīs tanuvo vītaprṣṭhāḥ TB.: *yasyā bahvyas tanvo vītaprṣṭhāḥ* MS.

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS. *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhuḥ* RV. TS.

tanūs tanvā (TS. TAA. *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV. TS. TAA. PG. Vait.: *tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ. The AV. mss. read °*me sahed antāḥ* or the like; the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl. Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse.

śaṁ tokāya tanuve (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG. Note that PG. has the characteristic spelling of TS. from which it here quotes (there is a v. l. *tanvai*).

tayā nas tanvā (TS. ŚvetU. *tanuvā*) *śaṁtamayā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU. NīlarU. Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form.

tanvaṁ (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. *tanuvaṁ*) *me pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. JB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. PG. HG. ApMB. Prose.

E. Verbal forms.

§794. The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous. A large group contains the participle *suvāna*, from *su* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV. altho pronounced *svāna*; SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:

pra suvānāso (SV. *svā°*) *brhaddiveṣu* (SV. *°deveṣu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV.

brhat somo vāvṛdhe suvāna induḥ (SV. *svāno adriḥ*) RV. SV.

soma u ṣuvāṇaḥ (SV. PB. *ṣvā°*) *sotrbbhiḥ* RV. SV. PB.

mītrāḥ suvānā (SV. *svānā*) *arepasah* RV. SV.

indre suvānāsa (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

ā soma suvāno (SV. *svāno*) *adribhiḥ* RV. SV.

pari ṣya suvāno akṣāḥ (to be read *akṣāḥ*, cf. Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc.)

RV.: *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV.: cf. *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV.

pari suvānaś (SV. *svā°*) *cakṣase devamādanaḥ* RV. SV.

pari suvānāsa (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. SV.

pari suvāno (SV. PB. *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāḥ* (to be read *°ṣṭhāḥ*) RV. SV. PB.

suvānā (SV. *svānā*) *devāsa indavaḥ* RV. SV.

suvāno (SV. *svāno*) *aṣa pavitra ā* RV. SV.

suvāno (SV. *svānair*) *yāti kavikratuḥ* RV. SV.

§795. We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc.), in defiance of meter:

prati kṣiyantaṁ (TS. *kṣyantaṁ*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB.

ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantaḥ (TB. *°kṣyantaḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

§796. Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait. texts show *vyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vī*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical. *samidho agna ājyasya vyantu* (TB. *vyantu*) MS. KS. TB.

aktaṁ (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **arthani*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG.

vyantu) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo*

'ktaṁ (VSK. *ripto*) *rihāṇāḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. The comms. on both VS. and TS., followed by Keith, take the verb form from *vi* + root *i*.

vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (TB. *vyantu*) VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vyantu (TS. *vyantu*) *devā haviṣo me asya* TS. MS. KS.

vyantu (TS. *vyantu*) *devīr ya ṛtur janīnām* RV. AV. TS. MS. N.

vyantu (TB. *vyantu*) *ājyasya* VS. MS. KS. TB.

uta gnā vyantu (TB. *vyantu*) *devapatnīḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

pibantu madantu (MS. *°lām*) *vyantu* (TB. *vyantu somam*) VS. MS. TB.

prati na īm surabhīni vyantu (TS. *vyantu*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

lekaḥ salekaḥ . . . vyantu TS.: *salilaḥ saligaḥ . . . vyantu* MS. KS.

§797. In two prose variants Tait. texts, with VSK., read *prorṇvāthām* for the more regular *prorṇvā°* (above, §767):

svargeṇa lokena saṁprorṇuvāthām Vait.: *svarge loke prorṇuvāthām* (MS. °lām, VSK. *prorṇuvāthām*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *suvarge* (KSA.† *svarge*) *loke saṁprorṇuvāthām* (KSA.† °ṇuvā°) TS. KSA. TB. *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇuvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vapayā dyāvā° prorṇuvāthām* Kauś.

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *v* exchanging with *uv*. The latter are commoner in most texts:

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait. °hi; VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. *huvāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.
See VV I §2.

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.

CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1. Metathesis

§799. On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800. We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another: *pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. Here mss. of both texts present both readings; and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatīḥ TS.: *asmadrātā* (MS. KS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr* or °*tī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. The TS. is doubtless secondary: 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

yasyledam ā rajo yujah AV. ArS.: *yasyledam ā rajah* AA.: *yasyledam oja ārujah* ŚŚ. See §244.

endram vagnunā vahata PB.: *vagnunendram hvayata* TB. ApŚ.

§801. Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times:

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. In MahānU. v. 1. *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanah*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA. comm. says *nāman* = *paramātman*!

yatheyani strī pautram agham na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption: original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

adhā jivri (AV. *atha jivir*, mss. *jivir*; ApMB. *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadātah*) RV. AV. ApMB. See §544.

§802. More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:

yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva JB.:
yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye †'vapathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva KS. The original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS., *trir vasubhyo 'vapathās* etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the following *pavasva*.

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS. See §149, and next.
nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See under prec.

svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu (MG. *pathyākṛtheṣu*, v. l. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV. AB. MG.

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhuvaro (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °dhvaro 'si) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

abaddham mano daridram cakṣuḥ sūryo . . . TS. KŚ. BDh.: *adabdhām mana īṣiram cakṣuḥ* (MŚ. *adabdhām cakṣur ariṣṭam manah*) *sūryo . . .* MŚ. ŚG.

gharmaṁ śocantaḥ (AŚ. °ta, ŚŚ. °taṁ) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

chandonāmānām (VSK. *chandomānānām*, TS. °mānām) *sāmṛājyaṁ gacheti* (VSK. *gachatād iti*, MŚ. *gached iti*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

jari cetid (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS.: *ya* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB. †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB. See §193.

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV.: *yo no dveṣti tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣty anu taṁ ravasva* ApŚ. Here MŚ. transposes the syllables *nu-ta*.

apa snehitir (SV. *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛma-ṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110. The KS. reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rām*.

agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ (TB. *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. The MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary to RV.

śam te hiraṇyaṁ śam u santv (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277.

brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāṇi*

(PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svarākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svarārakṣāṇaḥ*)
AG. PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *prṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV. *ṛohanti tejasā*)

RV. SV. With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf. §57.

vājaś ca prasavaś . . . vasuś (TS. *suvaś*) *ca . . .* TS. KS. The syllables
va-su exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *svar*).

§803. When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms. These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff. above, q.v. The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*:

arthaś ca mā emaś (VSK. *me yāmaś*; MS. *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS. VSK. TS.
MS. KS.

vrṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ. *vrṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtaṁ svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ.
ahā yad dyāvo (AV. *devā*) *asunṛtim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV.

āyur vasāna upa vetu (AV. TA. *yātu*) *śeṣaḥ* (TA. *śeṣam*) RV. AV. TA.

itīdam viśvaṁ bhuwanam sam eti (AV. *vi yāti*) RV. AV. N. Synonymous
and related roots *i* and *yā*.

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive (VS. °ṣṭhīve, TS. *ahorātrayor vrṣṭyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS.
See §840.

iyam pitryā (AB. *vai pitre*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *etv*) *agre*
AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

tvayāyanī vrtraṁ vadhyāt (VSK. *ba*°, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB. Cf. VV I §175, and next.

ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya*
stotraṁ gamyāt PB. See prec.

vanaspatīṇir oṣadhī rāya eṣe (*rāye aśyāḥ*) RV. (both)

ghṛtam eva (BDh. *ghṛtaṁ yavā*) *madhu yavāḥ* BDh. ViDh.

§804. Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*:

sāmāni cakrus tasarāṇy otave (AV. °ṇi vātave) RV. AV.

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni koṣyābhyām VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikoṣyābhyām*
(TA. °kośā°) TS. TA.

sam eta viśvā (AV. °viśve) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patim divaḥ* AV. SV. Roth
quotes Ppp. as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasā*. See §52.

pari ghrāṁsam omanā (TB. *parighraṁsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB.
gām) RV. MS. TB. N. Bad corruption in TB.

§804a. A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-
ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoḥ*: *madhvaḥ*. While this
concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following
examples here:

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV.

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV. SV.

madhoḥ pibatam aśvinā VS. MS. ŚB. TA. LŚ.: *madhvaḥ* etc. RV. VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauryaḥ* RV. SV. AV. MS.

madhoḥ cakānaś cārur madāya AV. SV.: *madhvaś* etc. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vasvaḥ (TB. TA. MahānU. *vasoḥ*) *kuvid vanāti naḥ* RV. KS. TB. TA. MahānU.

§805. Instances of *vi*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*:

achā ma (SV. *va*) *indram matayaḥ svarvidah* (SV. *svaryuwaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. GB. Vait.

adyā (also *nrvat*) *kṛṇuhi vītaye* (SV. °*hy ūtaye*) RV. SV. Cf. §743.

āvitsi (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

nādyā śatruṃ nanu (ŚB. †*na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB.

vivalam (MS. KS. *yuvalam*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā te vyoma (= *viyoma* or *vioma*; AV. *yuyoma*) *saṃdrśi* (AV. ° *śaḥ*, LŚ. † ° *śaḥ* or ° *še*) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG.

yajñam praṇaya (TS. *pra suva*) *devāvyam* (TS. MS. *devāyuvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS. *devāvyam*) *prṇacmi* etc. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

devebhyas tvā devāvyam (VSK. *devāyuvam*) *grhṇāmi* etc. VS. VSK. ŚB.

prāsmān ava prtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB.

ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhṇāmi KS.: *uktheyebhya ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ.

varṣmā (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*,

KS. *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §764. TS. apparently has a metathetized form for **drāghivā*.

§806. With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared §§656ff. In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *r* vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *r*), or as *guṇa* derivatives of a root in *r*:

tēna rādhyāsam VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *tenardhyāsam*, KS. SMB. The latter stands for *tēna rādh°*; cf. §659.

agnau saṃrādhanīm yaje HG.: *yaje saṃrādhanīm aham* ŚB. BrhU.

AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: *yuje* (read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt p. 250) †*samardham im aham* ŚŚ.

ahā avaritīm (AV. *arātim*) *avidat* (AV. °*daḥ*) *syonam* AV. TB. ApMB.

2. Haplology

§807. On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16. xxxiv, *AJP* 17. 418; Wackernagel I pp. 278ff., where further references may be found; we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV. 4. 5. 5, and other

references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplology; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable.

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplology: *prthivi vibhūvari* (ApŚ. *bhūvari*) . . . KS. ApŚ. This is a very clear case.

On the strength of the isolated ApŚ. form Boehtlingk (pw. 6. 304) set up a goddess *Bhūvarī*, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *prthivi*.

viśvasyām viśi pravivīśivāṅsam (KS. †*pravivīśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS.: *viśo-viśaḥ pravivīśivāṅsam īmahe* AV. Lanman, in Whitney's Transl., has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplology. But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also.

ya āste yaś ca carati (AV. *yaś carati*) RV. AV. The haplology is again noted by Lanman.

trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The ms. of Ppp. *padānihatā guhās-*, em. Barret JAOS 30. 195 to the AVŚ. reading. Clear haplology in TA. MahānU.

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śitatano ('śīrtatano, 'śitama) pāhi . . ., see §353.

yāni kāni ca cakṛma (ApŚ. mss. omit *ca*, by haplology) MS. ApŚ.: cf. *duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma* MS.: *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS. TB. TA. (here not really haplology; *ca* is needed only after *kāni*).

ye vā (MS. omits *vā*) *vanaspatīṅr anu* (MS. NīlarU. °*patīnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplogical. In the same verse:

ye vāvaṇeṣu (MS.†KS. *ye 'vaṇeṣu*) *śerate*, same texts. Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avaṇeṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplogical.

tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (MS. *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: cf. *eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MŚ. *tayā tvaṁ*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. ApG. HG. The second *ca* is clearly required.

yad eva kiṁ ca pratijagrahāham (TA. °*jagrāham*) AV. TA. The TA. form (also found in Poona ed.) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplogical.

nyag vāto 'va vāti (AV. *vāto vāti*) RV. AV. Lanman notes the haplology. *yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhaḥ* RV.: *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhaḥ* TB. ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long *ū*.

an̄homuce pra bhareṃā (AV. *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV. TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 253.

anādhr̥ṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhr̥ṣṭā apasywo vasānāḥ* TS. See Keith on TS.

chandonāmānām (VSK. °*mānānām*, TS. °*mānām*) *sāmraṣyaṃ gacheti* (with variants) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK. see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip.

yad ṭapsaradrūr uparasya (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. The latter corrupt.

guhā hitām nihitām (KS.† omits *ni*°) *gahvareṣu* KS. MŚ.

namaḥ śamgave (TS.† *śamgāya*, for °*gayāya*?) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. See §250.

yasyedam ā rajo yujaḥ AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajah* AA. Others, see §244.

viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS. °*nā vi*°) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV.

parīdam vājy ajinam (PG. °*dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajinam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. The PG. is not construable. [*yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo* . . . KS. ApŚ. Conc. quotes ApŚ. as omitting the second *yo*; a modern haplogy!]

§809. The following cases are less certain:

mama ca nāma tava ca (KS. once omits *ca*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. (both). The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā*-).

puru viśvāni jūrvan RV.: *puro rakṣāṃsi nijūrvan* AV. (Ppp. *viśvāni-jūrvan*.) Whitney suggests *viśvā nijūrvan* for RV.; Lanman, *viśvāni ni*°, assuming haplogy. As Oldenberg (*Noten* on 1. 191. 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda; he would read *jūruan*.

svān nabhrād ānghāre bambhāre . . . MS.: *svāna bhrājānghāre bambhāre* . . . VS. TS. ŚB.: *svāna bhrāt, anghārīr bambhārīḥ* TA.: *svān nabhrād anghāre bambhāre* . . . KS. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 7. 1; he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original.

3. Dittology

§810. The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation:

kukūnanānām (KS. *kūtanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* TS. Note double dittology in VS. ŚB.

namo babhluṣāya vyādhine (TS. *vivyā°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Either form makes good sense; we assume that the majority have the original. *athem enaṁ pra hiṇutāt pitrbhyaḥ* (AV. *†pitṛir upa*); and:

athem enaṁ (AV. *athemam enaṁ*) *pari dattāt pitrbhyaḥ* RV. AV. TA. See Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18. 2. 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18. 2. 4 there is more variation in the mss., and SPP. reads *athem enaṁ* with the comm.

devā (AV. *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV. AV. The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 42. 127) also omits *vā(i)*.

namo giriśāya (VS. *°śayāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The stems *-śa* and *-śaya* are both unexceptionable; probably the majority indicate the original.

na sīm adeva āpat (SV. *āpa tat*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. The RV. has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable. SV. tries to improve the meter; cf. VV I p. 138.

nirṛtim nirjarjalpena (MS. *nirjalpena*, TS. *nirjālmakena*, KS. *nirjālmāka-*) *śirṣṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from *jalp*.

ye te agna (MS. *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayaḥ* (TA. *urṇunābhayaḥ*, but Poona ed. *u nā°* with v. l. *urṇunā°*) MS. KS. TA. The absurd corruption of some TA. mss. seems to be read by the comm. also; perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrṇanābhi* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here.

añhaspatyāya (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *añhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.

ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB. *apasas*) *pari* RV. GB. If GB. is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV. *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāḥ*). But Gaastra reads *apas*, with v. l. *apasas*.

tanūpāś (TB. Poona ed. text and comm. *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS. TB. See §195.

trir asmaī sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV. Svidh. *°hrire*) RV. SV. Svidh. See VV I p. 170.

vṛṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye (RV.* *avyaye*) RV. (both) SV. TA. MahānU. N. Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya?* or *avi?*) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are triṣṭubh and jagatī forms of the same expression. But the latter occurs in a verse

(9. 86. 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RVRep.* 453), so that *avye* is probably original.

ājīm na gīrvavāho jigyur āsvāh SV.: *ājīm na jagmur gīrvāho āsvāh* RV. For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV. the original. Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 24. 6. The SV. form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely.

§811. Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following:

nīdhedhāsi . . . puruṣpārham (so KS. and TB. Poona ed., and p.p. of MS.; MS. text *puruṣaspārham*) *yaśasvat* MS. KS.† TB.†.

tato vākā (TS. *tataḥ pāvakā*) *āśiṣo no juṣantām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers'; TS. spoils the meter. Dittology with *p* for *v*.

tena yo 'smat (TA.* *tenānyo 'smat*) *saṃr̥chātai* (MS. mss. *saṃr̥tsātām*) MS. TA. The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here. TA. repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change; the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc.

indrāpāsya (v. 1. *°yāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śephamaḥ* HG. Kiste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'.

4. Haplogy or Dittology

§812. In a smaller group we find either haplogy or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine. Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*:

āyur br̥hat tad āśīya tan māvatu (MŚ. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MŚ.

tan mām āvīt TA. TU.: *tan māvīt* MG.

tan māvatu PB. TA. TU. ApŚ.: *tan mām avatu* MŚ. AG. MG.

punar mām aitv (AV. Vait. Kauś. *maitv*) *indriyam* AV. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. ŚŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. MG.

§813. Other, miscellaneous cases:

vājajityāyai (KS. *°jityai*) *tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Stems *jityā* and *jiti*. While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive. KS. is probably on the whole the most original YV. text; only two other schools differ from it; and *jiti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*.

śīśirāya vikakarān (KSA. † *vikarān*, ApŚ. *vikirān*, vv. 11. *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird). Cf. the preceding formula, *hemantāya kakarān* (KSA. † *kakarān*).

aneśann asya yā iṣavaḥ (TS. KS. NīlarU. *asyeṣavaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. The presence or absence of the articular relative makes little difference; and the meter is no better in one reading than in the other.

bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiṅca (MŚ. *uddhareṃ vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §236, end. Either haplogy in TB. ApŚ., or dittology in MŚ. which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*.

anu no mārṣtu (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣtu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (*vili*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814. Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

1. A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

§815. In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

§816. We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable:

jagāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (AV. *vi madhyam*) RV. AV. Whitney rightly says that the AV. reading is a corruption of the other.

oṣiṣṭhahananṁ śiṅgīnikośyābhyām (TA. *°kośābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. The VS. reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

yatheyaṁ strī pautram agharṇ na rodāt SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca MS.: *ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ* TA. MahānU. Preceded by *aghorebhyo 'tha ghorebhyaḥ*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms. of MS. has two accents; but MS. p.p. takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA. has two accents; yet its comm. understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed. prints it so (but with two accents!). Comm. on MahānU., however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS. *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 13. 3, 4. 44. 3, have *deveṣu yajñam*, which supports KS. in meaning. The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS., but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd.).

vācaspace 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham (ŚŚ. *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

§817. In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose:

yajur yuktam (TA.† *yajuryuktam*) *sāmaḥ bhīr āktakham twā* (MS. *ṛktakhamtā*) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the *yajus*'. In MS. two accents: 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like.

madhu śaṣpair (MS. *madhuśaṣpair*) *na teja indriyam* VS. MS. TB. In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bheṣajam*, or *śaṣpair*. MS. p.p. divides *madhu śaṣpair* as two words; Poona ed. of TB. prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)

madhu havir (MS. *madhuhavir*) *asi* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. So according to the accents of MS. and TA. Probably MŚ. must be read *madhuhavir* like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word. Cf. prec.

devabarhiḥ (KS. *deva barhiḥ*) *śatavalśam vi roha* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo* (MS. *tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam*) *viroha* VS. MS. ŚB. The latter version suggests taking *deva barhiḥ* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc., so that the accent proves nothing; TS. p.p. takes it as one word. But Poona ed. of TB. prints it as two.

avīvarata vo hi kam (TS. *hikam*; so printed also in KS.†) AV. TS. MS. KS.

Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle.

upa prakṣe (AA. ŚŚ. *upaparakṣe*) *madhumati kṣiyantaḥ* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 285 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints *ūpa prakṣé* with most mss., but against comm., who understands *upaparakṣe* as a prepositional cpd., 'near the *prakṣa*'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) *upaparakṣé*, RV. 5. 47. 6.

namas te rudra rūpebhyo namaḥ MS.: *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA. MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage': 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'.

śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (TS. °*habheṣajī*, VS. °*hā bhe*°; MS. °*ha* [p.p., °*hā*] *bheṣajā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not.

devīḥ (AV. *daiivīḥ*, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr* (TS. p.p. *ṣaḍurvīḥ*; and so Conc. assumes for ApMB. HG.) *uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *ṇaḥ*, KS.† *ṇas*) *krṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB. HG. The words are voc. and there are no accents. RV. and AV. p.p. interpret as two words, which seems more natural. No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait. school separate *ṣaḍ urvīr*.

deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §147, and §838. MS. p.p. divides *deva* from *punaś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*).

imām su nāvam āruham TS. KS. ApŚ.: *sunāvam ā ruheyam* VS. (pratika PG.)

pra su (HG. *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *sumartyaṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB. HG. The reading of ApMB. is original.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetapad ā gahi* MG. Read *apa śveta padā* in MG.; there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text. See his note and comm., and our §134.

2. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818. Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form. Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts:

stomatrayastrinṣe bhuwanasya patni TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastrinṣe bhuwanasya patnī* MS. The latter corruptly turns the vocs. into noms., apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender.

vāñmanaścakṣuḥśrotrajihvāghrāṇaretobuddhyākūtisaṁkalpā (TA. TAA. °*ākūtiḥ saṁkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU. See §383. *śarīraṁ yajñāsamalam* (MahānU. *yajñah śa*°) *kuśīdam tasmin sīdatu yo 'smān dveṣṭi* TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. The latter is clearly second-

ary; comm. makes *śarīraṁ yajñāḥ* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body'. On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS.

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG. *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG. The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow'; but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression.

tām vidyām brahmayoniṁ svarūpām (VaradapU. *brahmayonisva*°) NṛpU. VaradapU. 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman'; either is possible.

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. 'Of irresistible strength': 'irresistible in strength'.

mithucarantam (KS. *mithū*°, TS. *mithuś car*°, AV. *mithuyā car*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original.

agner (TS. *devānām*) *agneyāny* (KS. *agniyāny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*. Cf. *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §357.

devajūte vivasvann āditya te no devāḥ . . . MS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūtis te na ādityā* . . . TS.: *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya te no devā* . . . KS. Both parts of the cpd. are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.

syonā māviśateranmadah (TS. °*terā madaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: 'kindly enter into me as food and drink'. But it is probably a leet. fac. for the other: 'kindly enter into me as Irañmada (Agni, lighting?)'.

ṛtaprajātū (MŚ. *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vaḥ syāma* TS. MŚ. The latter is secondary but intelligible; §641.

sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt (LŚ. *eva ki*°, VS. *devakilv*°) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.: *viśvasmād deva*° AV. MS. The LŚ. is secondary but sensible; §402.

[†*aindrāsūrāḥ* (KSA. †*aindrāsaurāḥ*) *śyetalalāmās* (KSA. † *śyāmala*°) *tūparāḥ* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes KSA. as *aindrāḥ saurāḥ*.]

[*anyavratasya* (TA. *anyādvra*°, printed by Conc. as *anyad vra*°; the accent proves that it is a cpd., tho the comm. seems to take it as two words) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimaḥ*, Poona ed. °*ma*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.]

§819. In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original:

svāḥ yajñāṁ manasaḥ (KS. 2. 3 *yajñāmanasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. †2. 3 and

23. 5, ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood; the accus. *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2. 3 should be so corrected. In 23. 5 KS. has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc.). '(I take) sacrifice from mind.'

māgadhaḥ puñścalī kitavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrahmanās (VSK. *puñścalī klīvaḥ kitavo 'śūdrābrahmanās*) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK.

śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ.: *śatakṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś. In Kauś. v. 1. *śatākṣaraḥ*. The original reading of ApŚ. (cf. §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam sruvo* preceding; with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*.

dahraṁ (v. 1. *daharam*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (MahānU. *vipāpman varam veśma°*) TA. MahānU. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *vipāpman varā°*, with v. 1. *vipāpmavara°*. MahānU. also has v. 1. *varaveśma°*. The most plausible original seems to be *dahraṁ vipāpman varaveśmabhūtam*. This is stylistically better than *vipāpmavara°*, an awkward compound.

dadhad ratnaṁ (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣam pītṛbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dakṣapit°*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūñṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless AV. is original. The edition of AŚ. separates *dakṣa* from *pi°*, evidently regarding it as a voc. *indrah pāśena ṣiktva vaḥ* (HG. *pāśena vaḥ ṣiktva*) ApMB. HG.: *indra-pāśena sitvā* PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG. *aśloṇā* (AV. comm. *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA. *°ṇāṅgair*) *ahrutāḥ* (TA. *ahrūtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. 1. *°tā*) *svarge* AV. TA. 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AVPpp. agrees with TA., but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp.; meter indicates that the other version is original.

rudra yat te krayi (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* (ŚG. *patireto*) *grhāṇa* (ŚG. *grbhāya*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one.

ṣaḍ id yamā (TA. *ṣaḍ udyamā*) *rṣayo devajā iti* RV. AV. TA. N. Apparently TA. must understand *udyamā* as an adjective.

3. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820. In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form; sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word:

vr̥ṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ. *vr̥ṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtaṁ svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ.

The original of MS. KS. means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rain-sky, heaven-finding'; the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ. by a lect. fac. the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

parā swapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV.: *paraḥ swapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. 'Away the dream-faced pains': 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances).' But KŚ. may intend a compound.

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB.: *indraḥ sūraḥ prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ. Comm. on TB. takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as noms. sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a devatā dvandva, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ. has a lect. fac.

bhuvanam asi sahasrapoṣaṇuṣi (ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣaṇ puṣa*) MS. ApŚ. 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity': 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

agne tvāṁkāmayā (SV. *tvāṁ kāmaye*) *girā* RV. SV. VS. The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect. fac. SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next: 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'.

revati predhā . . . , revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā . . . , revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata, see §747.

āre śatrūn (AV.† *āreśatruṁ*) *kṛṇuhi sarvavīraḥ* (AV. °ram) AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtless original: 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect. fac. The AV. comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

ugraṁpaśyā (MS. *ugrām paśyā'c*; TB. *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TB. TA.: *ugraṁpaśye ugrajitau tad adya* AV. In this and the next MS. is hopelessly corrupt; note accents.

ugraṁpaśye (MS. *ugrām paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhṛt kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TA. Cf. prec.

āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd. *āsann-iṣūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV. means: 'carrying water in their mouths'.

mama padyāya vi rāja ApMB.: *mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ* (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG. The original is *virājaḥ*, gen. of *virāj*.

[*subhagamkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhagam karaṇam mama* SMB. But Jørgensen properly prints SMB. *subhagamkaraṇam*, as one word.]

§821. In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original:

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi SV. JB.: *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS. In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS.). The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives.

pari ghraṇsam omanā (TB. *parighraṇsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. Hopeless corruption in TB. See §828.

agnir hotā prthivy antarikṣam AŚ. ApŚ.: *agnihotraṁ prthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ. The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding *pāda*: *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma*.

pari doṣād udarpithaḥ KŚ.: *parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. See §63.

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ (TA. *gur vṛdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhiḡgur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §§209, 260; MS. has a gross corruption.

sahasradhāraṁ vṛṣabhaṁ divo duhuḥ (SV. *divoduham*) RV. SV. Verb form in RV.: 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked'. SV.: 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'.

uror ā no (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *pururāṁḥ*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

4. Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822. In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'); or the reverse. The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841–850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater; there is no hard and fast line between them.

§823. Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original. In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question:

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇāni (AV. *ṛṇam naḥ*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anudattāṇṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni*). Either the plur. *ṛṇāni*, or the sing. *ṛṇam* with the pronoun *naḥ*, is quite satisfactory.

vratāni (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. *adābhyah*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. In MS. etc. the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*; in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasīh*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms incomprehensible.

§824. In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV. 4. 20. 9b (also in KS., where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛṇoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvah*; read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc., cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* ad loc.

jāmim (KS. *ṭcami*) *mā hiṇsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *sayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā sayānām* AV. Acc. to AV. comm. the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed; *amuyā* is adverbial. The MŚ. variant makes *sayānā* refer to *jāmim*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees.

gaurīr (AV. *gaur in*, TB. TA. *gaurī*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

dhruvāsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

stavāno (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhiyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ (TA. *gur vrdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. Altho the MŚ. reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect. fac. TA. accents wrongly *vrdhā'naḥ*, and its comm. takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāḥ*)! Cf. §821.

yo rayivo (SV. *rayim vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. ŚG. VHDh. Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayim* as accus. of specification.

ṛṣṇām putro abhiśastipāvā (TB. °*pā ayam*, AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB. See §740.

bhavā kṛṣṇām (AV. *gr°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See prec.

abhūr grṣṇām (ApMB. *āpīnām*, HG. *āpīnām*, AV. mss. **v āpīnām*, em. wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB. See prec. but one.

ya usriyā apyā (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. °*nī*) RV. SV. See §785.

SV. misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters'.
achāyam eti (KS. °*yam yanti*) *śavasā ghr̥tena* (AV. *ghr̥tā cit*, KS. *ghr̥tācīh*)
 AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading looks secondary to that
 of KS., which has an adjective agreeing with *srucaḥ*, the subject of
yanti; *ghr̥tā* can only be construed as an accus. of goal after *eti*,
 whose subject is Agni.

divaś cid antād (RV. *antān*) *upamām* (RV. °*mān*; TA. *upa mām*, so AV.
 v. 1. adopted by Whitney, and comm.) *ud ānaḥ* RV. SV. AV. TA.
 While RV. is of course original, the AV. TA. reading is not bad:
 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me'. This
 should doubtless be read in SV.

te brahmalokeṣu (TA. °*loke tu*) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.
 KaivU.

viprasya dhārayā kaviḥ RV.: *vipraḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. See §189.

somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ RV.: *somaḥ sutaḥ sa madhumān* SV. See §189.

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*; others all *śvetasyā-*)
 AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in
 AG.; see §188.

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB.: *aya(h)sthūṇam*
 (°*ṇāv*) *uditā* (°*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §188.

ūrvaṁ gavyaṁ pariṣadanto agman RV. KS.: *urvīm gavyām pariṣadam*
no akran AV.

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ*
karaḥ karasyuḥ LŚ. See §739.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitīm*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS. †*nṛma-*
ṇām adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām athadrām*
 (Poona ed. varies) TA.

saṁ takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ (HG. *cakriṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Very obscure
 passage; HG. seems to approach closer to a sensible reading.

ṛtena (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (°*nāv*, °*ṇā*) *adhi roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśaḥ*)
 AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā*
iva'; yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte ava*. In any
 case MG. is secondary.

svarvaj (AV. *svar yaḥ*) *jyotir abhayaṁ svasti* RV. AV.

grāmyamañkīradāsakau ApŚ.: *grāmyaṁ mañgīradāsakau* MS.: *vyāgh-*
raṁ mañgīradāsa gauḥ Vait. See §49.

§825. In verbal endings (cf. §827):

svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG. *dadhātu naḥ*) RV. KS. AB. MG.
 See VV I p. 281.

pra su (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṃ* (SMB. *sumartyaṃ*, MG. *prathamam artim*)
yuyotana (MG. *yuyotu naḥ*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

viśvaṃ tu tvāhutayaḥ sarvā . . . PrāṇāgU.: *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca* . . .
MU. Read *viśantu*; see §371.

kriyanta (TB. *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhiḥ sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

daivyā (AV. °vā) *hotāro* (TS. °rā, AV. °rah) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani°*, KS.
†*vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS.
vasūni cārur (cārye, cāryo, cāyyo) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhrjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*)
jīvan AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Cf. VV I p. 96.

jātavedo nayā hy (read *nayāsy*?) *enam suktām yatra lokah* JB.: *jātavedo*
vahemaṃ (ŚŚ. *vahasvainaṃ*) *suktām* . . . TA. ŚŚ.

§826. In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older; a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:

samudreṇa (and °dre *na*) *sindhavo yādamānāḥ* RV. (both). Read
samudre na in both; Bloomfield, JAOS 27. 77 ff., RVRep. 197;
Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 36. 7.

twiṣim indre na (MS. *indreṇa*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Bathos in either
case; but MS. p.p. *indre, na*. VS. comm. says that *na* means *ca*!
spardhante dhiyaḥ (divaḥ) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*)
viśaḥ RV. SV. TS. KSA. Change to instr. in TS. KSA. because this
is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*.

neva māṃse na pībasi AV.: *naiva māṃsena pīvari* PG.: *na māṃseṣu na*
snāvasu ApMB. Perhaps PG. should be divided *māṃse na*; at
least this is the original reading.

saṃsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇeṇa RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṃsṛṣṭāsu*
yutsu indro gaṇeṣu MS. 'This Indra the joiner of battle': 'Indra
in the joined battles'.

trīṇi padāni (*padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA.
MahānU. Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc. ending *-su*.

māteva putram bibhṛtā sv (VS. ŚB. °tāpsv) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to waters; hence the secondary
reading *apsu*.

idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS. **rakṣobhiḥ*) *saṃ ūhāmi* (TS. *saṃ dahāmi*)
TS. MS. (bis) KS. MŚ. See §383.

āvat tam (TA. Conc. *prāvartam*, comm. and Poona ed. text *āvartam*)
indrah śacyā dhamantam RV. AV. SV. KS. TA. The sole ms. of KS.
also reads *āvartam* (ed. emends). TA. comm. interprets as a gerund
(*āvṛtya*).

samid diśām āśayā naḥ (MS. *āśāyānaḥ*) *svarvit* (TS. *suvar°*) TS. MS.

KS. AŚ. ApŚ. Both accent and sense show that no pres. mid. pple. (masc.) can be intended, altho MS. p.p. does not divide the word.

yajā no (MS. *yājāno*) *devo* (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *devān*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *bhavā no dūto ajarah suvīrah* ŚŚ. ŚG. Again (cf. prec.) the accent shows that MS. p.p. is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable.

vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayah RV.: *vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayah* SV. Benfey renders SV. 'devoured' (root *aś* 'eat', middle pple. in passive sense). It is a Verballhornung; the orig. itself is rather obscure; *vi-naś* is peculiarly used.

yato bhayaṁ abhayaṁ tan (KS. 35. 1c *ṭabhayatvaṁ*) *no astu* (AV. ed. *asti*, misprint) AV. KS.* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me (TB. *kṣatriyāṇām*) AV. TB. Kauś. *viṣṇūvaruṇā* (TB. *°ṇāv*) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB. *°pā vām*) MS. TB. Followed by *devā yajanta haviṣā ghrtena*. 'O V. and V., let the 'gods' (TB. comm. *ṛtvijah*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc. The variant form must be dual, and as MS. can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem *°pāva*, or irregularly from *°pāvan*), we assume that TB. is orig.

bṛhaspataye (MŚ. *°pate*) *mahiṣa* (TS. *mahi śad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. MŚ. Comm. on AV. agrees with TS., which has the correct reading; see §392.

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV.: *dātum cec chaknūvānsāḥ* (so, with double accent, Calc. ed.) *svarga eṣām* TA. For the latter read *chaknāvān* (or better *°vān*) *sá* with Poona ed.; see VV I p. 165.

purastāt (AB. *puras twā*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. See §365.

sumitraḥ soma no (Kauś. *sumano*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś.

stomo yajñas ca (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. *°taḥ*) RV. TB. See §188.

arepasah (ApŚ. adds *samokasah*) . . . *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

turas cid viśvam ṭarṇavat tapasvān AV.: *duras ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ* RV.

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it RV.: *twām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

anupūrvaṁ yatamānā yati śṭha (AV. *stha*, TA. *yatiṣṭha*) RV. AV. TA. See §86.

agne vitatam antar ā (LŚ. *antaram*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ. VHDh. Assimilation in LŚ. to *vitatam*.

ā no yāhi (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS. *jāniṣva*, ŚŚ. *janeṣv ā*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The accent proves MS. wrong; it seems to presuppose *janeṣv ā*.

yad uttaradrāv uparāś ca khādataḥ AV.: *yad ṭapsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. In AV. complementary sing. after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ. 43. 110 ff.). See VV I p. 270 f.

§827. Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf. §825): *srucā juhuta no* (ŚŚ. *juhutanā*) *haviḥ* TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu naḥ (TB. *śṛnotana*) RV. TB. N. Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB.

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

āpr̥ṇo 'si saṁpr̥ṇaḥ (ApŚ. *āpr̥ṇoṣi saṁpr̥ṇa*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter inferior.

ramadhvaṁ mā bibhīta mat (Kauś. *bibhīta*) AV. Kauś.

pratno hi (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kam īdya adhwareṣu* RV. AV. TA. See §299.

5. First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828. Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa. In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary:

śūro nr̥ṣātā śavasāś (SV. MS. *śra°*) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca ṭkāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS. Assimilation in SV. to the preceding loc. *nr̥ṣātā*: 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'.

vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV.: *vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. The bad meter and feeble sense of AV. show that it is a corruption of the other; moreover Ppp. agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42. 108).

śukrām vayanty asurāya nirṇijam RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'. *nadayor vivratayoḥ śūra indraḥ* RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indraḥ* SV. The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV. seem to be Indra's horses; leet. fac. in SV.

asūrte (MS. KS. *°tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. *°tā*; KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle; it is of course secondary.

aryo naśanta (SV. *naḥ santu*) *saniṣanta* (SV. *†°tu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV.

Again a lect. fac. in SV. (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured . . . be our foes').

urjam bibhrad vaswaniḥ (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ. **vaḥ sumanāḥ*, ApŚ. **vaḥ suvaniḥ*, ApŚ. **vasumanāḥ*) *sumedhāḥ* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. (thrice) ŚG. HG. See §227.

ailabrdā (MS. °*mṛdā*, KS. *aiḍamṛdā*) *yavyudhaḥ* (VS. *āyuryudhaḥ*, MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. See §241.

pari ghraṅsam omanā (TB. *parighraṅsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original: 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength'. Corruption in TB.

dame-dame suṣṭutyā (TS. °*tir*, MS. °*tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tir*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV. °*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

amanmahīd anāśavaḥ (PB. °*hīt tad āśavaḥ*) RV. AV. PB.

brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanuḥjñātā (MahānU. *hy anu*°) TA. MahānU.

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.

tilvilā (misprinted *tilvalā*) *stām irāvatīm* AG.: *tilvilā sthājirāvatī* ŚG.: *tilvalā sthīrāvatī* MG.: *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB. A desperate passage; all forms corrupt. Oldenberg (on ŚG., p. 144) suggests something like *sthāvarāvatī* for the original. In ApMB. a mistaken rationalization; a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address.

[*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. Conc. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *satrācā*.]

§829. In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original: *adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ samāna* (MS. *sahyaḥ samānaḥ*; p.p. *saḥ, hyaḥ, sam, āna*) RV. AV. SV. MS. TA. N. The MS. makes no sense, and its p.p. gives the true reading.

yas tā vijānāt (TA.* MahānU. *yas tad veda*, AV.* VS. *yas tāni veda*) *sa pituṣ* (VS. MahānU. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituh*) *pitāsāt* RV. AV. VS. TA. MahānU. N. See §198.

sa dahan (GB. *sadanān*) *pradahan nv* (GB. *v*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. One ms. of Vait. has the same absurd reading as GB.

sā prasūr (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG. *garbhe* (MS. °*bhaḥ*) *sañ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. MS. *sañ*°) *jāyase punaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But it is likely that MS. KS. really intend *san* (so MS. p.p.).

sa eva jātaḥ (TA. MahānU. *sa vijāyamānaḥ*) *sa janiṣyamānaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (SV. *udā*°) RV. SV. See §60.

agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣaṇyaḥ (TB. °*yaṁ vāriṣeṇyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §225.

tan mā jinva TS. MS.: *tan mārjitvā* KS. See §354. KS. probably secondary.

amuṁ ma iṣāṇa, and: *sarvalokaṁ ma iṣāṇa* VS.: *amuṁ maniṣāṇa*, and: *sarvaṁ maniṣāṇa* TA. The form *iṣāṇa* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchati*: 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', . . . 'every world'. TA. has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna!*), as if from the aorist of root *man*; comm. *prayaccha*.

ā samudrā (KS. *ā sīm ugrā*, TS. ApŚ. *āsminn ugrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS. seems clearly secondary.

apāṁ na yanty (SV. *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV. 'Like streams of water go (the somas)': '(the somas) lead on the waters'.

upākṛtaṁ śaśamānaṁ yad asthāt (MŚ. *sadhassthāt*, v. 1. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. MŚ. MŚ. If *sadhassthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*.

pariṣṭaḥ kveṣyasi ApMB.: *pariṣṭaḥ kleṣyasi* HG. The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *eṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *kliṣ* (thinking of *kliṣ*).

6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830. Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once. That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

ava (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vaḥ* [text *vaḥ* preceded by *haviṣā*], VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṁ nayāmāsi* (RV. *mṛśāmāsi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sanvan (KŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *sanīm suvimucā vimuñca* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The secondary KŚ. reading may be graphic.

yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvāsi TA.: *yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati* MS. See §145.

satyaṁ (SV. ApŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV. SV. ApŚ.

irām u ha (AV. *aha*) *praśaṁsati* AV. ŚŚ. ŚG.

pra ṇa (SV. *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.* *sarit*) *sravanti sarito*

(TAA. Conc. °tā, Poona ed. text and comm. °to) na dhenāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ.* MŚ. The second reading of KS., *sarīt*, tho given by all mss., is evidently a mistake for *sam it*, which is secondary to *samyak*.

nyañ (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tim*) RV. AV. KS. *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *sa im̐* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*, MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt; but *sa im̐* (*ī*) looks like a secondary lect. fac. for some single word (as in AV. KS.).

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original:

idaṁ ta ekam para ū ta (TB. ApŚ., but not KS., *uta*) *ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm. on TB. *uta, api ca*; but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta ekam*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*te*).

sa tū (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīṇe na pra yaṁsat* RV. SV. 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer': 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.

kavir yaḥ putrah sa im̐ ā (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. *imā, etāni dr̥śya-mānāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni*.

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

ā yaṁ (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāśuṣe* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. The corruption of MS. is indicated by the fact that the verb *ācucyavuh* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent.

ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām āsvinā SV.: *kūṣṭho devāv āsvinā* RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read *kū ṣṭho*.

utem (SV. *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-im̐: ūtim*, 'aid'. *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.: *miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV. *ā twā* (AV. *emām*, ŚG. *enam̐*) *parisrutaḥ* (AG. °*sritah*, MG. °*sṛtah*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. †*kumbhāḥ*, ŚG. *kumbhyā*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.

tve ā (SV. *twayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. Note resolution of *e* to *ay*. *svaḥpatir yaḍi vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpatim yad im̐ vṛdhe* RV. AV.

sarvaḥ sarvā vi caratu prajānan MS.: *sa vaḥ sarvāḥ sam carati prajānan* AV. The MS. p.p. *saḥ, sarvāḥ*; in the saṁhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word.

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuwaṁ yatra vāsah*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vrkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG. Probably *yac ca* of AV. is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding *yatrā*.

[*ā tvam* (GB. *ātmam*, but Gaastra correctly *ā tvam*; LŚ. *ā svam*) *indrāya pyāyasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.]

[*name tad upadambhiṣar* . . . MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* . . . ApŚ. We must read *nā me* in MS. MŚ.; there is no p.p. here, and *nāme* is simply bad editing.]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spāśayasva* TA. ApŚ. In TA. text printed *vigā*, but both syllables accented; clearly *vi gā(h)* is intended; so comm.]

7. Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

§832. We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more shorter words; or vice versa. Excluded are divisions of compounds into parts, which have been treated above. First come cases in which the longer word is original:

balim icchanto vitudasya (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. 1. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.

upānasaḥ ṭsaparyan RV.: *upo nu sa saparyan* SV. Indra is meant; SV. has obvious earmarks of secondariness.

yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv.) is broken up into a series of harmless particles in SV.

na me (so read, §831) *tad upadambhiṣar* . . . MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udam bhiṣag*) . . . ApŚ. A simple and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint.

mā (AG. MG. *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. See §868.

akṣāṇām vagnum (AV. em. *gaṇam*, true reading probably *gatnum* with SPP., see Whitney's note; MS. *ṭvagmum*) *upajighnamānaḥ* (AV. *upalipsamānāḥ*, MS. *avajighram āpaḥ*) AV. MS. TB. TA. The MS. is corrupt; its p.p., yet worse: *akṣṇā*, *avagmam ity ava-gmaṁ*, *avajighram ity ava-jighraṁ*, *āpaḥ*. But the original is obscure enough.

viśvā amīwāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyaḥ* VS. TS.: *vy amīwāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS. Evidently VS. TS. are secondary, tho interpretable; cf. §783.

yasya te viśvamānuṣaḥ (SV. *viśvam ānuṣaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV. reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret. See Benfey's note in Translation, p. 259.

anvādīdyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā TB. TA.: *manmā dīdhyānā utā naḥ sakhāyā* MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt; p.p. *dīdhyānām*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuṇa)'.

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. The AV. comm., followed by SPP. and Whitney's Transl., reads *pradhāvati*, correctly.

tvam no devatātaye (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV. See §61.

prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāḥ (AV. *bhuwane*^o, ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhāḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. If ŚŚ. intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world'. Obscure.

yajñāḥ pratyasṭhāt (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt* (v. l. *pratyasṭhāt*) . . . MŚ.: *yajña pratitiṣṭha* . . . TB. ApS.

apāmityam (AŚ. *apām ittham*) *iva sambhara* MS. KS. AŚ. A graphic error in AŚ.

ubhe yatete ubhayasya (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyataḥ* RV. AV. Cf. next.

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; here Whitney adopts the RV. reading. See §911.

§833. Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary:

ava tara (TS. *avattaram*) *nadiṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original; in TS. AV. there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double *t* is suspicious (cf. §401); BR. take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS. AV.). Keith rejects the comm. and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition. MS. p.p. *avataram*.

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīr (SV. *prāntariksāt sthāvīr* *te*) *aṣṭkṣata* RV. SV. *pra dhārā yantu madhunah* AB.: *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghr̥tasya* AG. (corrupt; abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading).

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh.: *dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadrasṭā* . . . HG. The BDh. reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG., which is typical stylistically.—The next two variants are in the same passage.

antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā BDh.: *antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadrasṭā* . . . HG. As prec.

prthivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadraṣṭā BDh.: *prthivī samā tasyāgnir upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. See prec. two.

sutarasi tarase (MahānU. *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namaḥ* RVKh. TA. MahānU. The latter has a v. l. like the others, but its comm. reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler. *Sutarasi* is voc. sing. fem., and *tarase* an infinitive.

śīte vāte punann iva (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarniva*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Doubtless a graphic corruption; but its wide spread is curious.

antarā dyāvāprthivī apaḥ suvaḥ TB. ApMB. HG.: *antarā dyāvāprthivyor apasyuḥ* MG. Is *apasyuḥ* understood as *apa-syuḥ*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom.-sing. of *apasyu*. In any case it is secondary.

anupauhvaḍ anupahvayet HG.: *anu po 'hvaḍ anuhvayaḥ* ApMB. See §732.

yajñapataye (ŚŚ. adds *vasu*; TA. *yajamānāya*) *vāryam ā svas kaḥ* (TA. *ā suvas kar asmaī*, ŚŚ. *āsaṃskarase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. The latter secondary.

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ. The AV. is probably original. See §254.

ayaṃ sahasram ānavo dṛśaḥ kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma (ApŚ. °mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ayaṃ sahasram ā no dṛśe . . . vidharmaṇi* AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading *sahasramānavo* as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendbewachende'. Probably AV. is original, tho it too is not very sensible.

agnir hotreṇedaṃ (*hotreṇa*, *agnihotreṇedaṃ*) *haviṃ* . . ., see §354.

vande dāruṃ vandamāno vivakmi RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p. 218.

8. Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834. Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant. They fall into three subdivisions. Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next. Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another; sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage.

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835. We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case:

avakrakṣiṇaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ yathājuram (SV. *yathā juvam*) RV. AV. SV. *ajuram* 'ageless'; *juvam* 'swift'.

na māṁsam asi nodalam (HG. *no dalam*) ApMB. HG. If the division is so intended, HG. must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm. on ApMB. (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes *nóddalam* for *ná-udáram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'.

ya ājagma (N. °*muḥ*) *savanemā* (TS. KS. *savanedaṁ*, N. *savanam idaṁ*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ya ājagmedaṁ savanaṁ*) *juṣāṇāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Conc. suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-īmā*) for AV., and Whitney notes that the AV. text (p.p. *sávane*, *mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'.

samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu ṛdharmā (TB. ApŚ. *prathamo nu dharmah*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā* . . . *dharmā* (neut. plur.) of RV. 'According to ancient ordinances': 'as the very first law'.

prasthāyendrāgnibhyāṁ somaṁ vocatopo (KB. *vocato yo*) *asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇā hvayadhvam* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. As Keith says in his Transl., KB. must be read *vocatopo*. A graphic corruption.

jihvā pavitram aśvināsan (TB. °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB. The original, of which TB. is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'.

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṁ juhomi TS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.: *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. Precisely like the prec., except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible.

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. See §60.

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuwaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vrkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG. The latter corrupt; see §198.

rdhag (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *ayā* (AV. *ayo*, TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *rdhag* (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °ṣṭa, AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §234.

yat twemahe (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. Original has *twā-īmahe*. SMB. comm. alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjayāmi*, or as a noun, *utsave*, supplying *pūjādikam karma* with *yat*. All mss. agree on it.

āśuṁ twājau (ApŚ. *ākhuṁ twā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *hariśmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim* SV.: *hriśmaśruṁ nārvāṇaṁ dhanarcam* RV.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁdrk* (KS. *paramo na saṁvrk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. Graphic change in KS., §871. *hotā viṣṭīmena* (ŚŚ. *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. See §367.

tenemām upa siñcatam RV. AV. TA. N.: *tēna mām abhiñcatam* ŚŚ. SMB. Different contexts; *imām* or *mām*.

tēna tvam agna iha vardhayemam AV.: *tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam* (MS. °yā mām) TS. MS. KS. *imam* or *mām*.

piteva putraṁ jarase nayemam (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS. is indicated by its p.p.: *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, pointing to the other reading.

yaded (KS. *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛih*°) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

yenākṣā (SMB. °kṣān, PG. °kṣyāv, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyaṣiñcatam*, PG. °tām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. For the original 'dice' ŚŚ. lamely substitutes 'earth'.

[*tvayāvasena* (ŚG. text *tvayā jvasena*) *saṁ aśīmahi tvā* TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. ŚG. SMB. PG. The ŚG. seems to be a misprint.]

§836. We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary:

yadārāghaṭī (read *yadā rā*°) *varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yad adyārādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

pratya eva (ŚŚ. *pra tveva*, i.e. *tvā-iva*) *grbhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ. °śunā) KS. ApŚ.

But KS. ed. prints the ApŚ. reading, with v. l. °vādīd.

śrutakakṣo aram (SV. °kakṣāram) *gave* RV. SV. Nom.: voc.

vīhi svām āhutiṁ juṣāṇo manasā AV.: *vīhi svāhāhutiṁ juṣānaḥ* TS. TB. The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary.

viśvasmai bhūtāyādharo (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °*dhvaro* 'si) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *adhvara: dhruva*; it is not certain that the latter is more original.

mā na āyuh param avaraṁ mānadonaiḥ MS.: *mā naḥ param adharaṁ mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. †*param adhanam mā rajo naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. The MS. is corrupt, and its p.p. is worse: *mā, anat, ā, unaiḥ!* Cf. VV I p. 93.

ā māśiṣo (or *ām āśiṣo*, so MS. understands) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS.: *emā agmann āśiṣo dohakāmāḥ* TS. ApŚ. It is possible that KS. also intends *ām* (interjection) *āśiṣo*. It seems that TS. ApŚ. (*ā-imās*) have a lect. fac.

[*āt māsy ātmann ātmānam* (GB. *ātmanātmānam*, but Gaastra as the others) *me mā hiṁsiḥ* GB. Vait. Kauś.]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another. This process may be illustrated within the RV. itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner avena marutām na bhojyā*, 1. 128. 5b. Here we must surely read *agne ravena*; see Conc. and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* I. 127. This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts. Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *nṛbhīr yad yukto vive rapāṁsi*, RV. 1. 69. 8, we must read *viver apāṁsi*; and for *muṣāyaś cakram avive rapāṁsi*, RV. 6. 31. 3, *aviver apāṁsi*. Also in AV. 6. 116. 1a, *yad yāman cakrur nikhānanto agre*, read probably *yady āman*; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 428, *SBE* 42. 457, and Whitney *ad loc.*

āsann ā (SV. PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātraṁ janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

madhu reto (TS. *madhor ato*, KS. †*madhur ato*, AŚ. text printed *madhu-reto*) *mādhavaḥ pātva asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Keith on TS. thinks the KS. reading is correct. He calls the MS. 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; *madhu* and *reto* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object. But the MS. p.p. reads *madhuḥ, aṁtaḥ*, pointing towards the KS. reading.

revatī ramadhvam, revatīr amedhyam, see §255.

ā māṣiṣo (MS. text *ām āṣiṣo*) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS. And others; see §836. MS. and KS. may intend the same reading.

agor arir ā ciketa RV.: *nāgo rayir ā ciketa* SV. Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'böse'. Doubtful; the SV. is hardly interpretable.

ubhayor ārtñiyor (TS. *ārtniyor*, NīlarU. *ubhayo rājñor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm. calmly takes it.

satyād ā (ApŚ. *satyā tā*) *dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ. *dharmanā*, and so mss. of MŚ.; Vait. MŚ. *pari*, ŚŚ. omits *patī*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

purovāto varṣaṇ jīnvar āvṛt svāhā TS. ApŚ.: *purovāta* (KS. °to) *jīnva rāvaṭ* (KS. °vat) *svāhā* MS. KS. And other formulas in same passage; see §168. TS. is secondary.

yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ. †*namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by: *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya*. Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood: 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait. entnahmen) from the asuric N.' ŚŚ. is secondary and poor; *dadhi* 'sour milk' conceals *adhi*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl. which preceded in the original form. For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15. 144-63.

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838. In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive: at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another. Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in:

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. (corrupt).

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. In MahānU. a v. l. agrees with TA. but for *anūp*°; but the comm. keeps to the text as printed. He explains *pītābhā* by *pītavarṇā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmeṇopamīyate kuṇḍalinīti yām naigamā āhuḥ*. The TA. makes *pītā bhāsvati* = *pītavarṇā*, and *aṇūpamā* is explained by *laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavitum yogyā*.

acikradat svapā iha bhuvat AV.: *adidyutat sv apāko vibhāvā* RV. MS. Whitney says the AV. has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading. Ppp. *bhavat* for *bhuvat* (§602).

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS. *devapuraś carasa rḍhyāsam*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. The MS. is corrupt: p.p. *deva*, *punar iti punaḥ*, *carase*. See §817.

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yai) *rṇayā na iyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KS. AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase* AV. 'A simple corruption' (Whitney) in AV.

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv ènam ā'mútaḥ* MS. (p.p. *tú, enam, mā'm, utlām ma*, in part pointing to the TB. reading).

MS. is corrupt; in TB. supply *muñcata* from preceding *pāda*.

graha viśvajānīna niyantar viprāyāma te (MS. p.p. *viprāya, 'mate*; KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī*) MS. KS.

§839. In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending:

made suśipram (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV.: *sa īm* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (MS. °sā *starīman*, TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.

maṇḍūky apsu śam bhuvah AV.: *maṇḍūkyā su sam ṭgamah* (TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA. The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to the secondary reading of AV.

§840. The rest hardly need classification:

yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so aham MahānU.: *yās te soma prajā vatso 'bhi so aham* TA. Both are obscure, and the far-fetched interpretations of the comms. give little help. For instance, the TA. comm. explains *soma* as *sa + uma*, from *umā = brahmavidyā*, so that *soma = paramātman*!

viśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB. *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. *didāsitha* is taken as a desiderative from *dā*. 'O V. Bh., thou didst seek to give me (the earth) away': '... thou wast slow of wit (so comm., *mandamatih*)'. Either meaning is possible.

bhrātāntarikṣam abhiśastyā naḥ (TA. *abhiśasta enaḥ*) AV. TA. Comm. on TA.: *yad eno 'smābhiḥ kṛtam tad abhiśastaḥ śatruthānīyam*! It would be better to understand *abhiśaste*, 'upon the accursed one (may) the sin (light)'. Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV. *samudrād udajani vaḥ* (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. reading seems better.

yā samjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase KS.: *āsum jayantam anu yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. See §189.

jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke SV.: *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmaṇi kṣor anīke* RV. The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for *dyukṣayor*, from *dyukṣa*.

- brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svarākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svarārakṣāṇaḥ*) *svāhā* AG. PG. MG. The original is probably AG., see §742. PG. has a simple lect. fac.; MG. is corrupt.
- yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.
- sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. Corruption in VSK.
- āyuhpati ratham̐taram̐* (MŚ. *āyuh pratiratham̐*°) *tad aśīya* . . . ApŚ. MŚ. Caland would read °*pati* (nom.) in ApŚ., and observes that MŚ. is yet more corrupt.
- ud vaṇśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.
- kratvā variṣṭham̐ vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV.
- ruvad dhokṣā* (TB. *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. See §684.
- prathamachad* (KS. *parama*°) *avarān* (TS. *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen. depending on *vara* (*vare*). The result is close to nonsense.
- ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan* (TS. MS. *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS. TS. MS.
- tena sanhanu kṛṇmasi* AV.: *tena sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG. See §47.
- pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS. °*mad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Either makes good sense.
- ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve* (VS. °*ṣṭhīve*, TS. *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *brhadratham̐tare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS. †*kalpantām*) VS. TS. MS. Cf. §803; TS. secondary.
- pumānsam̐ vardhatām̐ mayi* ŚG.: *pumān sanivartatām̐ mayi* PG.: *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB. See §97. Despite the Conc., ŚG. is quite correct, and may well be the original reading.
- jāmim itvā mā vivitse lokān* TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.
- hiranyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ.
- utem anamnamuḥ* (KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. *uteva nam̐*°) TS. MS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
- athem ava sya vara ā prthivyāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *athemam asyā vara ā prthivyāḥ* AV. See §236.
- utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvaḥ* (TB. *vicāyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. N. See §254.

- anūdhā yadi jījanad* (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV.
- pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṃ* (SMB. *pra sumartyaṃ*, MG. *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu naḥ*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. The last is secondary.
- yaśasendrābṛhaspatī* (ArS. *yaśo mendrā°*) ArS. PG. MG. Graphic change.
- dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ* (AV. °*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.
- dhiyā martah śasamate* (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. See §189.
- yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*, most mss. *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. See §189.
- yunajmī tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *virṭaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §189.
- pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG.: †*prajāyāmasy agrataḥ* HG. *asya* in MG. is to be taken in a cosmic sense; it is of course secondary.
- yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. Whitney describes the MS. as a 'corrupt guess'.
- māyādevā avataran* HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. See §401.
- ā gharṃ agniṃ ṛtayann asādi* (TA. *asādīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto na sādi* MS. The latter is of course secondary.
- adha syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS. The ApŚ. is worthless; Caland tacitly adopts the other reading.
- [*iṣur nāvīrastāram* ŚŚ.: *iṣuṃ na vīro astā* AV. RWh. by emendation; but mss. as ŚŚ. except for *iṣuṃ*.]
- [*pātām mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś. text *aghān naḥ*) TS. ApŚ. Kauś. Read *adyāhnaḥ* in Kauś.; cf. critical note, p. 295, n. 4 of ed. In the reading quoted for ms. Bū *hna* should be read for *dna*.]

9. Patch-words

§841. In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822–31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Lückenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter.

§842. For instance, in a pāda like

syonam patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu twam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N.,

it is clear that AV. has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *twam*. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *twam* and *-sva*. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

nī no rayīm subhojasam yuvasva (TS. *yueha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS., where TS. likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *iha*. And in a pāda like

āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG. *te sadā*) MG. YDh.,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*; rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te*. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG., the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

§843. Prevalingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word:

agnīm (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV. SV. In RV. *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV. has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*.

viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ (*aprāg api*) AV. (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

yataḥ sūrya udeti AV.: *yataś codeti sūryaḥ* ŚB. BrhU. KaṭhaU. †4. 9a. *āsūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS. MS. KS.: *āsūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye* AV. Here the longer form of AV. may be original; at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

§844. There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:

tasmai no (AV. *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (AV. PG. °*dhatteha*, KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ. *viśve*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh.

Even the KS. MŚ. form, lacking *iha*, is not really good in meter.

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter:

śatena pāśair varuṇābhi dhehi KS.: *śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varuṇainam* AV. The reading of Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 37. 298) is that of KS., and this is doubtless original.

tam ahaṁ punar ādade KŚ. PG.: *imaṁ taṁ punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG.

tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛṇuta praśastam (AV. *kṛnuhi supraśastam*) RV. AV. The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV. Anukramaṇī and omitted in Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 41. 266).

§846. Once SV. omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV., thereby spoiling the meter; the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsaḥ* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves is too short: *tubhyaṁ somāḥ sutā ime* RV.: *tubhyaṁ sutāsaḥ somāḥ* SV.

§847. Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following:

anumate 'nv idam manyasva AV.: *anumate 'nu* (KapS. *ṭanu*) *manyasva na idam* KS. Cf. *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

apām napātām aśvinā huve dhiyā (TS. *ṭhayantam*) AV. TS. The mss. of AV. read *aśvinā* (accented) and *dhiyaḥ*. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss., but both are metrically correct. See Whitney's and Keith's notes.

§848. In the next AV. by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV., and to save the meter omits the light word *u*:

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §996.

§849. In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent. We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary; they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group:

imaṁ (AV. **tam u*) *me agadam kṛta* (AV. *kṛdhi*) RV. AV.* VS. TS.

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ. *taṁ manyeta* (ViDh. *taṁ vai manyet*) *pitarāṁ mātaraṁ ca* SamhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. ViDh.

asmān (AV. *sā nah*) *sīte payasābhyāvavṛtsva* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

upa yajñam asthita (MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.
apasedhan (SV. † °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV. SV.

See VV I §194. In RV. *r* in *mṛdaya* is long; in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to improve the meter.

marutām pītas tad ahaṁ grṇāmi (MS. *grṇe te*) TS. MS.: *marutām pītar uta tad grṇāmaḥ* KS.

tasya doham aśīmahi (KS. *aśīya*, AŚ. *aśīya te*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. In KS. prose.

tvaṣṭā sudatro (TA. *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyaḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. N.

sa naḥ pīto madhumān ā viśeḥa (Kauś. *viveṣa*) KS. Kauś.: *sa no mayobhūḥ pītav* (TS. TB. *pīto*, MŚ. *pītur*, SMB. Jørgensen *pītav*) *āviśasva* (AŚ. *āviśeḥa*, MŚ. *āviveṣa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.

aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñīyebhiḥ RV. TS. MS.: *aṅgirobhir yajñīyair āgahiḥ* AV.

dadhad ratnāni (RV. once *ratnā vi*) *dāśuṣe* RV. (thrice) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *dhattaṁ ratnāni dāśuṣe* RV.: *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāry-āni* RV. VS.

twiṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu AV.: *twiṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB. The Ppp. agrees with TB. (Barret, JAOS 30. 204).

anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (AV. *grhaṁ naḥ*) RV. AV. MG. The Ppp. according to Roth agrees with RV.; and the AV. text makes poor sense as Whitney observes.

abhūn mama (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG.

ahnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam (AŚ. *asti kimcit*; ŚŚ. *enaś cakṛmeha kimcit*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

edaṁ barhir ni ṣīdata (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṣīda naḥ*) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Change of context in AŚ. ŚŚ. requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with *naḥ*.

devebhyo havyam (MS. MŚ. MG. *havyā*) *vahatu* (TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *vaha naḥ*, Kauś. **vaha*) *prajānan* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.* MG. In one form Kauś. is unmetrical, lacking *naḥ*.

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS. *amṛtaṁ nu*, TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtaṁ nu*) *vidvān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.

vīryebhir (MS. *vīrebhir*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°, Poona ed. *śavi*°) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

punantu viśvā bhūtāni (MS. *bhūtā mā*) AV. VS. MS. KS. Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of *viśve devāḥ punīta mā*, which is the RV. form of this pāda?

śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (MS. *vitatāny*) *āsu* MS. ApŚ. ApMB. Undoubtedly MS. is original; form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others. *hvaṃāmi* (AV. SV. TS. MS. *huve nu*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. MS. VS. TS. KS. MahānU.

apriye (AV. **apriyaḥ*) *prati muñcatām* (Kauś.† °*tam*, AV. **muñca tat*) AV. (bis) Kauś.

sarvān agnīn (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuśado huve vaḥ* (MS. omits *vaḥ*; AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. TB. See VV I p. 253.

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are:

ṛṣṇām ca stutīr (SV. *suṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

agnim indram (TB. *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām*; MS. °*haṇam huwema*) AV. MS. TB.

yā antarikṣyā (TB. ApŚ. °*kṣa*) *ula pārthivāsaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. AG. *pārthivīr yāḥ*) KS. AG. TB. ApŚ. Since the adjectives are feminine (agreeing with *āpaḥ*), the KS. form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62); but it may nevertheless be the original.

yā akrntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yās ca tatnīre*) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yā akrntan yā atanvan* MG. Discussed in VV I §§46, 218.

jarām gachāsi (PG. *gacha*, AV. *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* AV. PG. ApMB. HG. Only the relative antiquity of AV. favors greater originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive.

CHAPTER XIX. RIME WORDS

§851. A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants; the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852. We begin with the roots *jinva* and *pinv*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms: 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Samhitās; both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts:

mano me jinva (MS. KS. *pinva*, Vait. *mano jinva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait.

Followed by:

vācam me pinva (MS. KS. ŚŚ. *jinva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.

tad indrāgnī jinvatam (MŚ.† *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāvat* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

jinva (AŚ. †*pinvam*, read *pinva*) *gā jinvārvataḥ* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Cf. *pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato naḥ* RV. KS.

§853. Other verb forms are:

ūrjā prthivīm gachata (MS. *yachata*) TS. MS. KS. TB.

paramam padam ava bhāti (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS. *bhūreḥ*) RV. VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The comm. on VS. calmly says: *avabhāri avabhāti, takārasthāne chāndaso rephah!* BR. derive from root *bhṛ*, as aor. pass. 'wurde eingedrückt', which is at least possible.

trikadrukebhiḥ patati (AV. *pavate*) RV. AV. KS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. Hilbrandt, *Ved. Myth*¹. I. 500.

pratilāmīti (AŚ. °*nīti*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Derived by the comms. from roots *til* and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.

saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. °*bhyāṁ adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. *saṁ-dham* and *saṁ-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together'. Note also the noun forms *patatra*: *yajatra* (graphic change).

asadan (TS. *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS. *punah*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms: 'has seated himself': 'has reached'.

yābhyāṁ svar ajanann (TB. *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS. TB. MŚ.: *yābhyāṁ ajayan svar agra eva* AV. 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning.'

saṁ grāvabhir nasate (SV. *vasate*) *vīte adhware* RV. SV. Both 'unite with'; SV. lect. fac. (*saṁ-nas* was obsolete).

rasena saṁ asṛkṣmahi (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. *saṁ-sṛj* and *saṁ-prc* practically synonyms. Cf. *saṁ-prc* and *saṁ-sprś*, §375.

aṅgād-aṅgāt sambhavasi (SMB. **saṁśravasi*) ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB.* GG. ApMB. HG. MG. N. Mahābh. In SMB. a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety: 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arisest'. The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts. In both cases some mss. of SMB. have the alternative reading.

pra ketunā brhatā yāty (AV. TA. *bhāty*) *agniḥ* RV. AV. SV. TA. 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam.' Perhaps graphic?

śocasva (VS.* *rocasva*) *devavītamah* (KS. °*vittamah*) RV. RVKh. VS.* TS. MS. KS. TA. Synonyms.

tataś (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. °*the*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*) *aditiṁ ditiṁ ca* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Root *cakṣ*: perfect of *kr*.

adhi skanda vīrayasva AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. Quasi-synonyms. AVPpp. also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach).

mā chetthā (v. l. *bhetthā*) *mā vyathiṣṭhāḥ* KBU.

[*varṣmā rathasya ni jihīṣate* (ŚŚ. *jihīlate*) *divaḥ* AV. ŚŚ. So RWh.; but the mss. of AV. read *jihīḍate*, which should be kept.]

§854. Riming participles occur in the following:

pratyag enaṁ śapathā yantu trṣṭāḥ (AV. *sṛṣṭāḥ*) RV. AV. Comm. and one ms. of AV. *trṣṭāḥ*, for which *sṛṣṭāḥ* may be called a lect. fac.: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'.

yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣiḥ ŚG.: *yā †ādroghnīḥ pari tasthuṣiḥ* ApMB.
Pples. of roots *sru* and *sthā*.

āyurdā deva (AV. *agne*) *jarasaṁ vṛṇānaḥ* (ApMB. ApG. HG. *grṇ°*)
AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. HG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyusmān*)
agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB.
TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The ApMB. etc. readings are an interest-
ing blend of those which contain *vṛṇānaḥ* and *juṣāṇaḥ*. Perhaps
grṇānaḥ was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring';
even this would be none too sensible in the context. Oldenberg
adopts *vṛṇānaḥ* for HG. Still a different version ('thriving by the
oblation') is adopted in VS. etc.; this is an easy lect. fac. in a
passage relating to Agni.

ā sutrāvṇe (MS. KS. *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatiṁ āvṛṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.:
oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ grṇānāḥ TS. 'Choosing to myself (praising)
his kindness.'

§855. Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman*: *nāman*
stands out. In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are
easily interchangeable; the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both
mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the
other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in:

yat te 'nādhṛṣṭaṁ nāma yajñīyaṁ (KS. *nāmānādhṛṣyaṁ*, MS. *dhāmānā-
dhṛṣyaṁ*) *tena tvādadhe* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The change in MS.
was suggested by *ādadhe*.

seḍaṁ priyeṇa dhāmnā priyaṁ sada †āsīda (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma priye
sadasī sīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Also:

priyeṇa dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyaṁ sada āsīda*
(VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.* *priye sadasī sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB.
KŚ. ApŚ. In this and the prec. (which are variants of each other)
only the VS. texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose
that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym
of *sadas*.

vidmā te nāma (AV. *vidma te dhāma*; Ppp. *gandharvo nāma*) *paramaṁ
guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: *gandharvo dhāma
paramaṁ guhā yat* (VS. *vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat*) AV. VS.: *gandharvo
nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. Here two different pādas
have become confused; one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*,
the other with *gandharvo dhāma*. The AVPpp. reading (not in
Cone.) occurs in the verse where AV. has *vidma te dhāma*.

puruṣṭutasya dhāmabhiḥ (MS. *nā°*) RV. AV. MS. Vait.

§856. Twice the RV. phrase *pratnena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV. to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)' much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB. follows SV.:

aham pratnena manmanā (SV. *jan°*) RV. SV. AV.

agniḥ pratnena manmanā (SV. TB. *jan°*) RV. SV. MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ.

§857. Other nouns and adjectives:

aktam (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS.**artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. *viyantu*) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS.* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo 'ktan* *rihāṇāḥ* VS. A very obscure passage; the isolated *artham* may possibly be due to graphic confusion.

śarīram me vicakṣaṇam (RVKh. *vicakṣaṇam*) RVKh. TA. TU.: *pratīkam me vicakṣaṇam* PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)'. Schef-telowitz on RVKh. reads *vicakṣaṇa*, but it seems that °*ṇam* must be the true reading.

paktā (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous' by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204; he takes it as a masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden'; cf. Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p. 171.

kuhūm aham (AV. Vait. *kuhūm devīm*) *surtaṁ* (AV. MS. KS. *sukṛtaṁ*, TS. *subhagāṁ*) *vidmanāpasam* AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Quasi-synonyms.

dyumnā sukṣatra maṇhaya RV.: *dyumnaṁ sudatra maṇhaya* SV.

dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṇham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. The evidently secondary *cyāv°* is suggested by '*cyutaś*': 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'.

aśloṇo 'piśācadhītaḥ ApMB.: *anandho 'śloṇo 'piśācadhīraḥ* HG. The latter is a strange corruption; the original means 'not sucked by demons'.

adrogḥavācan matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham (RV.* °*bhir yavi°*) RV.* AV. See RVRep. 275 f.

abhi dyumnaṁ (RV. VS. *sumnaṁ*) *devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Quasi-synonyms.

nagnahur dhīras (KS. *vīras*) *tasaram na vema* VS. MS. KS. TB. Synonyms.

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG. *edhase*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. ŚG. *edhase* is certainly right: 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA. comm. quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'.

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. *°nītir*, KS. *°dhītam* and *†°nītha* [so 38. 12b], MS. *°dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The form with *n* is apparently original; in MS. KS. it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti*. *kūvin no asya sumatir navīyasī* (SV. *bhavīyasī*) RV. SV. 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'.

sthirā cin namayīṣṇavaḥ RV.: *ḍṛdhā cid yamayīṣṇavaḥ* SV. Practically synonyms, 'bending': 'subduing'.

añdhi kham varlayā paṇim (SV. *pavim*) RV. SV. Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it; cf. Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten ad loc.*). It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*; a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent.

tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB. The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots. Cf. next.

ut satvanām māmakānām manāṅsi (TS. *mahāṅsi*) RV. SV. VS. TS. Cf. prec.

dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāsam (HG. *pāpam*) SMB. ApMB. HG.

The two words are near-synonyms; *pāsam* is clearly original.

upa śreṣṭhā na āśīṣaḥ (MS. *āśīraḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

panasyuwaḥ samvasaneṣu (SV. *°varaṇeṣu*) *akramuḥ* RV. SV. Quasi-synonyms; 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'.

asya (AŚ. *mama*) *enuṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim* (AŚ. *praviṣṭau*) TB. AŚ.

Complete change of meaning as well as syntax.

svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS. *vātāya sūr°*) . . . *vrṣṭivanaye* (MS.° *sanaye*) . . . MS. TA. ApŚ.

CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858. There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, *ṭ* and *ṭh*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion; it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859. The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *v*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

n and *r*

§860. The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861. We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants:

indhāna enaṁ jarate (MS. KS. *janate*, but MS. p.p. *jarate*, KS. v. l. *jarite*) *svādhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. N. One ms. of KS. reads *jarite*, and the p.p. of MS. *jarate*; this is clearly the proper reading.

mṛttike hana (MahānU. *hara*) *me pāpam* TA. MahānU. Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hr* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away').

asadan (TS. *asanan*) *mātaraṁ puraḥ* (TS. *punaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

avimuktacakra (v. l. °*rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB. *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. Others, §830.

tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā MS.: *mahāntaṁ gahvareṣṭhām* SV.

nirṛtho (MS. °*to*) *yaś ca nisvanaḥ* (AV. °*raḥ*) AV. MS. TA.

nigalgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KS.† *jalgalūti*, mss., em. °*līti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*; p.p. *deva, punar iti punaḥ, carase*, etc.) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. The text of MS. is corrupt in both readings.

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaiḥ MS.: *mā naḥ param adharam* (MŚ. *param adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. Two cases; *adhanam*: *adharam*, and *mā rajo*: *mānado-* (corrupt).

ruvad dhokṣā (TB. *ṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. But *r* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*; §684.

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants; note one case in RV. itself:

viśvāny anyo (RV.*KS. *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV. (both) MS. KS. TB.

In different contexts.

balivardāya (KSA. °*vandāya*) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Apparently *balivardāya* is intended.

iluvardāya (KSA. *alivandāya*) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Follows the prec. *gaurīr* (TB. TA. *gaurī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

vidyur (ApMB. *vidyun*) *me asya devāḥ* RV. AV. KS. ApMB. See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xxiv. *vidyun* is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*; it is read by all mss. and confirmed by the comm., who says that *t* for visarga is *chāndasa*! *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form.

śīle vāte punann iva (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarniva*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.

The persistence in the mss. of the impossible *punarniva* is striking. *ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB. See §273.

adyā twā vanvan (KS. *vardhan*) *surekṇāḥ* RV. KS. TB.

ukhāni sravantīm agadām aganma (MŚ. *akarma*) KŚ. MŚ.

anārbhava mṛḍa KS. ApŚ. The ms. of KS. reads *anārbhava*, em. v. Schroeder; see p. w. 5, Nachträge. Cf. *anābho mṛḍa dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ. See §749.

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agni* and *agra*. A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV. 10. 18. 7d, *ā rohantu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneḥ* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning: 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire'. In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV. and TA., there is no authority for this change. There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne*. It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agni* secondary. The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion.

§864. The list is as follows; the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*:

dhwāntaṁ vātāgram anusaṁcarantam (PB. *abhisam*°) TS. PB. TB. PG.

ApMB.: *dhwāntā vātā agnim* (mss. of both *vātāgnim*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ. MG. Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

agre vikṣu pradādayat RV.: *agne vikṣu pratīdayat* TB. (Poona ed. *agre* without v. l., but comm. *he agne*.)

tubhyam agre (MG. *agne*) *pary avahan* RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG.

agre (MS.*KS.*MŚ. *agne*) *brhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt* RV. VS. TS. MS.*KS.*ŚB. ApŚ., and Pratikas AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Rvidh. BṛhD.

tenemam agra (TB. *agna*) *iha varcasā* †*samañgdhi* KS. TB. Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading; one accented ms. of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended.

tavāham nāma bibharāṇy agne (AŚ. *agre*) TS. AŚ.: *tavāham agne bibharāṇi nāma* MŚ. Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading.

[*agre* (TB. *agne*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *agre*) *yajñasya śocataḥ* (KS. TB. *cetataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.]

[*agne* (AV. *agre*) *samidham āhārṣam* AV. Kauś. *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed., which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation.]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following:

akṣāṇām vagnum (MS. †*vagmum*) *upajighnamānaḥ* (MS. *avajighram āpaḥ*) MS. TB. TA. The MS. is certainly wrong. TB. comm. *upahataṁ kurvan*.

girā ca (AV. *virājah*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Whitney on AV. adopts *śnuṣṭiḥ* with most mss.; Ppp. *sunīṣṭas*. See §57.

ūrdhvacitaḥ (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* (VS. † *śna*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Doubtless corruption, if not misprint; see §195.

c and *v*

§866. Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-crt* and *vi-vrt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-crt*, 'unloose'; also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śav*. The others are sporadic.

agnim hotāram antarā vivṛtāḥ AŚ.: *hotāram agnim antarā vicṛtāḥ* ApŚ.

'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicṛtāḥ* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect. fac. It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'.

ṛtasya tantuṁ vitataṁ vivṛtya (VS. *vicṛtya*, AV. *drśe kam*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The true reading is probably *vicṛtya*. So Poona ed. of TB. text and comm., tho with v. l. *vivṛtya*; comm. gloss *guruśāstra-mukhān niścitya*, which looks as if he had read *vivṛtya* and taken it from *vi-vṛ* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

case. MahānU. reads *virṭya* without recorded variant; comm. gloss *vṛtī sandīpena sandīpya*, which is obscure to us.

[*vi pāśaṁ madhyamaṁ cṛta* (TB. and MŚ. v. 1. *vṛta*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. So Conc., seemingly erroneously; MŚ. has *cṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed. of TB. likewise *cṛta* text and comm. with no v. 1.]

śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣaṁ svāhā* PB. ApŚ.

[*vīryebhīr* (MS. *vīrebhīr*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm. without v. 1.]

[*devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°) MS. TB. Again Poona ed. of TB. *śavi*° without v. 1.]

viciṭi (or *viviṭi*) *svāhā* MahānU.: *viviṣṭyai svāhā* TA. TAA. There is also a v. 1. *civiṭi* in MahānU. The word is meaningless. Comm. *viciṭi*, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v. 1. *vidhiṇa*. Poona ed. of both TA. and TAA. *viviṣṭyai*, explained by comm. as for *viviṣṭyai* by Vedic license.

vakratuṇḍāya (TAA. *cakra*°) *dhīmahi* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

saṁ arvanto raghudruvaḥ (VSK. °*drucaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS. Meaningless corruption in VSK.

ghṛtapratikaṁ va (TB. *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. *dhūruṣ*°, Poona ed. *dhūrṣ*°) RV. TB. ApŚ. The sandhi shows that TB. is secondary and poor.

yatra cābhimṛśāmasi (HG. *vābhi*°) ApMB. HG.

p and *y*

§867. A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group:

indrāpāśya (two mss. *indrāyāśya*) *phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāśya* (corrupt; Kirste suggests *indra āyāśya*) *śephām alikam* . . . HG.

hriyai śalyakaḥ (VS. *śalpakāḥ*) VS. MS. The *p* is a false reading; VS. comm. *śvāvit*.

brhaspataye śitputaḥ (KSA.† *śimyuṭaḥ*) TS. KSA. An otherwise unknown word; said to be a kind of cat.

prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somaṁ vocatopo (KB. *vocato yo*) *asmān* . . . KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Read in KB. as the others (Keith).

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamati (etc., §853) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

prapunwanta upa sprṣata prapunvadbhya svāhā ApMB.: *prayunwanta upasprṣata prayunvadbhyaḥ svāhā* HG. Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable.

susasyāḥ (VSK. °*pāḥ*) *kr̥ṣ̥īs kṛdhi* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *kr̥ṣ̥yai tvā susas-yāyai* (KS. †*sumanas-yāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. With the VSK. reading cf. *śaṣpa*.

pūlyāny (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. The mss. of both texts vary between *lp* and *ly*.

anaḍvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. If MŚ. is correct (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption.

tvam hi rādhaspata (text °*yata*, wrongly) *eka īśiṣe* ŚŚ.

ubhe ca no (etc.) . . . *añhasaḥ* (°*sas*) *pātām* (TB. Conc. *syātām*, Poona ed. *añhasaḥ spātām*, AŚ. text †*añhasa syātām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

The true reading can only be *añhasaḥ* (or °*sas*) *pātām*.

[*tanūpā* (TB. °*yā*, Poona ed. °*pā*) *bhiṣajā sute* VS. MS. KS. TB.]

[*vahiṣṭhebhīr viharan yāsi* (TB. Conc. *pāhi*, comm. and Poona ed. text *yāsi*) *tantum* RV. TB. KS. AŚ. ApŚ.]

[*tvaṣṭā turīpo* (TB. *turīyo*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*po*) *adbhutaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.]

[*āpataye* (GB. ā^o, Gaastra ā^o) *tvā grhṇāmi* VSK. TS. MS. GB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.]

[*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS. † °*hai*, LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Probably a double misprint in LŚ.]

[*viśvatoḥasta uta viśvataspāt* (TA. °*taḥ syāt*, but Poona ed. correctly °*taspāt*) TS. MS. KS. TA.]

gh and *dy*

§868. The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent:

mā (AG. MG. ā) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. The correct reading is *mā* . . . *aghāyavaḥ* 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee'. It is strange that apparently all mss. of AG. MG. read ā at the beginning, preceded by anusvāra at the end of the preceding pāda. (Stenzler assumes *mā*.) The further corruption in MG. seems an attempt to patch up a bad job; it implies *adya-āyavaḥ* 'may lives today reach thee.'

magham (MS., but not KS. †, *madyam*) *indrāya jabhrire* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra.' Indra's well-known bibulous habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS., involving the misreading of *gh* as *dy*. Cf. next.

sa bibheda balan (VS. and Poona ed. TB. *valan*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. prec.

śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṣṭhā gha viṣā*) *pari no vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. (Poona ed. of

TB. records v. l. 'dya, and comm. v. l. adya.) The MS. is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ddh* for *gh*, cf. §875; see also §838.

pātām mā dyāvāprthivī adyāhnaḥ (Kauś. *aghān naḥ*, read *adyāhnaḥ*) TS. ApŚ. Kauś. See §840.

[*kevalāgho* (TB. *kevalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm. °*lāgho*) *bhavati kevalādī* RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: *pāpam eva sampādayati na tu kimcid api puṇyam.*]

[*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read with Poona ed. text and comm. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.]

[*yad vā ghā* (TA. *vādyā*, but Poona ed. *vā ghā*, and comm. *vā gha*) *satyam uta yan na vidma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TA. There is a v. l. *vādyā* in TA. Poona ed., but gloss in comm. (*yad eva kimcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*.]

d and *v*

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *diś* and *viś*; both stems always appear in the plural number, cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 48, foot. These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *viś*. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*.

devānām patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA. †*viśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes'. This is the only case of original *diś*, and even it is perhaps not certain.

ye vā nūnam swrjanāsu vikṣu (AV. *dikṣu*) RV. AV. A v. l. *vikṣu* occurs in AV., and so Ppp. reads.

śasvad viśaḥ (TB. *diśaḥ*) *savitur daivyaśya* RV. TB. The change in TB. was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanāni* in the next *pāda*.

viśām (TB. *diśām*) *patir abhavad vājinīvān* MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *viśām*.

viśo (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant.

hṛtsu kratum varuṇo (MS. *varuṇam*) *vikṣu* (RV. *apsu*, MS. *dikṣu*) *agnim* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.†

apa durhārd-diśo jahi Kauś. (read *durhārd-viśo*, Conc.)

ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ (TS. TA. ApMB. *śuśmeṇa*, MS. *dhāmnā*, KS. *vṛṣṭyā*, PG. *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS. *paramo na samvṛk*) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. N. *samvṛk* perhaps 'seizer'; certainly inferior.

avasphūrjan vidyud (TS. *didyud*) *varṣan* . . . TS. MS. KS.

bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janāḥ AV.: *yām tvā jano bhūmir iti praman-date* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The latter secondary and poor; Mahīdhara, *stauti*, which the verb can hardly mean.

s and m

§870. Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:

krṣyai tvā susasyāyai (KS. *†sumanasyāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. Others, see §867. The original is clearly *susasyāyai*.

agne yān devān ayāḍ . . . tām sasanuṣīm (KS. ms. *tān samanoṣīnr*, ed. em. *samanaiṣīr*) *hotrām* . . . MS. KS. TB. The corrupt ms. reading of KS. seems to point towards the reading of MS. TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version.

prkṣasya (ArS. *prak°*) *vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. Synonyms.

athā jivah (KS. *adhā viṣitah*, VS. ŚB. *athaitam*, AV. *adomadam*) *pītum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prasūtaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te (MS. p.p. *viprāya*, *mate*; KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī*) MS. KS.

yaśasendrābhraspatī (ArS. *yaśo mendrā°*) ArS. PG. MG.

mā brāhmaṇasya (3c *sā br°*) *rājanya* AV. 5. 18. 1c, 3c. In the Berlin ed. *mā* is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc. But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error.

mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (SV. *paniṣṭama*) RV. AV. SV. VS.: *mahāns te mahato mahimā* AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*.

vahāsi mā (KS. *†vahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*) KS. TB. Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the *juhū*.

tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ MG.: *tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB.

nīlāgalasālā AV.: *nīlagalamālāḥ śivah paśya* NilarU. See §512. Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NilarU., thinking of *nīla-gala* and *mālā*.

t and n

§871. The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters. Our list may be incomplete:
sa tvam (ŚŚ. ApŚ. *sanvan*) *sanim swimucā vimuñca* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §830.

tan mā jinva (KS. *mārjitvā*) TS. MS. KS. See §§354, 829.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samḍrk* (KS. *paramo na samvrk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. See §835.

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU. *nānyo*, v. 1. *mānyo*)
bhāgo yan (TAA. Poona ed. '*yam*') *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. 1. *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU.

upa stuhi (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmnām* (Poona ed. *nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. (Other forms, see §110.) The mss. of the comm. vary between *stuhi* and *snuhi*; gloss *bhūmau prasrāvaya*, pointing to *snuhi*.

yām apitā upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ LŚ.: *yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpaḥ* AV.
prapīnam (MŚ. v. 1. °*tam*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPPP. *pravīnāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

āvitta dyāvāprthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāprthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB.

āvittau (TS. *āvinna*) *mitrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Others with *āvitta*: *āvinna*, see Conc. 188.

grāmaṁ sajānayo ṛgachanti ApMB.: *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG.

jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV.

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (°*no*) . . . , *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino* . . . , see §209.

savitā bhṛtyām (KS. ms.† *manyām*) TS. KS. See §242.

ṣ and p

§872. The variants are few:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir-mā*) *yamasya paḍbīśāt* (VS. °*viśāt*, LŚ. †*ṣaḍviñśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

vājinam śepena VS.: *śeṣo vājinena* MS. But MS. p.p. *śepaḥ*; read certainly *śepo*.

ye tāṭṛṣur (TB. *tāṭṛpur*) *devatrā jehamānāḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. 'Thirsted': 'delighted'.

ā and prā

§873. In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself:

āvo (and *prāvo*) *yudhyantaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ daśadyum* RV. (both)

āsmā aśṛṇvann āśāḥ AV.: *prāsmā āśā aśṛṇvan* TA.

āvat tam (TA. Conc. *prāvartam*, comm. *āvartam*; Poona ed. text and comm. *āvar tam*; so also KS. ms.) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

s and p, pt, pr, bh, t

§874. The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870):

suśīmaṁ somasatsaru AV.: *suśevan̄ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS.

MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. See §180. *s* and *p* (*t*).

rasena sam aśṛkṣmahi (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

s and *p*.

[*āptam̄ manaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. So read in TB., for which Bibl. Ind. ed. has *āsam̄*.]

sacyutim̄ (AŚ. *pracyutim̄*) *jaghanacyutim̄* MS. TB. AŚ. Preceded by a *pāda* ending in *sacyutim̄* (MS. *hastacyutim̄*). Perhaps the AŚ. variant (*s*: *pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety).

anugrāsaś (PB. *anugrābhaś*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV. AV. PB. The original is a nom. pl. of *an-ugra*. PB. misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*.

yad adya dugdham̄ prthivīm̄ aśṛpta (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Again *bh* is secondary to *s*.

agne svam̄ (TS. TB. *svām̄*, ŚB. *tvam̄*) *yonim̄ ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. *sv*: *tv*, the latter secondary.

gh and dh and other similar letters

§875. The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic:

grhāṇāṅgāny apve (SV. *aghe*) *parehi* RV. AV. SV. VS. N. The SV. is certainly corrupt; see Benfey's Nachträge to SV. text, p. 258. Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā*. *gh*: *pv*.

*agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ . . . TS.: adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekaḥ . . . MŚ.
gdh: dhv or ddh.*

*ima udvāsikāriṇa ime . . . TB. ApŚ.: imā uddhāsīcāriṇa ime . . . MŚ.
ddh: dv.*

*ruvad dhokṣā (TB. nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā) paprathānebhīr evaiḥ RV. MS. AB.
KB. TB. The TB. is secondary; ddh: dbhy.*

v and j, ṣ, tr, ṭh

§876. Compare §§866, 869 for *v* and *c*, *d*.

*pra viṣṭīminam āviṣuḥ AV. VS. ŚŚ.: pra samhrṣṭinam ājiṣuḥ LŚ. The
whole passage is obscure; LŚ. doubtless secondary, with j for v.
usrāv (VSK. usrā) etaṁ dhūrṣāhau (VSK. MŚ. dhūrvāhau) . . . VS. VSK.
TS. ŚB. MŚ. Others, §122. ṣ: v.*

*[vairājī (KSA.† °je) puruṣī (so also KSA.†, Conc. wrongly puruṣī)
TS. KSA.]*

*[pra yaḥ satrācā (TB. sa vācā, but comm. and Poona ed. text satrācā)
manasā yajāte (TB. °tai, Poona ed. text and comm. °te) RV. TB.]*

*[śam te prṣvāva śīyatām AV.: śam u prṣṭhāva (read prṣvāva with Poona
ed. text and comm., tho v. l. prṣṭhāva) śīyatām TA.]*

y and ṣ, th

§877. For *y* and *p* see §867; for *dy* and *gh*, §868.

*rṣvāḥ satīḥ kavaṣaḥ (KSA. kavayaḥ) śumbhamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA.
See Keith's note on TS. While the meaning of kavaṣaḥ is quite
uncertain, kavayaḥ (found also in some TS. mss.) is probably only a
graphic lect. fac.*

*tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB. asthām, Poona ed. aśyām)
RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. See §287.*

*apāmityam (AŚ. apām iltham) iva sambhara MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. is
an absurd graphic blunder.*

*samiddho agnir vṛṣanārātir (AV. °ṇā rathī, ŚŚ. °ṇā rayir) divaḥ AV. AB.
AŚ. ŚŚ. Here the reverse error, y for th, has occurred in ŚŚ.; see
§93.*

Miscellaneous

§878. Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character:

*āptye (AV. *apriye, *dviṣate) sam nayāmasi RV. AV.* The AV. comm.
reads āptye for apriye. But the variant dviṣate suggests that apriye
must have been known in very early times; and indeed Ppp. reads*

apriye (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 220). The RV. says: 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) *Āptya*'. The AV. charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character; with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy'. Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *diviṣate* would be unintelligible.

tāsām viśiśnānām (KS. *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS.: *teṣām viśipriyāṇām* (VS. ŚB. °ṇām *vo* 'ham) VS. TS. ŚB. *śn(y): pr*. Both words are obscure; Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS. meant the same.

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB. *rtulam*) VS. TB. *n: l*. Possibly phonetic; cf. §273.

khanyābhyaḥ (KSA. *khalyā°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS. *n: l*; cf. preceding.

anarśarātīm (SV. *alarśirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292. *n: l*.

śaśvat parikupitena (HG. °*pilena*) ApMB. HG. *t: l*. Oldenberg abandons the HG. reading.

abhi yo na irasyati (AV. *no durasyati*) RV. AV. The AV. reading (found also in Ppp. as *durasyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26. 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV., which is antiquated and limited to RV. *du: i*.

aciṣyāma (p.p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vrjane viśva ūti* MS.: *abhi ṣyāma vrjane sarvavīrāḥ* RV. KS. *c: bh* (note p.p. of MS.).

CHAPTER XXI. SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f. (nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'), 338 ff. and 359 ff. (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatusstilger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful; not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prātiśākhya, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which 'confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*; here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *n*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittirīya school (often also in KS.). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittirīya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ś*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.

FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§885. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit:

(a) AV. writes *āv* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr. 2. 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV., AVŚ. shows *ā* for *au* before *u*; Ppp. has the regular *āv*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāṭhaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr. 4. 124; for the practice of VS. see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr. texts; cf. *kṛṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ. 5. 1. 3. 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. l. On the other hand, at MŚ. 3. 5. 14c Knauer reads *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat*, without any ms. authority; the corrupt mss. are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittiriya texts write *āv* and *av* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr. 10. 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10. 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āv* and *av* should always be written; this is favored by the comm. on TPr., and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss. of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait. school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV., SV. (very few instances), and VS.—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āv* and *av* before other vowels. So RPr. 129 (2. 9) and 135 (2. 11); and so VPr. 4. 125 gives the opinion of 'some', opposed to its own rule 4. 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize: before *u*-vowels, Tait. texts write *āv* and *av*; AV. writes *āv* for *au* but *a* for *o*; others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr. texts, KS., and VSK. write *ā* and *a*; AV. writes *āv* but *a*; all others *āv* and *av*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc. sing. forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b; the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§886. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following:

aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa (MS. KS. °rayā) *prāṇāpānāv* (MS. KS. °nā) *ud ajayatām* TS. MS. KS.

asā (ApŚ. *asāv-asāv*) *upahwayasva* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

asmākam yonā (ApŚ. *yonāv*) *udare suśevāḥ* MS. ApŚ.

imaṁ yajñam juṣamāñā (TB. °ñāv) *upetam* MS. TB.

upasthe mātuh surabhā (TS. °bhāv) *u loke* RV. TS. MS. KS.

ubhā (AV. ubhāv) *upāṁśu prathamā pibāva* RV. AV.

urūṇasāv (TA. uru°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA. ulu°) RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

kā (TA. kāv, AV. VS. kim) *ūrū pādā* (TA. † pādāv) *ucyete* RV. AV. VS. TA.

The only exception to the rule in AV. Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42. 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly.

daivya hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS. MS. °rā ūrdhvam; KS. hotārordhvam)

VS. TS. MS. KS. †18. 17a. In KS. the form *hotārā*, not °rau, is concerned.

na yonā (TS. yonāv) *uṣāsā°* VS. TS. MS.

rakṣoḥaṇau (VS. ŚB. °ṇau vām) *valagahanā* (TS. ApŚ. °hanāv) *upa°* . . . VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

syone kṛṇudhvaṁ surabhā (TS. °bhāv) *u loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are:

uṣṇena vāya (ApMB. vāyav) *udakenehi* (with varr.) AV. SMB. ApMB. AG. GG. PG.

deva viṣṇa (ApŚ. viṣṇav) *urv . . .* PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

divo vā viṣṇa (TS. viṣṇav) *uta vā prthivyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *divo viṣṇa* etc. AV. MS.

maho vā viṣṇa (AV. maho viṣṇa) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS. viṣṇav uta vāntarikṣāt) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

viṣṇa (TS. ApŚ. viṣṇav) *urukrama . . .* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§888. The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are:

agnāv (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. agnā) *agniḥ carati praviṣṭaḥ* AV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.; *pratika*, Vait. KŚ. Kauś. GG.

agnīṣomāv (MS. KS. MŚ. °ṣomā) *imaṁ su me* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚŚ.

ajasya nābhāv (MS. KS. nābhā) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

asāv (MS. KS. MŚ. asā) *anu mā . . .* MS. KS. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ.

āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (MS. KS. °tā) *avihrutam* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ.

imau bhadrau dhuryāv (MS. °yā) *abhi* SV. MS. JB.

usrāv etaṁ . . . VS. TS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. KŚ.: *usrā etaṁ . . .* VSK. KS.

In MŚ. the rule is violated; no v. l. reported.

goṣaphe śakulāv (VSK. °lā) *iva* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.

tāv (KS. tā) *ehi saṁ . . .* TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. HG. BṛhU.: *tāv iha saṁ . . .* AV.: *tāv ehi* (MG. tā eva) *vi . . .* AG. ŚG. PG. MG.: *tāv eha saṁ . . .* AB.

dikṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyaṇaḥ MS. MŚ.: *adīkṣiṣṭāyaṁ brāhmaṇo 'sāv amuṣya* . . . ApŚ.

daivya hotārāgnā (KS. AŚ. °gna, ŚŚ. °rā agna) *ājyasya vītam* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Since ŚŚ., if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °rāv, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ., or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*; the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °rau. No v. l. reported for ŚŚ.

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv (VSK. MS. KS. °kā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. MS. TB. ŚB. KS.

namucāv (VSK. MS. KS. °cā) *āsura sacā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv (MS. KS. *dadhā*) *idam* . . . TS. MS. KS. But MS. p.p. *dadhe*.

putram iva pītārāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *aśvinobhā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

praiśān sāmīdhenīr āghārāv ājyabhāgāv (KSA. *āghārā ājyabhāgā*) *āśrutam* TS. KSA.

madhavyau stokāv (MS. °kā) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS.

muṣkāv (VSK. *muṣkā*) *id asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS. °thām) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ.

yadā carīṣṇū mīlhunāv (MS. °nā) *abhūtām* RV. MS. N.

yo 'sāv (MU. 'sā) *āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv* (MU. 'sā) *aham* VS. MU.

rādhanīsīt samīprīcānāv (MS. MŚ. °si °nā) *asaṁ* . . . MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

viṣṇuḥ śipivīṣṭa †ūrāv (VSK. †ūrā) *āsannaḥ* VS. VSK.: *śipivīṣṭa †ūrā āsādyamānaḥ* KS.

sacetasāv (VSK. °sā, MS. *samokasau sacetasā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *samokasāv* (KS. °sā) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś.

samiddhe agnāv (VSK. MS. KS. *agnā*) *adhi māmahānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

samrājāv (MS. °jā) *asya bhuvanasya rājataḥ* RV. MS.

sarasvatīm aśvināv (VSK. MS. KS. °nā) *īndram agnim* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv (VSK. MS. KS. °kā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

upa (MS. *utā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °ṇā *ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

ṛtena sthūṇāv (MG. *ṛteva sthūṇā*) *adhi* . . . ApMB. HG. MG.

tena (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (MS. °ṇā) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avi*°) RV. MS. TB.

madhuś ca mādhasaś ca vāsantikāv (VSK. MS. KS. °kā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

viṣṇūvaruṇā (TB. °ṇāv) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB. °pā vām) MS. TB.

yāv (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

agniṁ sve yonāv (VSK. MS. KS. *yonā*) *abhār ukhā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ahāv (MS. KS. *ahā*) *anadatā hate* AV. TS. MS. KS.

ā tashāv (VSK. MS. KS. *tasthā*) *amṛtam divi* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

indravāhāv (KS. °hā) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ* RV. KS.

mitrāvaruṇāv (VSK. °ṇā, MS. *indrāvaruṇā*) *algābhyām* VS. VSK. MS.

vāsantikāv (KS. *ime vās*°, MS. KS. °tikā) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

śaiśirāv (MS. °rā, KS. *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ* TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

iṣaś corjaś ca śāradāv (VSK. MS. KS. °dā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ubhā dātārāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *iṣām rayiṇām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ko nu vām mitrāvaruṇāv (MS. °ṇā) *ṛtāyan* RV. MS. KB. ŚB.

tapas ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devī uśāsāv (VSK. MS. °sā) *aśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

daivyāv (VSK. °yā) *adhvaryū ā gatam* VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

dhanasātāv (VSK. MS. KS. °tā) *ihāvatu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

praharṣiṇo (KS. ms. °ṇam, ed. em.) *madirasya made mṛṣāsāv* (KS. °sā) *astu* . . . KS. ApŚ.

mahāntāv (MS. °tā) *indrāvaruṇā mahāvasū* RV. MS.

yajñāsya pakṣā (TS. °śāv) *ṛṣayo bhavanti* TS. MS. KS.

yat prthivyām yad urāv (VSK. MS. KS. *urā*) *antarikṣe* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yā (AV. omits) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS.† °bhā) *āyatāyām* AV. KS. TB.

yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsāt sapatnaḥ (TS. °varuṇāv *abhidāsati*) TS. MS.

imau (Kauś. *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °ṇaḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

rājānaḥ samitāv (VSK. MS. KS. °tā) *iva* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

vāyava ārohaṇavāhāv (KSA. °hā) *anaḍvāhau* TS. KSA.

veṇubhāram girāv (KSA. *girā*) *iva* TS. KSA. TB.

śacyā harī dhanutarāv (KS. °rā) *ataṣṭa* RV. KS.

śukraś ca śuciś ca graiṣmāv (VSK. MS. KS. °mā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śūdrāryāv (VSK. MS. KS. °yā) *asṛjjetām* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv (VSK. °nyā) [*ahorātre*] VS. VSK.

saṁ yāv apnastho (MS. *yā apnaḥstho*) *apaseva janān* RV. MS.

sajoṣasāv (VSK. °sā) *aśvinā danśobhiḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.

sahasrasā (RV. also °sām) *medhasātāv* (VSK. °tā) *iva tmanā* RV. (bis) VSK. KB. (This RV. repetition is omitted in *RVRep.*)

somārudrāv (MS. °drā) *iha su mṛdataṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS.

staumi devāv (MS. KS. devā) *aśvinau nāthito johavīmi* TS. MS. KS.

hatāghaśaṁsā (TB. °sāv) *ābharadvasū* MS. KS. TB.

hatāghaśaṁsāv (VSK. °sā) *ābhārṣtām vasu vāryāṇi* VS. VSK. TB.

hemantaśiśirāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *ṛtū* (TS. *ṛtūnām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

hotārāv (VSK. MS. °rā) *indram aśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

hotārāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *indram prathamā suvācā* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§889. The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are:

ubhayebhyaḥ pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau (VSK. *gaiṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK.

kuviṭ su no gaviṣṭaye (MS. KS. *gaiṣṭaye*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ.

ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau (VSK. *gaiṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK. AB. KB.

eko bahūnām asi manyav īditah (AV. *manya īditā*) RV. AV.

taṁ tvā ghṛtasnav (VSK. °sna) *īmahe* RV. SV. VSK. ŚB.

tava vāyav (VSK. *vāya*) *ṛtaspatē* RV. VS. VSK. ŚB.

nīyutvān vāyav (VSK. *vāya*) *ā gahi* RV. ArŚ. VS. VSK.

nīyudbhir vāyav (VSK. MS. KS. *vāya*) *iṣṭaye duroṇe* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

nīyudbhir (AV. *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha* . . . AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

maitrāvaruṇasya camasādhvaryav (MŚ. °ya) *ādrava (ehi)* TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

vasaṭ te viṣṇav (KS. *viṣṇa*) *āsa ā kṛṇomi* RV. SV. TS. KS. AŚ.

vy astabhnā (etc., §137) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VSK. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

sahasah sūnav (MS. KS. *sūna*) *āhuta* RV. TS. MS. KS.

§890. In the following *o* of voc. sing. is retained without change:

sa no mayobhūḥ pito (AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jørgensen] *pitav*) *āviśasva* (AŚ. *āviśeha*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB.

tāsv adhvaryav ādhāve . . . ŚŚ.: *tāsv adhvaryo indrāya* . . . AB. AŚ.

bṛhaspatisutasya ta (MS. *tā*; KS. omits) *indo* (MS. KS. *inda*) *indri*^o
 TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta inda indri*^o VSK.

INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891. In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (*abhinihita*), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324; the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892. On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the Prātiśākhya give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*rkṣu*).

§893. Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text.'

§894. Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV. instances, that:

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight.

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, l. c., p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten; except that at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

§895. If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f., Wackernagel I p. 325.

General practice of Vedic texts

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out; perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is: since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts; while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

Evidence of the variants

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases

in the AV.; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr. 138 (2. 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position.

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV., mentioned in §894. Thus: in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases; the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV. are very few (only 5); in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

Metrical passages

§901. The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902. When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV., written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7; MS. 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS. (10 to 6) and KS. (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers; they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV. school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

§903. When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904. Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

Prose passages

§905. In the prose variants the school texts of SV. show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittiriya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS. has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

Table of final a written or omitted after e and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj. school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait. school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr. school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc.	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items):

so adhvarān (AV. Kauś. 'dhvarān) *sa rtūn kalpayāti* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

anumate 'nu (KapS.† *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV. 'nv *idam manyasva*) AV. KS. KapS. (quoted in note to KS.): *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

nir amuṁ bhaja yo 'mitro asya TB.: *niṣ taṁ bhaja yo amitro asya* AV. *tatra śiśriye 'ja ekapādaḥ* AV.† 13. 1. 6: *tasmiñ chiśriye aja ekapāt* TB. *teṣāṁ yo ajyānim* (PG. 'jyānim) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajījim āvahāḥ*, but Jørgensen as other texts) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.

ro akṣare (NṛpU. 'kṣare) *parame vyoman* RV. AV. GB. TB. TA. ŚvetU. NṛpU. N.

yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. 'sti) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.

ye agnayah (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'gnayah) *samanasaḥ* (KS. adds *sacetasaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

taṁ tvā viśve avantu (AV. 'vantu) *devāḥ* AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor pāda but intended for triṣṭubh.

yo 'syēṣe dvipado yaś catuṣpadaḥ AV.: *ya īṣe asya* (MS. KS. * *īṣe yo asya*)
dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (both).

vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām (AV. 'ṅgi°, AŚ. *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS. *ahann ojaśine*; KS. †*śukro ahany ojaśye*;
 AŚ. 'hany ojaśinām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

sūryo ahobhir (KS. *suryo* [misprint] 'hobhir) *anu tvāvatu* KS. TB.

so asmān (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn*
kṛṇotu ŚŚ.

svām tanvaṁ (TS. TB. *tanuvaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *āśīśret*) TS. MS.
 KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS.
 reading to an *anuṣṭubh*.

agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhiḥ MS.: *agnir amṛto abhavad vayobhiḥ* (KS.
saḥobhiḥ) RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

na tā arvā reṇukakāto aśnute (AV. 'śnute) RV. AV. KS. TB. AŚ. Many
 AV. mss. read *aśnute*.

adhi brwantu te 'vantv (TS. TB. ApŚ. *avantv*) *asmān* RV. AV. VS. TS.
 MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

anīkair dveṣo ardaya (ŚŚ. 'rdaya) MS. ŚŚ.

annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB. 'smāsu) *dhatta* (MS. ApŚ. *dhehi*) VS. MS.
 KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

anyam te asman (NṛpU. 'sman) *nī vapantu senāḥ* RV. TS. NṛpU.

anyo- 'nyo (Vait.-*anyo*) *bhavati varṇo asya* TB. Vait.

avāsrjo apo (TB. 'po) *achā samudram* RV. MS. KS. TB.

pra vartaya divo aśmānam (AV. 'śmānam, v. l. aś°) *indra* RV. AV.

prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (TS. *aviṣyan*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB.

namo astu (MŚ. 'stu) *parāyate* AV. MŚ.

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

payo grheṣu payo 'stu tan naḥ MŚ.: *payo vatseṣu payo astu tan mayi*
 AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

ye agnayāḥ pāñcajanyaḥ (MŚ. *purīṣiṇaḥ*) VS. ŚB. MŚ.: *ye 'gnayāḥ*
purīṣyāḥ (KS. °ṣiṇaḥ) TS. KS. ApŚ. JUB.

dhātā samudro apa (AG. 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.: *dh° sa° abhayam*
kṛṇotu MG.

śīśū krīdantaḥ pari yāto adhvaram (AV. *aṇavam*, and 'rṇavam) RV. AV.
 MS. TB.

namo astu (VS. ŚB. KŚ. PG. NīlarU. 'stu) *sarpebhyāḥ* RVKh. VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. NīlarU.

ye 'do (MS. *amī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh. TS. MS. ApMB.

yo asyāḥ prthivyās tvaci TB. ApŚ.: *yo 'syāḥ* (so all mss. but one, and so
 Conc., but ed.† *asyāḥ*) *prthivyā adhi tvaci* MŚ.

yo naḥ svo (AV. *svo yo*) *araṇaḥ* (SV. 'raṇaḥ) RV. SV. AV. AG. ŚG. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 40, thinks of inserting *yo* in RV., tho he fails to note that AV. reads so.

vaiśvānaro adabdhās (AV. *no adabdhās*, TA. *me 'dabdhās*, MS. ApŚ. 'dabdhās) *tanūpāḥ* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB.

ko ambādadata (AŚ. 'mbā°) *dadat* MS. AŚ.

mayā so annam (AV. 'nnam) *atti yo vipaśyati* RV. AV.

indra vājeṣu no 'va (TB. *ava*, KS. *vaha*) RV. AV. SV. ArŚ. MS. KS. TB.

yad vā me api (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. *apa*) *gachati* AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

ye agnayo divo ye prthivyaḥ MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt* KS. (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)

ye agnidagdḥā ye anagnidagdḥāḥ (TB. Poona ed. † 'nagni°; so v. l. of AV.) RV. AV. TB. AŚ.: *ye agniṣvāttā ye 'nagniṣvāttāḥ* (VS. *anagni°*) VS. TB. ApŚ.

sā tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. *amo aham*, ApMB. *amūham*, MG. *āpy amo 'ham*) KS. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *sa tvam asy amo 'ham* AB.

kīkaśābhyo anūkyāt (ApMB. 'nū°) RV. AV. ApMB.

te asmat (TS. 'smat) *pāsān pra muñcantv enasaḥ* (TS. *añhasaḥ*) AV. TS. *divo antebhyas* (KS. 'nte°) *pari* RV. SV. KS.

yo adya (PB. 'dya) *saumyo* (AV. *senyo*) *vadhaḥ* AV. PB. AŚ.—Ppp. 'dya acc. to Roth.

vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi (TB. 'dhi) KS. TB.: *vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre* AV. *ye anneṣu* (VS. KS. 'nneṣu) *vividhyanti* VS. TS. MS. KS.

varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS. 'dhi) *nāke* TS. KS. TB.

rājā me prāṇo amṛtam (TB. 'mṛtam) VS. † MS. KS. TB.

idam (KS. *ā mā*) *varco* (AŚ. *rādho*) *agninā* (KS. 'gninā) *dattam āgāt* (AV. *āgan*, KS. *etu*) AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.

vṛṣāyamāno 'vrnūta (AV. *av°*) *somam* RV. AV. TB.

śatodaye 'bhimātiṣahe (PG. *abhi°*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG.

kṛṇvāno (KS. *kurvāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApŚ. † *anyān*, MS. *anyañ*, KŚ. † 'nyāñ) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

śṛṇvanty (PB. °tv) *āpo adha* (PB. 'dhah) *kṣarantiḥ* RV. PB.

so adhvarā (AB. 'dhvārā *karati*) *jātavedaḥ* AB. ŚB. Cadenced prose; cf. *kṛṇotu so . . .*

annapate 'nnasya (MS. KS. MŚ. MG. *an°*) *no dehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāṇāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. SMB. Intended for *triṣṭubh*.

ayaṁ yo asya yasya ta idam śiraḥ MŚ.: *ayaṁ yo 'si yasya ta idam śiraḥ* KS. ApŚ.

[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagataḥ* MŚ.: *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS. °*ṭha*) *ja*° KS. TA. ApŚ. So Conc.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads '*sya* for MŚ. without v. l.]

[*anamitraṃ no* (VSK. *me*) *adharāk* (AV. °*rāt*) AV. VSK.† KS. Conc. 'dharāk for VSK.]

[*bṛhaspate abhiṣaster* (AV. ed. 'bhi°) *amuñcaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. But read *abhi*° in AV.; see Whitney's note.]

§908. In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided: *namo 'stu* (TS. KS. *astu*) *nīlagrīvāya* (NīlarU. *nīlaśikhaṇḍāya*) VS. TS. KS. NīlarU. BṛhPDh.

viśvasmai bhūtāya dhruvo (TS. ApŚ. *bhūtāyādhvaro*) *astu* (TS. 'si, MŚ.† 'stu) *devāḥ* (TS. omits) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

ye apsu śadāṃsi (KS. 'psu *sa*°) *cakrire* MS. KS.

ye te 'ryaman (KS. *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāḥ* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a.

vājinām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān VSK.: *vājinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ.

yo 'gnim (AŚ. *agnim*) *hotāram avrthāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ.†

jātavedo maruto adbhis (TB. 'dbhis) *tamayitvā* TB. ApŚ.

kṣāmad devo 'ti duriṭāny (TA. MahānU. *ati duriṭāty*) *agnih* AV. TA. MahānU.

aghorebhyo 'tha (MS. *atha*) *ghorebhyah* MS. TA. MahānU.

yās ca devyo antān abhito tatantha SMB.: *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (mss. *tatantha*) MG. See §63. The meter is poor in any case.

§909. We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions:

anv adya no anumatiḥ (AV. Kauś. 'nu°) AV. MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

yān agnayo anvatapyanta (TS. 'nva°) *dhiṣṇyāḥ* AV. TS. MS.

ye asmin (KS. 'smīn) *mahaty arṇave* MS. KS. MŚ.

jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat AV.: *jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat* HG.

jyok śrotre 'dhi (HG. *adhi*) *jāgarat* AV. HG.

antarikṣe adhy (TS. KS. 'dhy) *āsate* TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

sarvābhyo abhayaṃ (TB. 'bhayaṃ) *karat* RV. AV. TB. N.

garbho asy (MS. 'sy) *oṣadhīnām* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.—Ppp. also 'sy (Barret JAOS 48. 38).

tanvo adya (MS. 'dya) *dadhātu me* AV. MS.

vasanto asyāsīd (VS. 'syāsīd) *ājyam* RV. AV. VS. TA. The meter of VS (with *ājiam*) seems easier.

satyam it tan na tvān (MS. °van) *anyo asti* (MS. 'sti) RV. MS. KS. TB.

The meter of MS. (*tuāvan*?) is inferior.

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV.

ūrubhyām te aṣṭhīvadbhyām (ApMB. 'ṣṭhī°) RV. AV. ApMB.

te asmā agnayo (MS. °ye, v. l. °yo) *draviṇam dattvā* MS. ApŚ.: *te 'smā agnaye draviṇāni dattvā* KS. The meter of MS. ApŚ. is very poor.

sviṣṭīm no abhi (KŚ. 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.: *sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.

sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK.† KŚ.† *adityā*; KS. *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ.

eko vo devo apy (AV. 'py) *atiṣṭhat* AV. MS.: *eko devo apy atiṣṭhat* TS. KS.

Only MS. is certainly inconsistent (*a* written but not pronounced).

bheṣajam gave 'svāya (MS. *aśvāya*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. LŚ.: *bheṣajam gave 'svāya puruṣāya* KS. In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya* to this pāda makes the elision of *a* better metrically.

mā va eno anyakṛtaṁ bhujema RV.: *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtaṁ bhujema* KS. In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent.

tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante VS. ŚB. (*a* not pronounced): *tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS. (*kavayo* looks like a secondary intrusion, cf. KS. in next form; without it *a-nu*° would have to be pronounced): *tām dhīrāso anudrīśya* (VSK. °dīśya) *yajante* (KS. *anudrīśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB. (*a* pronounced).

anyāns te asman (KS. *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāḥ* MS. KS. Both writings are metrical. VS. TS. have *anyam asman niva*° *tāḥ*, which is inferior to both MS. and KS.

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ. 'po) *aganīgan* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *agamat*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. MŚ. Writing and pronunciation are consistent in all texts except VS., where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted in reading, tho both are written.

yo agnau rudro yo apsv antaḥ AV. (intended for *triṣṭubh*, reading *agnau*, *apsu*, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short): *yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psv antaḥ* ŚirasU. (meant for *anuṣṭubh*; 'gnau, 'psu): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ. *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣu* TS. ApŚ. MŚ. (*triṣṭubh*; 'gnau, 'psu—inconsistent with the writing of TS. ApŚ.): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct Conc.) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu* KS. (writing and pronunciation consistent).

so *asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: so 'smān pātu (prose) TS.

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53:

abhayaṃ vo 'bhayaṃ no astu (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *abhayaṃ me astu* (AB.† 'stu) AB. ApŚ.

iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . *dyumnāyorje* (VS. ŚB.† *dyumna ūrje*) 'patyāya (VS.† ŚB.† *apa°*, TB.† *patyāya*, ApŚ. °*yorjapatyāya*) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

etāni te aghniye (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table; the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or 'ghniye).

vīvarto aṣṭācatvārīṃśaḥ (MS. 'ṣṭā°) MS. KS.: *vīvarto 'ṣṭā°* VS. TS. ŚB. *yo 'smān* (MS. MŚ. *asmān*) *dveṣṭi yaṃ* (AV. adds *ca*) *vayaṃ diviṣmaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. KBU. JUB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. HG. BDh. This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr. school, with 'smān in all others, if the editions are to be trusted. For other formulas containing it see the Conc. under it, and also: *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc.; *agne yat te tapas* (*tejas*, 'reis, śocis, haras) etc.; *tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi* etc.; *ny ahaṃ tam mṛdyāsaṃ yo tasmān* (ApŚ. 'smān) etc. MS. ApŚ.† 6. 18. 2; *abhy ahaṃ tam bhūyāsaṃ* etc.; *prāhaṃ tam atibhūyāsaṃ* (ApŚ. †*abhi°*) etc.; *vy asau yo* etc.; *durmitrās* (or the like) etc.

devānām tvā patnīr devīr . . . *sadhasṭhe aṅgirasvad* (TS. 'ṅgi°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *aditiṣ tvā* (°*tis tvā*), *dhiṣaṇās tvā*, *varūtrayo* (etc.), *gnās tvā*.

ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (MS. KS. *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *medhāyai manase*, *sarasvatyai pūṣṇe*, and *dikṣāyai tapase*.

agneḥ (also, *indrasya*, *viśveṣām devānām*) *priyaṃ pātho 'pīhi* (TS. *apīhi*) VS. 8. 50, VSK. 8. 22. 4, TS. ŚB. 11. 5. 9. 12.

yo maitasyā diṣo abhidāsāt . . . (five formulas) MS.: *agnim* (also, *indram*, *mītrāvaruṇau*, *somaṃ*) *sa* (TB. *sa diṣām* . . . *devatānām*) *rchatu yo maitasyai* (KS. °*syā*) *diṣo 'bhidāsati* KS. TB. ApŚ.

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS. 'grīyāya) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. *namo agrevadhāya* (MS. KS. 'gre°) . . . VS. MS. TS. KS.

namo aparasadbhyaḥ (PB. and v. l. of MŚ. 'para°) PB. MŚ.

namo 'śvebhyo (TS. *aś°*) 'śvapatibhyaś *ca* . . . VS. TS.† MS. KS.

namas te astu (PB. JB. LŚ. SMB. 'stu) VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. PB. JB.

ŚB. TB. TA. TAA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB ApG. Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except in SV. texts, which read *'stu*.

namo vo 'stu (AŚ. ŚŚ. *astu*) VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. SMB. Here, in curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB. reads *astu* according to Jørgensen's edition (not in the Conc.), while *'stu* is read by VS. and Vait.

tebhyo namo astu (PG. *'stu*) VS. MS. KS. PG. ŚB.

namo 'gnaya (ApŚ. *agnaya*) *upadraṣṭre* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

namo astu (VS. ŚB. *'stu*) *rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe* (VS. KS. ŚB. *'ntari°*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Also: *namo astu* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *'stu*) *ru° ye divi* (and, *prthivyān*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaś (KS. *'rbha°*) *ca* . . . VS. KS.: *namo brhadbhyo 'rbhakebhyaś ca* . . . MS. MŚ.

namo rathibhyo arathebhyaś (TS. *'rathe°*) *ca* . . . VS. TS.

yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam MŚ.: *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena jeṣam* TS.

rudro 'gnūt (MS. *agnūt*) MS. TA. ŚŚ.

rudro 'dhīpatiḥ (MS. *adhi°*) MS. TA.

tasyāpo apsarasa (KS.† *'psa°*, MS. *'psarasā*) *ūrjo nāma* (TS. *'psaraso mudāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dhūrta (KS. *°te*) *namas te astu* (KS. *'stu*) KS. ApŚ.: *dhūrte namante* (?) *astu* MS.

pratya etā vāmā . . . *yajamāno 'grabhūd* (ŚŚ. *agra°*) . . . KB. ŚŚ.

prāṇo agniḥ . . . PrāṇāgU.: *prāṇo 'gniḥ* . . . MU.

madhu hutam indratame agnau (LŚ. *'gnau*) VS. ŚB. LŚ.: *hutam havir* . . . *indratame 'gnau* MS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

ye devā divibhāgā (MS. *°gāḥ stha*) *ye antarikṣabhāgā* (TS. KS. *'ntari°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

śivam prajābhyo 'hiṁsantam (KS.† *ahin°*) . . . *sadhasṭhe* (VS. ŚB.° *sthād*) *agnim* (TS. *'gnim*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.—KS. punctuates before *agnim*, so that elision of *a* is impossible.

sajūr abdo ayavobhiḥ (TS. ApŚ. *'yāvabhiḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

samidhaḥ-samidho 'gnē-'gna (ŚŚ. *°dho agna*; MŚ.† *°dho 'gnā*) *ājyasya vyantu* AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *samidho agna* (MS. *agnā*) *ājyasya* . . . MS. KS. TB. MŚ.

suyame me adya . . . ApŚ.: *sūyame me 'dya* . . . MS.

agnir adhi viyatto asyām KS.: *agnir viyatto 'syām* TS.

agne yat te 'rcis (MS. *arcis*) *tena* . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

aṅgirasō me asya (KS. *'sya*) *yajñasya prātaranuvākair ahaṣuḥ* MS. KS.

taṁ (KS.† *tat*) *tvendragraha* . . . *saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ. *asti*) *tena* KS.
ApŚ.: *taṁ tvā pra viśāmi* . . . *saha yan me 'sti tena* AV.

diśo abhy abhūd ayam MS. KS. MŚ.: *diśo 'bhy ayaṁ rājābhūt* TS. TB.
Semblance of meter; perhaps to be classed with metrical variants.
antimitraś (TS. *antyami*°) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS. 'mitraś) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS.
TS. MS. KS.

andho achetaḥ (TS. ApŚ. 'chetaḥ) VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. Ed. of KS. 'chetaḥ,
but the sole ms. *aśchetaḥ*.

apāgne agnim (TS. MS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. 'gnim) *āmādaṁ jahi* VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

apsu dhautasya . . . *yo aśvasanis* (KS. 'śva°) . . . MS. KS.: . . . *yo*
bhakṣo aśvasanir . . . TS.

aśvibhyāṁ tiroahnīyānām (MŚ. *tirohnyānām*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ.
MŚ. Also: *tiroahnīyān* (MŚ. *aśvibhyāṁ tirohnyān*) *somān pras-*
thitān preṣya ApŚ. MŚ.

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. 'dhvara āsthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāḥ, ApŚ.
adhvare sthāt) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

āpo devīr agrepuvo agrepuvo . . . TS. TB.: *devīr āpo 'greguwo 'grenīyo*
. . . MS. MŚ.: *devīr āpo agreguvaḥ premaṁ* . . . KS.

ye devāḥ puraḥsado (so also TS., for which Conc.† *paraḥ*°) 'gninetrā
(MS. *agni*°) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh.

dhūrva taṁ yo 'smān dhūrvati VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhvara dhvarantaṁ yo*
asmān dhvarāt MS.

agnis te 'graṁ . . . TS.: *agniṣ te agraṁ* . . . MŚ.

somo 'smākaṁ (KS. *asm*°) *brāhmaṇānām rājā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

svadhā pītṛbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyaḥ (AV. *antar*°; GG.† 'ntarī°) AV. ApŚ.
MŚ. GG. HG.

yo asmi so asmi AV.: *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS. KS. AB.: *yo 'ham asmi sa*
san yaje TB. ApŚ.

tutho vo viśavedā vibhajatu varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS. 'dhi) *nāke* . . . TS. MS.
KS.

nirasto aghaśaṁsaḥ (ApŚ. 'gha°) KS. ApŚ.

[*devo narūśaṁso 'gnau* (ŚŚ.† 'gnā) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ. ŚŚ.
Conc. quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ.]

[*yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā brhaspataye 'pavathās* . . . JB.: *yena rūpeṇa*
prajāpataye †*vapathās* (Conc. *ava*°) . . . KS.]

§911. Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and
initial *a* occur among the variants. For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-
tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338. In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*; but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple:

tve ā (SV. *twā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. A loc. in RV. is replaced by an instr. in SV., with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*.

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. Followed by: *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyataḥ* RV. AV. The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*; so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV. reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second.

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc. we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*:

dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣa VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.; the Conc. quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK. But the actual text is *urv*. If the text as printed (with *antarikṣa*, not *°kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā° urv antarikṣam* AV. TS.

SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *r*

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rig-vedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-r* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*. This is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2. 11) and VPr. 4. 48 (which gives *a-r* for *ā-r* and makes no reference to *a-r*, implying no change).

§914. Taittiriya texts and KS. write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*, as prescribed by TPr. 10. 8. So does LŚ. in the single variant noted.

§915. The rule of APr. 3. 46 is like that of TPr., *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r*. But the mss. of AV., according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *r* is not followed by a sibilant; when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-r* (because of *svrabhakti*, Whitney on APr. 1. 101). There are exceptions in the mss., and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss. or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc.) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss., namely, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-r*. Both Vait. and Kauś. sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows; the instances recorded are few.

§916. *Maitrāyaṇīya* texts regularly write *ā-r* and *a-r* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*; so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* (°*yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *r* in MS.; these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919: *yatrā ṛṣayo jagmuḥ* and *yenā ṛṣayas tapasā* . . . There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-r* in MS.:

savitre tvarbhumate (VS. ŚB. *tva ṛbhu*°, MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. This sandhi is unique among the MS. variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read *svarbhū*°; but p.p. *twā, ṛbhu*°. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267aα, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *r*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS.; attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *r*:

savitre tvarbhumate (VS. ŚB. *tva ṛbhu*°, MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. See §916.

yad dīdayac chavasa (MS. °*yañ śavasa*; TS. °*sā*) *ṛtaprajāta* (KS. *chav-asarta*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. This is the only case in which MS. shortens *ā* to *a*; see §916. The TS. reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Tait. practice.

dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuḥ (TS. KSA. *tathartuḥ*, MŚ. *tathā ṛtuḥ*)

RV. VS. TS. KSA. MŚ.

agnijihvebhyas (MS. *agnihvarebhyas*) *tvartāyubhya[h]* (MS. *tvā ṛtā*°) . . . TS. MS. KS.

yatha ṛṇaṁ saṁnayāmasi (AV. *yatharṇaṁ saṁnayanti*) RV. AV.

yatha ṛtava (AV. TA. *yathartava*) *ṛtubhir yanti sādhu* (AV. *sākam*, TA. *klptāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

svāha ṛṣabham (MS. *svāhā ṛṣ*°, TB. *svāharṣ*°) . . . VS. MS. TB.

viśvakarma ṛṣiḥ (MS. °*mā ṛṣiḥ*, KS. °*marṣiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tapasarṣayaḥ (MahānU. °*saṛṣayaḥ*) *swar* (TB. *svaṛ*) *anvavindan* TB. TA.

MahānU. The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāṇ. 6. 1. 128.

yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmiḥ AV.: *yo vām ratha rjuraśmiḥ satya-dharmā* TS. MS. KS. Here only AV. has this sandhi; the other texts stand for *rathas* plus *rju*°. Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation *ratharju*°, with double crasis, even in the YV. texts.

[*viśvādhiko rudro maharṣiḥ* (TA. Conc. *maharṣiḥ*, but Poona ed. correctly *maharṣiḥ*) TA. MahānU.]

§919. The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *r*:

yatra ṛṣayo (MS. *yatrā* *r*°, KS. *yatrar*°) *jagmuḥ* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. On the MS. forms of this and the next cf. §916.

yena ṛṣayas (MS. MŚ. *yenā* *r*°, TS. KS. ApŚ. *yenar*°) *tapasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

yatrarṣayah (Kauś. *yatra ṛṣ*°) *prathamajā ye* (Kauś. °*jāḥ*, om. *ye*) *purā-ṇāḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś.

śāradena (also, *śaiśireṇa*, *vasantena*, *hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS. TB. °*nar-tunā*) . . . VS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ.

ṛtuṣṭhā (MS. °*āḥ*, KS. °*ās*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS. *sthartusprśah*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ṛtava (KS. °*vas*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS.† *sthartā*°) VS. KS. ŚB.: *ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhah* TS.

medhām sapta ṛṣayo (ApMB. *saptar*°) *daduḥ* ApMB. RVKh. But Scheftelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh.

svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpṇuta rbhavaḥ (TB. [so Poona ed.] ApŚ. *tṛpṇu-tarbhavaḥ*) RV. TB. ApŚ.

brāhmaṇam adya ṛdhyāsam (KS. *adyardh*°) . . . MS. KS. MŚ.

tasya ṛksāmāny (TS. KS. *tasyark*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tvām adya ṛṣa ārṣeya ṛṣiṇām (KS.† TB. *adyarṣa ārṣeyarṣiṇām*) . . . VS. MS. KS. TB.

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB. *avartyai* †*vadhā*°, so Poona ed.) VS. TB.

yathāham bharata ṛṣabha (ŚŚ. *bharatarṣ*°) AB. ŚŚ. The only irregular case in ŚŚ. or any RV. text among the variants. No v. l. is recorded.

yebhyo na ṛte (TS. KŚ. *narte*) *pavate dhāma kimcana* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *varuṇasya ṛtasadanam* (KS. °*syarta*°) *asi* VS. KS. ŚB.

varuṇasya ṛtasadany (ApŚ. °*syarta*°) *asi* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

ṛtīyasya savanasya rbumato (ApŚ. °*nasyarbhū*°) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

tenarṣiṇā (MS. AŚ. *tena ṛṣiṇā*) . . . TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

śrula ṛṣim (TB. *śrutarṣim*) *ugram abhimātiṣāham* RV. MS. TB.

śivo me saptarṣiṇ (KŚ. MŚ. *sapta ṛṣiṇ*) . . . TS. Vait. KŚ. MŚ. Note *ar* in Vait. even before a sibilant; cf. §915.

satyaś (VS. *śukraś*) *ca r̥tapās* (TS. KS. *carta*°) *cātyanhāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. *saptarṣayah* (VS. MS. *sapta r*°) *sapta dhāma priyāṇi* VS. TS. MS. KS.

TB. In TS. 1. 5. 3. 2b *sapta rṣ*° is read without sandhi merely because a *kaṇḍikā* ends here; it is no real exception to the rule.

sapta rṣayo (TS. KS. *saptar*°) *'srjyanta* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

saptarṣiṇām (ApŚ. Kauś. *saptar*°) *sukṛtām yatra lokaḥ* Vait. KŚ. MŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. Note *ar* in Kauś. even before a sibilant (one ms. *ar*); cf. §915.

saptarṣiṇ (ApŚ. *saptarṣiṇ*) *jinva* ApŚ. KŚ.

upahūtā dhenuḥ (ŚB. *gāvah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB. °*bhāḥ*, AŚ. ŚŚ.† *saharṣabhā*)

TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Irregular sandhi in ŚB.

upa mā (AŚ. ŚŚ. *mām*) *dhenuḥ saharṣabhā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *saharṣ*°) . . . TB.

AŚ. ŚŚ.

indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāvrdhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *indra r̥bhubhir brahmaṇā samvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

indro vidyāt saha r̥ṣibhiḥ (KS. *saharṣ*°) RV. AV. KS. ApMB. In ApMB.

we must certainly read *saharṣibhiḥ* with four mss., in accord with Tait. usage; Winternitz prints *saha r*° with only one ms.

upa r̥ṣabhasya (TB. LŚ. *uparṣ*°) *retasi* (AV. *yad retah*) RV. AV. TB. LŚ.

indrāya r̥ṣabheṇa VS.: *indrāyar̥ṣabheṇāśvibhyām sarasvatyai* TB.

r̥ṇān no nar̥nam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nen na r̥ṇān r̥ṇava it samānaḥ* TA.:
nem na r̥ṇān r̥ṇavān īpsamānaḥ MS. Only AV. has this sandhi

(*na, r̥nam*); the others *nas, r-*.

yatrā sapta r̥ṣiṇ (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣiṇ*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS.

MS. KS. N.

yathaika r̥ṣir (KS. °*karṣir*) *viḥvānate* KS. TA. ApŚ. Only KS. has this sandhi; the others *eka(h) r̥ṣir*, two words.

SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920. On this subject the variants throw little new light. School tendencies are seldom discernible; when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence.

I. Final *n* before initial vowels

§921. All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre-historically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny*. These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics; they hardly belong in this place.

1. Final *ān* before vowels

§922. The Prātiśākhya in general (RPr. 284 [4. 26], VPr. 3. 141, APr. 2. 27) make *anusvāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions; Whitney's note says that AV. more often retains *n*. TPr. 9. 20–24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitney's note (p. 225) states that TS. retains *n* five times out of six.

§923. Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS. show *anusvāra* more often than *n*; but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS. show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr. texts, when they change *n* to *anusvāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ā* to *a*; cf. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening of *ā* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s*-aorists (only one of the last).

§924. The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are:

agnis t̄ān (MS. † *tañ*, KS. † *t̄āñ*, TS. TA. *agnis t̄āñ*) *agre pra* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS. TA. The same with *vāyuṣ* (AV. † *t̄ān*).

agne devāñ (MS. *devañ*, ŚG. *devāñ*) *ihā vaha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The isolated form of ŚG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

aty anyān (VS. ŚB. *anyāñ*) *agām nānyān* (VS. ŚB. *nānyāñ*) *upāgām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ.

athā (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS. twice † *°nāñ*; TS. twice † *°nāñ*, once *°nāñ*) *indro me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

asmāñ (MS. KS. *asmāñ*) *u devā* . . . RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS.

iḍasmāñ anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ. MŚ.: *iḍaivāsmāñ anu vastām vratena* AV.

unnayāmi svāñ (MS. *svañ*, AV. *svāñ*) *aham* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

etat tvam deva soma . . . *devāñ* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *devāñ*) *upāgāh* VS. KS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: . . . *devāñ upāvṛtaḥ* MS.

kṛṇvāno (KS. *kurvāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApŚ. † *anyāñ*, KŚ. *'nyāñ*) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

jambhuyais (KS. *°yebhis*) *taskarān* (KS. *°rāñ*) *uta* VS. TS. KS.: *jambhābhyāñ taskarān* (p.p. *°rāñ*) *uta* MS.

purodāśāñ (MŚ. *°śañ*, GB. Vait. *°śāñ*) *alamkuru* TS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt TS.: *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat* MS.:
maiṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt KS.

yān (AV. TS. MS. KS. Vait. *yān*) *āvaha uśato deva devān* AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Vait.

yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta AV.: *yās ca devīr* (SMB. *devyo*) *antān* etc.
ApMB. SMB. HG.: *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān* etc. MG.

rakṣohāmitrān (VS. °trān) *apabādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.
KS.

vājo devān (MS. KS. *devān*) *ṛtubhiḥ kalpayāti* VS. TS. MS. KS.

sarvān (MS. °vañ) *agnīnr apsuśado huve vah* (MS. omits *vah*) TS. MS.
AV.: *śivān agnīn apsuśado havāmahe* AV.

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś.: *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS.† TB. TAA. ApŚ.
so asmān (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn*
kr̥notu ŚŚ.

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV.

§925. Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following:

agnīḥ pravīdvān (MS. °vañ, KS. °vāñ) *iha tat . . .* MS. KS. ApŚ.

idāvān (MS. °vān) *eṣo asura prajāvān* RV. TS. MS. KS.

iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir . . . āśīrvān (ApŚ. °vān) *atharvabhiḥ* KS. ApŚ.

cikītvān (MŚ. °vān) *anu manyatām* TS. KS. MŚ.

pumān enaṁ tanuta ut kr̥ṇatti RV.: *pumān enad vayaty udgr̥ṇatti* AV.

viśalyo vāṇavān (TS. MS. KS. *bā°*; MS. °vañ, v. l. °vān; KS. NilarU.
°vān) *uta* VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU.

payasvān (TS. TB. ApMB. °vāñ) *agna āgamam* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

pra yo jajñe vidvān (AV. *vidvān*) *asya bandhum* (AV. °dhuh) AV. TS. KS.
haviṣmān (KS. °mān) *astu sūryaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

[*adha tviṣīmān abhy ojasā . . .* RV. SV.† (Conc. *tviṣīmān* for SV.)]

§926. We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form:

savitā jyotir ud ayān (KS. *ayān*, MS. *ayañ*) *ajasram* RV. VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.

2. Final *īn* and *ūn* before vowels

§927. For this sandhi RPr. 289 (4. 29) requires *īnr*, *ūnr*. The other
Prs. allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than
RV. See APr. 2. 29 and Whitney's note; TPr. 9. 20 and Whitney's
note; VPr. 3. 140. The variants include very few cases, not enough to
justify deductions:

sarvān (MS. °vañ) *agnīnr apsuśado huve vah* (MS. omits *vah*) TS. MS.

AB.: *śivān agnīn apsuśado havāmahe* AV.

padā pañīnr (SV. *pañin*) *arādhasaḥ* RV. SV. AV.

ṛtūnr (TB. *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* . . . RV. AV. MS. TB.

ṛtūn (AV. *ṛtūnr*) *utsrjate vaśi* AV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

[*tisro bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS. °*yaṇs*) *trīnr uta dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

In this variant the printed text of MS. reads *†trīnr*, with nasal consonant *n*, instead of *trīnr*. This reading, which the Conc. ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīnr*.]

3. Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems:

asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy . . . AV.: *asmin brahmaṇy asmin kṣatre* (ŚŚ. adds 'smin *karmaṇy*) . . . KS. ŚŚ.: *asmin brahmann* . . . *asmin karmann* (PG. *karmaṇy*) . . . TS. ApŚ. PG.: *te naḥ pāntv asmin brahmaṇy asyām pūrodhāyām asmin karmaṇy* . . . MS.

ātmann (IśāU. °*ny*) *evānupaśyati* VS. IśāU.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS. *ahann ojaśine*; KS.† *śukro ahany ojaśye*; AŚ. 'hany *ojaśinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

[*divye dhāmann* (once °*ny* acc. to Conc.) *upahūtaḥ* (once °*tā*) TB. (both).

But Poona ed. *dhāmann* both times.]

[*tr̥tīye dhāmaṇy abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TS. MahānU.

So Conc., but TA. MahānU. both have *dhāmāny*, acc. plur.]

One isolated case concerning verb forms:

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajann agniḥ*) . . . KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 51.

II. Final *n* before initial consonants

§929. Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV.

1. Final *n* before *c*

§930. RPr. 228 (4. 4) requires ñ; but numerous exceptions are mentioned; cf. 293f. (4. 32). VPr. 3. 133 and APr. 2. 26 require *ñs*, and so does TPr. 5. 20f., with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr. I. c. says that this rule is universally followed in the mss. and text of AV., a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV. be excluded from consideration (the Pr. in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV. 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are:

acikilvāñ (AV. °vāñś) *cikituśaś cid atra* RV. AV.
anaḍvāñś (TS. °vāñ) *ca me* VS. TS. KS.: *dhenuś cānaḍvāñś ca* MS. MŚ.
asmāñś (RV. KS. *asmāñ*) *cakre mānyasya medhā* RV. MS. KS. Most
 mss. of MS. *asmāñ* (with dental *n*); v. l. of KS. *asmāñś*.
ghoṣeṇāmivāñś cātayata (PB. °mivāñ *cātayadhwam*) TB. PB. ApŚ.
tām airayañś candramasi svadhābhīḥ MS. KS.: *yām airayañś* (TS. ° *yañ*)
 etc. VS. TS. ŚB.
mahaḥ pitum papivāñ (AV. 20, °vāñ) *cārv annā* RV. AV.
vajriñ (AV. 20, SV. *vajriñ*) *citrābhīr ūtibhīḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS.
asmāñ (SV. *asmāñ*) *citrābhīr avatād abhiṣṭibhīḥ* RV. SV.

2. Final *n* before *t*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also. RPr. 295 (4. 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done. So also TPr. 6. 14. In the few variants found, the RV. and TS. schools, and KS., generally keep the nasal unchanged. On the other hand APr. 2. 26 and VPr. 3. 134 require *ñs*, tho both allow exceptions. The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith; and Maitr. texts seem also to favor *ñs*. But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive. Besides the writings *n* and *ñs*, a couple of cases of *ñ* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below; probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*.

§932. The following variants occur;

agnir āyusmāñ sa vanaspatibhīr āyusmāñ (PG. KS. °māñś) *tena* (KS. *tasyā*) . . . TS. KS. PG. ApMB. (in the last with punctuation after *āyusmāñ*).
aśmañś (KS. *aśman*) *te kṣut* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.
ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayah TB.: *ihaiva san* (MŚ. *sañś*) *tatra santam*
tvagne TB. AŚ. MŚ.
tasmīn (Vait. MŚ. °mīñś) *tad eno* . . . RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ.
tisro bhūmīr dhārayan (MS. °yañś) *trīñr* (MS. text *†trīñr*) *uta dyūn* RV.
 TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
paśūñś (RV. *paśūn*) *tāñś cakre vāyavyān* RV. AV. VS. TA.
pūṣaṇ (ŚB. TB. *pūṣaṇś*) *tava vrata vayam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
śarman (MS. *śarmañś*) *te syāma* . . . MS. KS. TA.: *tava syāma śarmañś*
trivarūtha . . . VS.: *tava syām śarman trivarūtha* . . . TS.
dhāman (AG. *dhāmañ*) *te viśvam* . . . RV. VS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG.
brahmañś (MS. KS. *brahmāñś*) *tvam* (MŚ. *tvam me*) *brahmāsi* VS. MS.
 KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *brahmāñ* (TB. °māññ) *tvam rājan brahmāsi* TS. TB.
 ApŚ. (in the last with punctuation after *brahmāñ*).

[*brahman tvam asi* . . . MahānU.; acc. to Conc. *brahman* etc. in TA.; but the Poona ed. of TA. reads *brahman*.]

3. Final *n* before *j*

§933. The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhya: RPr. 228 (4. 4), APr. 2. 11, TPr. 5. 24, VPr. 4. 92. For *ñ* the spelling *n̐* occurs very commonly in mss. of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV. mss., according to Whitney (note to APr. 1. c.), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed.; Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *n̐* in all the AV. variants; and also in SV. in the two variants recorded there. (But in ArS. once *ñ*.) Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

§934. The variants from VS. and ŚB., following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear; his note on VPr. 1. c. (*Ist.* 4. 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss. follow the Prātiśākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss. keep dental *n̐*; if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS. and ŚB. on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm. on VPr. 4. 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayam vājāñ jayatu*, VS. 5. 37, which Weber prints *vājāñ*.

§935. According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MŚ. 1. 6. 3. 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *grhāñ juḡupataṁ yuvam* with a majority of his mss., but against that which he regards as the best; its reading is *grhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS. passage according to Von Schroeder.—KS. usually reads *ñ*, but once *n* (*yat te asmin* etc., below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *n̐* (cf. above).

§936. The following are the variants:

adyā devāñ (VS. *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāḥ* RV. VS. TS. KSA.
ahñś ca sarvān (TS. KS. *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS. °*ya*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
āyusmāñ (PG. ApMB. °*māñ*; RVKh. VS. °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭir* . . . RVKh.
 AV. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Scheftelowitz reads *āyusmāñ* for RVKh. The mss. of PG. have corruptly *āyusyam*.

kam agaṇ (AV. *agaṇ*) *janayopanaḥ* RV. AV. N.
garbhaḥ saṁjāyase punaḥ MS.: *garbhe saṇ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. *saṇ-*) *j° p°*
 RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
tam arcīṣā sphūrjayaṇ (AV. *°yaṇ*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV.
tvam etāṇ (AV. *etāṇ*) *janarājño dvir daśa* RV. AV
te asmiṇ (TS. KS. *asmiṇ*) *javam ādadhuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
devān (RV. TB. *devāṇ*) *jigāti sumnayuḥ* RV. MS. ŚB. TB.
paśyaṇ (AV. *°yaṇ*) *janmāni sūrya* RV. AV. ArS. N.
pitṛṇ (KŚ. *pitṛṇ*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ojasā pitṛbhyah*
pitṛṇ jinva MS.
prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāḥ MS.: *prajā vikṛṇvaṇ* (ApŚ. *vikurvaṇ*)
janayan virūpam (ApŚ. *°pāḥ*) KS. ApŚ.
praty ajātān (AV. *°tān*, TS. KS. TA. *°tāṇ*) *jātavedo nudasva* AV. VS.
 VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA.
māre asman maghavaṇ (SV. *°vaṇ*) *jyok kaḥ* RV. SV.
yat te asmiṇ ghora āsan juhomi KS.: *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.:
yasyās te ghora āsan ju° VS. ŚB.: *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsaṇ ju°* TS.
 ApŚ. Exception in KS.
yāṇs (TA. Poona ed. *†yās*) *te soma prāṇāṇs tān* (Poona ed. *tān*; MahānU.
tāṇ) *juhomi* TA. MahānU.
vibhrājaṇ (AV. SV. *°jaṇ*) *jyotiṣā svaḥ* RV. AV. SV.
vṛtrāṇi vṛtrahaṇ (AV. *°haṇ*) *jahi* RV. AV.
satyāṇṛte avapaśyaṇ (AV. *°yaṇ*; MS. *°yan*) *janānām* RV. AV. TS. MS.
 ApMB. This is quoted by APr. 2. 11 as an example of *ñ* before *j*!
saptarṣīṇ (KŚ. *saptarṣīṇ*) *jinva* KŚ. ApŚ.
[grhān (MŚ. *grhāṇ*, read *grhān*, see above, §935) *jugupatam yuvam* MS.
 MŚ.]

4. Final *n* before *ś*

§937. Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires *ñ*, which however is often written *n*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV. and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*). But in the single variant noted from the YV. Saṁhitās, TS. alone has this regular *ñ-ch*; MS. and VS. keep *ś* unchanged, MS. writing *ñ* before it and VS. *n*; the sole ms. of KSA. reads like VS., but von Schroeder emended to *ñ-ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin with this variant:

ādityāṇ chmaśrubhiḥ (VS. and ms. of KSA. *°tyāṇ śma°*, MS. *°tyāṇ śma°*)
 VS. TS. MS. KSA,

asmiñ (AV. *asmiñ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV. AV.

tām naḥ pūṣaṇ chivatamām erayasva HG.: *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV. *pūṣaṇ*) *chi*° . . . RV. AV. ApMB.

divi ṣaṇ (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *saṇ*) *chukra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.

maghavañ (AV. SV. PB. TB. Conc. °*vañ*, TB. Poona ed. °*vañ*) *chagdhī* . . . RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU.

yācchreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ chūra jinva RV.: *yāvacchreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ chūra* . . . AV.

yat te rājañ (AG. *rājañ*) *chṛtaṁ haviḥ* RV. AG. ŚG.

sūro na rurukvāñ (SV. °*vāñ*) *chatātmā* RV. SV.

parārciṣā mūradevāñ (AV. °*vāñ*) *chrñīhi* RV. AV.

pratyañcam arkam anayañ (AV. °*yañ*) *chacībhiḥ* RV. AV.

śataṁ hemantāñ (AV. °*tāñ*) *chatam u vasantān* RV. AV. N.

5. Final *n* before *s*

§938. Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by APr. 2. 9 and TPr. 5. 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr. 236 (4. 6); cf. the divergent views recorded in VPr. 4. 14f. It is quite common in all texts; likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *n* before *s*. Cf. Wackernagel I §282. The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*; most of them concern *sañ*: *sañ*, in the latter case the preposition *sañ* being felt as involved.

brahman (LŚ.* *brahmañ*) *stoṣyāmaḥ praśāstaḥ* KB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

sasavān sañ (MS. *sañ*) *stūyase* . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The p.p. of MS. *sañ*; all sañh. mss. *sañ*. The other texts all actually read *sant*, except KS. *sañ*.

pumāñsañ vardhatām mayi ŚG. (Conc. says that this is an error for *pumāñ sañvar*°, but the text is correct; see §97): *pumāñ sañ-vartatām mayi* PG.

jihvā pavitram aśvināsan (TB. °*nā sañ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§939. To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which *k* is alternatively added after final *n* before *s*: *pratyañ* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.* TB. *pratyañk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (with var.) AV. VS. VSK. MS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Poona ed. of TB. *pratyañ*.

prāñ (VS. TB. *prāñk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Again Poona ed. of TB. *prāñ*.

6. Final *n* before *p*

§940. The only cases noted concern *nṛñṣ* or *nṛñḥ* for *nṛn*; since this variation really concerns final *s* before *k* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965.

7. Final *n* before *k*

§941. Only a single case has been noted; AV. writes *jayaṃ* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc. would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography: *saṃjayan* (AV. ed. *jayaṃ*) *kṣetrāṇi* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

8. Final *n* before *y*

§942. See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr. 3. 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d. *dadhanwān* (MS. KS. °*vān*; VS. ŚB. TB. °*vā*) *yo naryo apsv antar ā* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

9. Final *n* before *l*

§943. Two variants:

agniṣ ṭān (VS. *ṭān*, AŚ. *ṭāl*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (etc.) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agniṣ ṭān asmāt* . . . AV. MŚ. Inconsistent with RPr. 227 (4. 4) and Wackernagel I §281b; the VS. reading also inconsistent with VPr. 4. 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf. further APr. 2. 35, TPr. 5. 26. A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts.

eṣa me 'muṣmīn (GB. 'muṣmīn_l, Gaastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB. GB.† 2. 5. 8.

[*viṣṇus tryaksareṇa trīn_l lokān* (VSK. *trīn imān_l lokān*; TS.† *trīn lokān*) . . . VS. VSK. TS.]

10. Final *n* before *v*

§944. One variant:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśivān*) *voce* RV. SV. N. Cf. RPr. 287 (4. 28), APr. 2. 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *ṇ*

§945. The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *ṇ* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word. (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *ṇ*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170.)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable; one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittiriya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles.

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *ṇ*, while Taittiriya texts generally alter to *ṇ*; but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants.

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittiriya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV. and MS., which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *ṇ*; and yet, as we have said, Tait. texts generally favor lingualization.

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*:

svaṛ ṇa (TS. ApŚ. *suvaṛ na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.* *gharma*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *jyotiḥ*, *śukraḥ*, *sūryaḥ*, *arkaḥ*; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.). Only TS. has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ.)

svaṛ ṇa (TS. *suvaṛ na*) *jyotiḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

asya sutasya svāṛ ṇa (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṇa*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

āśīr ṇa (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *ūrjam* . . . AV. MS. Vait. MŚ.

anuttam ā te maghavan nakīr nu (MS. *ṇu*) RV. VS. MS. KS. The mss. of MS. read corruptly *nakīrṇu*; p.p. *nakīḥ*, *tu*.

vṛtratūr no (TB. *ṇo*) . . . MS. TB. (two variants in the same passage).

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word:

pra ṇo naya vasyo acha RV.: *pra no naya prataraṁ vasyo acha* RV.

pra ṇa (SV. MS. PB. *na*) *āyūṅṣi* . . . RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. VSK. MS.

KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.

pra na (SV. *na*) *indo* . . . RV. SV.

pra naḥ (SV. *naḥ*) *pinva* . . . RV. SV.

pra nu (TA. ApMB. HG. *nu*, Kauś. *no*, read *nu*) *vocaṁ cikituṣe janāya* RV. TA. SMB. ApMB. Kauś. PG. HG. MG. Jørgensen reads *nu* for SMB., but with v. l. *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read in accord with the usage of SV. texts.

pra no (also, *no*) *jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśaḥ* Kauś. (both)

pra no (TS.† JUB. *no*) *jīvātave suva* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. JUB. Conc. wrongly *no* for TS. 5. 5. 7. 5. Note JUB. *no*, contrary to SV. usage.

pra no (TB. *no*) *navyebhis* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB

pra no (AV. TS. *no*) *yachatu aryamā* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pra no (AV. TS. *no*) *yacha* (KS. *rāsva*) *viśaspate* (AV. *viśām*°, TS. *bhuvas*°, VS. ŚB. *sahasrajit*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

parainān (AV. °*nān*) *devaḥ savitā dadātu* RV. AV.

pari naḥ (SV. *naḥ*) *śarmayantya* RV. SV.

pari no (SV. *no*) *āsvam āsvavit* RV. SV.

pari no (VS. MS. *no*) *rudrasya* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pari no hetī rudrasya* . . . RV. VSK.: *pari no heḍo* . . . RV.

ataś cid indra na (SV. *na*) *upa* RV. SV. ŚŚ.

indra eṇaṁ (KS. *enaṁ*) *prathamō adhyatiṣṭhat* RV. VS. TS. KS.

indra eṇaṁ (AV. *enaṁ*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.

sam indra no (AV. MS. KS. Kauś. *no*) *manasā* . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. Kauś.

sumitrā (etc.) *na* (KS. *na*) *āpa* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

uruṣyā no (MS. *no*) *aghāyataḥ samasmāt* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. N.

tebbhiḥ (RV. also *tena*) *somābhi* (TA. °*bhī*) *rakṣa naḥ* (TA. *naḥ*) RV. (bis) TA.

śikṣā no (TS. *no*!) . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. AB. Note that TS. per-
versely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency.

deviḥ (AV. *dai*°, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru naḥ* (only RV. *naḥ*; AV. ed. *naḥ*, but read *naḥ*, see Whitney's note; KS.† *naṣ*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB.

asthūri nau gārhapatyam . . . MS. KS.: *tayor* (ApŚ. *tayor nāv*) *asthūri* (MŚ. °*ri nau*) *gārḥ* . . . ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *asthūri nau gārhapatyāni* . . . Kauś.: *asthūri nau* (VSK. *no*; ŚŚ. *no*) *gārhapatyāni* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *asthūri no* (TS. TB. *no*, KS. *nau*, MŚ. [van Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. In the first-quoted version, the two best mss. of MS. read *nau*, in accord with MS. usage; but the MŚ. form of it (*tayor* etc.) has *nau* according to all Knauer's mss.

§951. (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV. just as in simple words: Wackernagel I §170.

§952. We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n-* compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions; Wackernagel I §169). When SV. shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS. twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*; and the *n* of *nāsadya* is twice lingualized, once in VS. and once in MS. (! despite the tendency of MS. to avoid lingualization):

abhi pra ṇonumo (SV. *no*^o) . . . RV. SV. SV.

abhi pra ṇonuwur (SV. *nonawur*) . . . RV. SV.

tvām abhi pra ṇonumaḥ (SV. *no*^o) RV. SV. KB.

pra nāmāni (TS. *ṇā*^o) . . . RV. TS. MS. KS.

athainam jarimā ṇayet HG.: *yathainam jarase nayāt* AV.

tasmād vār nāma (TS. *ṇāma*) . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

gomad ū ṣu nāsadyā (VS. *ṇā*^o) RV. VS. AŚ.

nāsadyā (MS. *ṇā*^o) *bhiṣajāśvinā* VS. MS. TB. Preceded in all by *bhiṣaṇ*, which may be meant for part of this pāda.

punar āgāḥ punarṇava (AV. *ṇava*, and *ṇavaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis)

uṣṭro ghrṇāvān vārdhrīnasas (MS. *ghṛṇāvān vārdhrīnasas*) . . . VS. MS.:

ṛdhrāḥ śitikakṣi vārdhrīnasas (KS. ms. *vārḥīnasas*, ed. em. *vārdhrī*^o)

. . . TS. KSA.

sahasraṇīthaḥ (SV. *ṇīthaḥ*) *padavīḥ kavīnām* RV. SV.

§953. Of the rest, in which *ṇ* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases:

sādhyebhyaś carmamṇam (VS. *ṁnam*) VS. VSK. TB. The form *ṁna* occurs in RV.

agne deva paṇibhir vīyamāṇaḥ (MS. MŚ. *ṇaḥ*; VS. ŚB. *guhyamāṇaḥ*; KS. *idhyamāṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. TB.

abhūr āpīnām (HG. *ṇām*, v. l. *ṇām*) . . . ApMB. HG.

dyutadyubhir namasyair iyānā MS.: *mitājñubhir namasyair iyānā* RV.

devaśrīḥ śrīmanāḥ (VSK. TS. *ṇāḥ*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agneḥ puriṣavāhanaḥ (MS. *puriṣya*^o; VS.† ŚB.† *vāhanaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due:

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi; in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental: *suṣumṇaḥ* (TS. N. °*naḥ*) *sūryaraśmiḥ* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS.

N. there is thought of the simple *sumnaḥ*.

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound; in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized:

amṛṇmayam (ApŚ. *amṛn*°) . . . TB. ApŚ.

FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

§955. On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules: RPr. 349 requires *ṣ* regularly before *twā* and *te* (but cf. 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr. 2. 84, 85 also makes *ṣ* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions; according to Whitney, *ṣ* is commoner in AV. VPr. 3. 75, 76 (cf. 79ff.) likewise makes *ṣ* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr. 6. 5 allows the change to *ṣ* in only a few specified cases.

§956. Wackernagel I §286b says that the change to *ṣ* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh. kennen solches *ṣ* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV. gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen.' This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV. shows *ṣ* for RV. *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns:

dhanuṣ ṭanvanti (RV. *dhanus ta*°) *pauṇṣyam* RV. SV.

uṣā apa svasus tamaḥ (SV. †*svasuṣ ṭamaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. AŚ.

§957. All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns. (Cf. *agneṣ ṭvā tejasā sūryasya* . . . MG., to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows: *agnes tejasā sūryasya* . . . MS. KS. AB. TB. TA.) They show that the schools of RV., AV., VS., and TS. follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhyas to their respective Samhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV., and that is exceptional in showing *ṣ*; but the RV. school texts show 12 cases of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*. AV. shows 4 of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS. has 17 to 2, and other Vāj. texts (incl. VSK.) 22 to 1. TS., on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s*; but KS. also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ṣ*. SV. itself has

only one instance (of *ṣ*), and its school texts have 2 of each. MS. is as unanimous for *ṣ* as TS. is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ. and MG.). Summarizing: the schools of RV., AV., VS., and MS. regularly write *ṣ*; that of TS. always, and KS. usually, *s*; the variants from SV. are indecisive.

§958. There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns:

aṅśur-aṅśuṣ te (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*śus te*) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS. TS. MS.

KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnis te 'gram (MŚ. *agnis te agram*) . . . TS. MŚ.

agnis te tanvaṁ . . . MŚ.: *agnis te tanuwaṁ* (KS. *tanvaṁ*) . . . TS. KS. TB.

ApŚ.: *agnis te twacāṁ* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.

agnis te tejo . . . AŚ. MŚ.: *agnis te tejo* . . . TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.

agnis te (TS. *agnis te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnis tvābhi (TS. *agnis tvā°*) *pātu* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnis tvā (TS. KS. *agnis tvā*) *śrīṇātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnis tvā (MS. *agnis tvā*) *hwayati* . . . TS. MS. KS. TB.

agnis tṛāṇ agre . . . MS.: *agnis tṛāṇ* (AV. *tṛāṇ*, TS. TA. [but not KS.†])

agnis tṛāṇ) *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS. TA.

agneṣ tvā (KS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sādāyāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

KŚ. MŚ.

agneṣ tvā (TS. KS. *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* . . . TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

agneṣ tvāsyena (TS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā°*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. GB. ŚB. KB.

ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

aditiṣ te (TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. °*tis te*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

KŚ. MŚ.

aditiṣ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. [but not MŚ.†]) °*tis tvā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

avatatya dhanuṣ tvam (TS. KS. NīlarU. °*nus tvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

MŚ. NīlarU.

gopāya mā (VāDh. *mām*) *śevadhis te* (N. °*dhiṣ te*) VāDh. ViDh. N.

tābhiṣ tvam (KS. TA. *tābhis tvam*) *ubhayībhiḥ samvidānaḥ* MS. KS. TA.

tebhiṣ tvam putram janaya ŚG.: *tais tvam putram (putrān) vindasva*

AV. ApMB.

dyaus tvā (ŚŚ. *dyaus te*) *pitā prthivī mātā* AV. ŚŚ.

prajāpatiṣ tvā sādāyatu . . . VS. ŚB. MS. MŚ.: *prajāpatis tvā sā°* . . .

TS. TB. TA. ApŚ. KS.

prajāpates tvā (MŚ. °*teṣ tvā*) *prāṇena* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

prabhos te (SV. °*bhoṣ te*) *†sataḥ* . . . RV. SV.

bahis te (AV. KS. *bahiṣ te*) *astu* . . . AV. TS. KS. ApŚ.

brhaspateṣ tvā (TS. TB. °*tes tvā*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ApŚ. MŚ.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (SMB. HG. °*tis tvā*) *niyunaktu* . . . AG. ŚG. SMB. HG.
MG.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (TA. °*tis tvā*) *viśvair* . . . MS. TA.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (TS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sādayatu* . . . TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

brhaspatiṣ tvopasīdatu (TA. ApŚ. °*tis tvō*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

manoṣ tvā . . . MS. KŚ. MŚ.: *manos tvā* . . . KS. TB. ApŚ.

varūtrīṣ tvā . . . VS. ŚB.: *varutrīs tvā* . . . KS.

vāyuṣ ṭṭān (MŚ. ṭāñ, KS. ṭāñ, TS. TA. *vāyus tāñ*) *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS.
TA. MŚ.

vāyuṣ te (TS. *vāyus te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS. TS. MS.

vāyuṣ te (TS. *vāyus te*) *vājīn yuñ* TS. KSA.

vāyuṣ tvābhipātu (TS. *vāyus tvā*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śivebhīr arcibhiṣ tvam (TS. °*bhis tvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

savitus tvā (AG. ŚG. °*tuṣ tvā*) *prasava* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ. AG. ŚG.

svadhitis te (ŚG. °*tiṣ te*) *pitā* VS. ŚG. ApMB.

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§959. Here the rules of the Prātiśākhya (RPr. 260 [4. 14] ff.; APr. 2. 62ff.; TPr. 8. 23–35; VPr. 3. 10f., 20ff., especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus: in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya*). But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule.

§960. European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf. Macdonell 78. 2, c). Wackernagel I §286c, β, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an āmreḍita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible.

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an āmreḍita, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words; but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole āmreḍita noted is the following:

paraṣaḥ-paruṣas (KS. *paraṣas-paruṣas*, TS. TA. MahānU. *paraṣaḥ-paruṣaḥ*) *pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MahānU. Note that in the VS. and MS. schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases; and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the Prātiśākhya, namely: we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member. VPr. 3. 36 mentions this as an exception; likewise TPr. 8. 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *ṣ* or *dh*, covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

§962. The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*):

sādyaskrīś . . . ApMB.: *sadyaḥkrīś* . . . ŚG.

śociṣkeśam (MS.* *śocih°*) *purupriya* RV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS.

upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇe (MS. *haviḥ°*, but p.p. *haviṣ°*) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.:
bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇa upahūtaḥ (TB.* *°tā*) TS. TB. ŚB.

āyukṛd āyuhpatnī . . . ApŚ.: *āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī* . . . AV.

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the Prātiśākhya, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittiriya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyaṇīya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		<i>s</i> (dental)
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	
RV.	7	9	3	12	
RV. school	5	12	1	2	
SV.	5	4	3	2	
SV. school	1	3	1	3	
AV.	4	7	1	8	
AV. school	0	4	0	1	
VS.	3	15	5	7	
VS. school	3	16	4	8	
TS.	21	2	2	4	
TS. school	24	7	16	6	2
MS.	6	15	10	5	1
MS. school	2	2	5	1	1
KS.	9	9	5	7	1
Others	0	2	0	1	

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	ḥ	s	ḥ	ṣ	s (dental)
Total RV. school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV. school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV. school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS. school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS. school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS. school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS. school	45	98	38	57	3

1. The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964. Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittiriya; the latter is nearly unanimous for *ḥ*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f.), the following occur: *somaḥ* (SV. *somas*) *patī rayīṇām* RV. AV. SV.

sa no divā sa riṣaḥ (VS. MS. *riṣas*) *pātu naktam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

śam nas (RV. *naḥ*) *karato aśvinā* RV. TB. ApŚ.

manyāśai śam ca nas (TS. *naḥ*) *kr̥dhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

devīḥ (daivīḥ) *ṣaḍ . . . uru naḥ* (ṇaḥ) *kr̥ṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.: *trayīṣ ṣaḍ . . . uru †ṇas kr̥°* KS.

uru kṣayāya nas (TS. *naḥ*) *kr̥dhi* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

varivas (RV. °*vaḥ*) *kr̥ṇvan . . .* RV. SV.

ayaṁ no agnir varivas (TS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*) *kr̥ṇotu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

urvī rodasī varivas (TS. KS. °*vaḥ*) *kr̥°* TS. MS. KS.

divaḥ (VS. *divas*) *parjanyaḍ . . .* VS. TS. MS. KS.

divaḥ pr̥thivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. MS.

divaḥ pr̥thivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam VS. TS. KSA.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. Vait. Kauś.

divaḥ pr̥ṣṭham svar (*suvar*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *divas* etc. AV. VS. ŚB.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *pr̥ṣṭham adhi . . .* RV. SV.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *pr̥ṣṭhāny . . .* AV. SV.

divaḥ (RV. *divas*) *pr̥ṣṭham* (PB. °*the*) . . . RV. PB. TA. ApŚ.

abhi priyā divas padā (SV. *divaḥ kaviḥ*) RV. SV.

agne tvaṁ sūktavāg . . . divas (TS. TB. *divaḥ*) *pr̥thivyoḥ* TS. (fragment) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

parameṣṭhī tvā sādāyatu divaḥ (VS. ŚB. *divas*) *prṣṭhe* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

śrṇāhi viśvataḥ prati RV.: †*śrṇāhi viśvatas pari* SV. Add to VV I §275. *gīrir na viśvatas* (SV. °*taḥ*) *prṭhuḥ* . . . RV. AV. SV.

yathā naḥ śreyasas (TS. °*saḥ*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

yathā no vasyasas (TS. °*saḥ*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah (VS.† ŚB. PG.† °*bhyas*; MS. *danṣṭrābhyas*) *pāhi* (TS. TB. *pāta*, PG. *paripāhi* . . .) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. PG.

yeṣām apsu sadas (TS. ApMB. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. TS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.† 2. 17. 6c.

mītrās (RV. *mītrah*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV.

prṭhivyāḥ samprcas (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*caḥ*; VS. ŚB. *saṁsprśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

nānā hi vām devahitaṁ sadas (TB. ApŚ. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

diva oṣadhayas (TS. °*yaḥ*) *pari* RV. VS. TS. MS.

ubhe ca no (etc.) . . . *aṇhasaḥ* (MS. ŚB.† AŚ. °*sas*) *pātām* (TB. Conc. *syātām*, Poona ed. *aṇhasaḥ spātām*!; AŚ. text, †*aṇhasa syātām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indrah (ŚŚ. *indras*) *patis* . . . AV. AA. ŚŚ.

idāyās (ApŚ. *idāyāḥ*) *padam* . . . AV. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. Vait. Kauś.

apaḥ (TS. TB. ApŚ. *apas*) *pinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

MŚ. Note the perverseness of the Tait. texts in reading *s*, contrary to their usual rule, against all other texts!

agne trātar ṛtas (SV. *ṛtaḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV.

pūṣādhvanah (VS. KS. ŚB. °*nas*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

prāṇasya tvā . . . *tanuvaḥ* (MS. *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS. TA.

praitu brahmanas (MŚ. °*naḥ*) *patnī* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

ṣaṇ morvīr aṇhasas (ŚŚ. °*saḥ*) *pāntu* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

2. The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965. Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The dominance of *h* in the Tait. school is less marked; TS. itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors *h*, tho after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS. alone shows §; other texts *h*. These all concern the single form *nṛn*, acc. plur. of *nṛ*; the vowel *ṛ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf. §940 above):

hotā yakṣad uśāsānaktā . . . *nṛñh* (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *patibhyo* . . . MS. KS. TB. *hotā yakṣan narāśaṁsam nṛśastam nṛñṣpranetram* (TB. *nṛñh°*) MS. TB. *nṛñh* (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *pāhi* . . . RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§966. Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants; both times before a form of root *kr* (does the form *skr* exercise an influence here?):

supippalā oṣadhīs (ApŚ. °*dhīh*) *krdhi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

śam agnir agnibhis (RV. °*bhih*) *karat* RV. TB. ApŚ.

§967. Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants:

dyauih (RV. *dyauiṣ*) *pitāh pṛthivi mātār adhruk* RV. MS. TB.

dyauih pitā . . . TB. ApŚ.: *dyauiṣ pitā* . . . AV.

dyauih pṛṣṭham pṛthivī śarīram ŚŚ. 10. 17. 4 (as two separate mantras):

dyauiṣ pṛṣṭham antarikṣam . . . ŚB. KŚ.

upahūto dyauiṣ (TB. ApŚ. *dyauih*) *pitā* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

upa mām dyauiṣ (TB. ApŚ. *dyauih*) *pitā hwayatām* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

jyotiṣ (MS. LŚ. *jyotiḥ*) *paśyanta* (MS. ° *tā*) *uttaram* RV. MS. KS. ChU. LŚ.

jyotiṣ (SV. °*tiḥ*) *paśyanti vāsaram* RV. SV. KS.

yas tāni veda sa pituṣ (VS. and most mss. of AV. *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV. VS.:

yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ (TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N.: *yas tad veda savituḥ* (MahānU. *sa pituh*) *pitāsat* TA. MahānU.

aham id dhi pituṣ (MG. *pituh*) *pari* RV. AV. SV. Vait. MG.

sa idhāno (KS. ms. *edh°*, ed. emends) *vasuṣ* (MS. *vasuh*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

haviṣ (HG. MG. *haviḥ*) *kṛṇvantah parivatsarīṇam* (HG.† SMB.† °*ṇām*, MG. °*yam*) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

yasya dvārā manuṣ (SV. *manuh*) *pitā* RV. SV.

mṛtyoḥ (VSK. °*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

citraḥ śiśuḥ (MS. *śiśuṣ*) *pari* . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āyoḥ patmane svāhā KS.: *āyoṣ patwane svāhā* ApŚ.

āviṣ (MS. *āviḥ*) *kṛṇuṣva daivyaṇy agne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

apālām . . . *triṣ* (ApMB. MG. *triḥ*) *pū°* RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

parṇe vo vasatiṣ (TS. MS. °*tiḥ*) *kṛtā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

niḥ kravyādām nudāmasi (MS. *nudasva*) AV. MS.: *niṣ kravyādām sedha* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *niṣ kravyādām anīnaśat* RV. AV. MG.

[*svāduṣ* (AV. °*duḥ*; but most mss., SPP., and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kilāyam madhumān utāyam* RV. AV. AB. ApŚ.]

ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *k* AND *p*

§968. Among the variants occur only three pādas belonging here, and they all concern the word *svarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form *svaḥpati*. This accords with RPr. 258 (4. 12), which requires *svar* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *ḥ*). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The pādas are:

yuvam hi sthaḥ svarpatī (SV. PB. *svaḥpatī*) RV. SV. PB.

dātrasyāgne svarpatīḥ (SV. *svaḥpatīḥ*) RV. SV. KS.

svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe SV.: *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV. AV.

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969. In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either *ḥ* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Müller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *niḥṣahamāṇo* . . .; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *niṣṣah*° in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 f. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write *ḥ*. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write *ḥ*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write *ḥ*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970. The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *ḥ*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS. however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his *Einleitung*, p. XII); the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS., and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV. retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints *ḥ* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB. also

retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has *h*. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *h*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971. The following variants have been noted:

niḥṣahamāṇo (SV. *nīṣṣa*°) *yamate nāyate* RV. SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph.

vakṣaḥsu (RV. *vakṣassu*; but Müller °*hsu*) *rukṃā upaśiśriyāṇāḥ* RV. MS. TB.

vardhanam puruniṣṣidhe (SV. °*niḥṣidhe*) RV. SV.

pr̥tsutūr̥ṣu śravassu (AV. and Müller's RV. °*hsu*) *ca* RV. AV.

vṛṣā na kruddhaḥ patayad rajassu (AV. and Müller's RV. °*hsv*) *ā* RV. AV.

haviṛ haviṣṣu vandyah (SV. *haviḥṣu* †*vandyah*) RV. SV.

kriyanta (TB. *priyā ta*) *ā barhiḥ* (KS.† TB. °*his*, but TB. Poona ed. °*hiḥ*) *sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

uto aranyāniḥ (TB. °*nis*, but Poona ed. °*niḥ*) *sāyam* RV. TB.

upa naḥ (KS.† TB. *nas*, but TB. Poona ed. *naḥ*) *sūnavo girāḥ* RV. SV. VS. KS. TB.

idam devānām idam u naḥ (KS. *idam nas*) *saha* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

satyā eṣām (AG. *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ* (ApMB. °*ṣas*) *santu* . . . VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

FINAL *s* BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972. RPr. 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12. TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect; the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS. generally follow it. APr. contains no such prescription, but the AV. mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr. 2. 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants *hotrā-vidaḥ stomataṣṭāso* . . . AV. 18. 3. 47b, and *madhvaḥ ścotanty* . . . AV. 20. 88. 3d.

§973. None of the Prātiśākhya authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9. 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then.

1. Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions; and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV. follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd; but Müller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent: of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h*. On AV. see above, §972. In TS., Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*; at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS. always prints *h*; but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol. 1, p. XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss., which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ. and MG. cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG., p. xxxviii; it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapsa skandati* MŚ. 2. 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS. usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS., quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss. of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB. especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ. likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG. of the mantra *mā no hīnsīh* (*hīnsī*) *sthaviram* . . ., with and without *h*; we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v.l. to either.

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS., MŚ., and MG. against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS. there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS., MŚ., MG., or KS., it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS. reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV. it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Müller's edition in every case reads *h*.—I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded.—F. E.]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows:

pra tad viṣṇu (TB. Poona ed. *viṣṇuḥ*; AV.† *viṣṇu*; ŚŚ. [pratika] †*pra tad viṣṇur iti*] *stavate* . . . RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. NrpU.

ya (ŚŚ. *yah*) *strīṇām* . . . VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.

viṣṇo (TB. *viṣṇoh*) *stupo* (*stūpo*) 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

viṣṇo (TB. *viṣṇoh*) *sthānam asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

saṁsṛāvabhāgā (or, *saṁsṛava*°; TB. °*bhāgāḥ*) *stheṣā* . . . VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

huta (TB. *hutaḥ*) *stokaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

hotrāvida (AV. °*vidaḥ*, TB. °*vr̥dha*, Poona ed. °*vr̥dhaḥ*) *stomataṣṭāso* . . .

RV. AV. MS. TB.

vipṛca (TB. Poona ed. 1. 3. 3. 6. °*caḥ*) *stha* VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. (both readings) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The same with *saṁprca* . . .

andha sthāndho . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambha* (ApŚ. *ambhaḥ*) *sthāmbho* . . .

TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

ā na (ŚŚ. *nah*) *stuta* . . . RV. ŚŚ.

āyu stha ApŚ.: *āyuh stha* TB.

ṛtava (TB. °*vah*) *stha* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

indravanta (AB. °*tah*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB. GB. Vait.

diva (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambha*° . . . VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pra va (KB. ŚŚ. *vah*) *spad* . . . RV. KB. ŚŚ.

prokṣitā (TB. Conc. °*tā* and °*tāḥ*, Poona ed. both times °*tāḥ*) *stha* VS. TS.

MS. KS. TB. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

balaviññāya (SV. °*yaḥ*) *sthaviraḥ* . . . RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
br̥hadbhīr vājai (TB. Poona ed. *vājaiḥ*) *sthavirebhīr* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB.
br̥haspati (TB. Conc. °*ti* and °*tiḥ*, Poona ed. both times °*tiḥ*) *stotram* VS.
 MS. KS. TB.

madhva (AV. °*vaḥ*) *ścotanty* . . . RV. AV.

mā no hiñsīḥ (and, *hiñsī*) *sthaviram* . . . ŚG. (both)

mānta (ApŚ. *māntaḥ*) *sthur* . . . RV. AV. AB. JB. ApŚ. MŚ.

mā na stena . . . RV. KS.: *mā va* (TB. Poona ed. *va* and *vaḥ*) *stena* . . .

RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

yas te drapsa (ŚŚ. Vait. *drapsaḥ*; MŚ. *drapsa*) *skandati* . . . RV. VS. TS.

KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MŚ. ŚŚ.

ye devā devasuwa (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* . . . TS. TB.

vāyava (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MŚ. KS. GB. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

upāyava (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

prāṇaḥ sthaḥ TB.: *prāṇa sthaḥ* ApŚ.

stokā (TB. Poona ed. *stokāḥ*) *ścotanti* . . . RV. MS. KS. AB. TB.

subhūtākṛta stha ApŚ.: *suhutākṛtaḥ stha* AŚ.

sūryatvacasa (TB. Poona ed. °*saḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

gira (ApŚ. *giraḥ*) *stomāsa īrate* RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

cakṣu (TB. *cakṣuḥ*) *sthaś* . . . TB. ApŚ.

cita (TB. *citaḥ*) *stha* TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

cita (ApŚ. once out of four times, and TA. twice out of three times acc.
 to Conc., all three times acc. to Poona ed., *citaḥ*) *stha pari*° . . .

VS. TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. KŚ.

prati tvā diva (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambhanir vetu* (TB. Poona ed. †*vetu*) TS. TB.

[*triṇave †maruta* (Conc. °*taḥ* for VS.) *stutāḥ* (°*tam*) VS. MS. KS.]

[*dhruvam asi dhruvata* (Conc. °*taḥ* for ApMB.) *sthitam* ApMB. HG.]

2. Final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978. Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākyas, require *ḥ*. In KS., just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant; again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS. as reading *visarga* like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB.; see Winternitz's Introduction, p. xlviii. It appears, however, that the mss. of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV.; see Whitney's note on APr. 2. 86, and on his Translation of AV., 6. 121. 1. The Bibl. Ind. editions of TB. and TA. show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *h* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS. which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ.) *syonena ghrtena mā samukṣata*, MS. 4. 2. 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic.

§979. [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz.: 1. KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2. Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB. alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text.—F. E.]

§980. The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:

svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svāpna(h)* nom., not voc.; Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 438ff.

medasaḥ (VSK. °sa) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

yā devy asīṣṭake prāṇadā . . . cakṣurdāś (ApŚ. °dā) *śrotradā . . . dyaurdās* (ApŚ. °dā) *svardāh . . .* KS. ApŚ.: *yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāh . . . cakṣurdāh śrotradāh* MS.

saṃjñānam naḥ (TB. *na*, but Poona ed. *naḥ*) *sve*° . . . RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB.

ādityebhyaḥ preṣya . . . mahasvasarasya (MŚ. *mahaḥ sva*°) . . . ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s. v. *mahasvasara*.

avidahantāḥ (TB. °ta) *śrapayata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

uṣasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr dadhat ApŚ.: *uṣasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB. Conc., but Poona ed. as ApŚ.

jyog ajūtā (MŚ. *jīvā*, SMB. *jūtā*, but Jørgensen *ajūtā*) *ahatāḥ* (SMB. °tā) *syāma* TS. KS. MŚ. PG. SMB.

śrotrapāḥ (AŚ. °pā) *śrotram . . .* TS. MS. AB. AŚ.

svar (TS. ApŚ. *suvar*) *ṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.* °ma) *svāhā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. (both)

stutāḥ (TB. *stuta*, but Poona ed. *stutāḥ*) *śravasyann . . .* RV. MS. KS. TB. *syonāḥ* (MS. °nā) *syonena ghrtena mā samukṣata* MS. ApŚ.

supāṇīḥ (TA. °ṇi, but Poona ed. °ṇih; ŚŚ. *subānuḥ*) *svaṅguriḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

cittih (TA. °ti, but Poona ed. °tiḥ) *sruk* MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ.

paro maritāḥ parāḥ (ApŚ. all mss., and TB. Conc. *para*, but TB. Poona ed. *parāḥ*) *śvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

pary āvarte duṣvapnyāt (KŚ. *duḥṣva*°, v. 1. *duṣva*°) AV. KŚ. See Whitney's note on 6. 121. 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV. mss.

duṣvapnyam duritam niḥ (AV. **ni*) *ṣvāsmat* AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read *niḥ* in both places—with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the mss.

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap° duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. Cf. preceding two.

aśloṇā (AV. comm. *āśro°*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA. *aśloṇāṅgair ahr̥tā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ* with v. l. *°tā*) *svarge* AV. TA.

snusā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text *°nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. 'ham *asmi*) TB. AŚ. *sapatnāḥ*, nom. pl. masc. (!), seems to be intended in both.

INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhyas (RPr. 318 (5. 1) ff., APr. 2. 96 ff., TPr. 6. 1 ff., VPr. 3. 58 ff.). The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7. In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel; TS. reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984). *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration: Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

§982. In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s*. In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV., but becomes common in the other Sāṃhitās (Wackernagel I §205a); two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV. *s* (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds. Here the conditions are confused: the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned. Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV., but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207); accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV.) *ṣ*; but the reverse is also found (§987). Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompound words; in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language; yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB. substituted for *s* of RV. (§988).

§983. The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987:

vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. *askabhnā*, MS. *aṣkabhnā*, KS. *aṣṭabhnā*, TS. *askabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī* . . . RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

ād id dhotāraṁ ny asādayanta (TB. *aṣā°*) RV. VS. TB.

abhy aṣṭhām (TS. KS. ApŚ. *asthād*, MS. *asthām*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātiḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ.

tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ TS. KS.: *tena devā vy asahanta śatrūn* AV. *yasmād bhīṣā nyaśadaḥ* (ŚŚ. *nyasadaḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

§984. Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the Rigvedic words *pṛtanāṣaḥ* (*°ṣāḥ*, *°ṣāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular *°saḥ* etc. Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣaḥ*, *bhūriṣaḥ*, *abhīṣaḥ* etc.—The only other case contains the TS. form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

saṁstup (TS. *saṣṭup*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ā vīraṁ pṛtanāṣaḥam (SV. *°saḥam*) RV. AV. SV.

tam agne pṛtanāṣaḥam (TS. *°saḥam*) RV. TS.

pṛtanāṣāhyāya (TB. *°sāhyāya*) *ca* RV. AV. VS. TB.

uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāt (HG. *°sāḥam*) RVKh. HG.

§985. Twice in the same passage of TS. occurs the stem *ṛkṣama*, for *ṛksama* of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf. Wackernagel I p. 237, top):

jagatyā ṛksamam (TS. *ṛkṣamam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ṛksamāc (TS. *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukraḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§986. The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong. In GB. 1. 5. 25d, quoted in Conc. as *viskandham enaṁ vidhṛtaṁ prajāsu*, Gaastra reads *viṣkandham . . . viṣṛtaṁ . . .*

abhivīro abhisatvā (KS. *°satvā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV. MS.† KS. *sahojit*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Many mss. of AV., followed by the comm. and SPP.'s ed., also read *abhiṣatvā*.

stotā me goṣakhā (SV. *gosakhā*) *syāt* RV. AV. SV.

pṛthiviṣadam (MS. *pṛthivī°*; VS.† *°sadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS.† adds, *divisadam devasadam*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

deva savitaḥ susāvitram (ApŚ. *suṣāv°*) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

rayisthāno (AV. °*ṣṭhāno*) *rayim asmāsu dhehi* RV. AV.

suṣamiddho (RV. *susa*°) *na ā vaha* RV. SV. PB. LŚ.

suṣamiddho (KS. TB. *suṣa*°) *vareṇyaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

suṣamiddham (TB. *suṣa*°) *vareṇyam* VS. TB.

suṣadam (ŚŚ. *suṣatyam*) *id gavām . . .* AV. ŚŚ.

ye triṣaptāḥ (MS. *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV. MS.

triṣaptāso (TB. *tris*°) *marutaḥ . . .* AV. TB.

utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam VS.: *utkūlavikūlābhyām tristhinam* TB.

amba niṣpara (TS. ApŚ. *niṣvara*, KS. *nisvara*, MS. *nismara*) VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. In VS. ŚB. divide *niṣ-para*; the rest belong here.

somanetrebhyo . . . uparisadbhyo (VSK. °*ṣadbhyo*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.

ye devāḥ somanetrā uparisado (VSK. °*ṣado*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.: *ye*

devā upariṣado (KS.° *das*) . . . MS. KS.

vrajaṁ gacha goṣṭhānam (VS. ŚB. TB. *goṣṭhānam*, but TB. Poona ed.

°*sth*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

kṛṣṇagrīvaḥ śitikakṣo 'ñjisakthas (MS. °*ṣakthas*) *ta aindrāgnāḥ* VS. MS.

añjisakthāya (KSA.† °*ṣakthāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duḥsvap-*

nahan duruṣvahā MahānU.

§987. Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the copula. In one or two of these *s* of RV. is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text:

druhaḥ pāśān (TS. KS. *pāśaṁ*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV. TS. MS.

KS.

apo su (MS. *ṣu*) *myakṣa . . .* RV. MS.

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction:

kṛdhī ṣv (TS. *sv*) *asmān . . .* RV. TS. MS. KS.

prati śma (SV. *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV. *ri*°) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

prati śma (AV. *sma*) *raḁṣaso daha* (AV. *jahi*) RV. AV.

asti hi śmā (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te ṣuṣmīn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB.

vayaṁ ghā te api śmasi (SV. *smasi*) RV. SV.

anupūrvaṁ yatamānā yati ṣṭha (AV. *stha*) RV. AV.

divi ṣaṇ (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *saṇ*) *chakra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.

divi sad (RV. *ṣad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV. SV. VS.

ūtī ṣa (SV. *sa*) *brhato divaḥ* RV. SV.

pari śya suvāno akṣāḥ RV.: *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV.: cf. *pari sya*

suvāno avyayam RV.

tasmād āpo anu ṣṭhana (TS. *sthana*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

§988. Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-

pounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces § where RV. has s:

trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇy (TB. *ṣa°*) *agnim* RV. VS. TB.

ye apsu śadāṇsi (KS. *'psu sadāṇsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS.: *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh.

apsu dhautasya te deva soma (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *ṛbhīḥ śtutasya* (KS. *ṛbhīs stu°*, TS. PB. *ṛbhīḥ sutasya*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. The mss. of MS. read *ṛbhī*, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to *ṛbhīḥ*; but the presence of final *ḥ*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event.

pari bhrātuḥ pari ṣvasuḥ HG. ApMB.: *pari mātuḥ pari svasuḥ* PG.

vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ. *vīhi*) *stokānām* (VSK. *°nām juṣāṇaḥ*, KS. *ṣtokānām*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS.† 3. 6 (with *†ve*, not *veṣ*).

SECONDARY CRISIS, AND HIATUS

§989. Secondary crisis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants. Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG., which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:

dhruvā strī patikule iyam (MG. *°kuleyam*) SMB. MG. In SMB., also, the v. l. *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule iyam* (with complete hiatus).

uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām (AV. *chuṣmauṣ°*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°māḥ*) *oṣ°*; this is supported by Ppp., cf. Whitney's note and Barret, *JAOS* 35. 50 f.

viśvādityāḥ [pratīka] MG. This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG. text *†viśve*, with hiatus) *ādityā vasavaś ca devāḥ* (MG. *sarve*) AG. PG. MG. All mss. of MG. (in the pratīka) read *viśvād°*.

sahasradhāre 'va (AV. *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ.

Whitney, note on AV. 5. 6. 3, suggests that RV. stands for *°dhārāḥ*, with double sandhi. The RV. p.p. reads *°dhāre, ava*. Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure.

anāmayaiddhi etc., see §344.

§990. All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context:

ado ma āgachatu ApŚ.: *ado māgachatu* MS. KS. MŚ. (not ApŚ. which in 4. 13. 8 reads †*ma āga°*)—In ApŚ. *me*, in the others *mā*.

māgadhaḥ purīscalī kitavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrahmanās (VSK. . . 'śūdrā-brāhmanās) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. Two separate words in VS., a compound in VSK. So also in the following; cf. the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here.

aśloṇā (AV. comm. *āśro°*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA. *aśloṇāṅgair ahr̥tā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. 1. °*tā*) *svarge* AV. TA. 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with unmaimed limbs'. Cf. preceding.

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS.: *ākrayāyāyogūm* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB. Different genders; fem. in VS., masc. in TB.

saha ojaḥ (VS. *sahaujaḥ*; VSK. *sahojah*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. In VS. VSK. *saha* plus *ojas* (on VSK.'s sandhi see §731); in the others, *sahas* plus *ojas*. The latter form is probably original.

yathaika r̥ṣir (KS. °*kar̥ṣir*) *vijānate* KS. TA. ApŚ. See §919, end.

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. Serpents are referred to: 'who are mis-siles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS. makes reasonable sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers' . . . (correlative with the following, which see). But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *iṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis.

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi: or they may be called the converse of them. In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular; in those we are about to give, it is irregular. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable:

uta śravasā (MS. *śravasa ā*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA. The p.p. of MS. reads *śravasaḥ, ā*; but both meter and sense show that the MS. has a stupid blunder.

yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §832.

vasneva (KS. *vasna iva*) *vikrīṇāvahai* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom.-acc. plur. of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS. p.p.), rather

than *vasna*. We have, then, in KS. perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in *ā-r* = RV. etc. *a-r*; cf. Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than *r*. Otherwise KS. would be a mere blunder, like MS. in the preceding. Cf. the next. *sapatnā vācam manasā* (AŚ. °sa) *upāsātām* TB. AŚ. 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend *manasā*; TB. has complete hiatus, while AŚ. (if the text is correct; we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi'; see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion. See also the variant *praty etā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc., §357.

§992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations. It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted:

bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhati (MŚ. *rājā arhati*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. All Knauer's mss. read thus for MŚ.; Knauer suggests *pluti*. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ. it could pass for a fair jagatī pāda.

pavasva deva āyushak (RV. *devāyushak*) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV. (*devā*) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

pāpmānam uta vāgham (SMB. *vā agham*) SMB. ApMB. HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons.

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS.: *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV. Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS.; in AV. the meter is improved without fusion.

tatra indro bṛhaspatih VS.: *tatrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatih* RV. SV. Hiatus *metri gratia* in VS.

tan ma (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatām punaḥ* GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in one epic passage (Mbh. 5. 508). In GB. (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements. But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

saṁ tvā riṇanti (Vait. *ṛṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. The hiatus in Vait. may be connected with pronunciation of *r* as *ri*, see §676.

punantu ṛṣayaḥ TA. MahānU. Hiatus in both forms.

daivyā hotārāgna (MS. °gnā, ŚŚ. *hotārā agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Probably ŚŚ. stands for *hotārā*, not °rāu, and therefore has hiatus; see §885d. For *hotārāu* we should expect °rāv in ŚŚ.

achidrā usijah padānu takṣuḥ TS.: *achidrośijah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuḥ* (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achidrā* went with *padā* as in KS.; but TS. p.p. *achidrāḥ*, with *usijah*, and so comm. *abhīm* (SV. *abhī*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV. Cf. *abhīm ṛtasya* (SV. *abhy ṛṣṭasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutaḥ* RV. SV. On *m* as "Hiatus-tilger" see §309.

pitṛbhyaḥ svadhāstu (MahānU. *svadhā astu*) TA. MahānU.

§993. With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts; in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait. texts, and according to TS. p.p. and TPr. 5. 2, 10. 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*:

māsi MS. MŚ.: *mā asi* TA. ApŚ. Likewise (in MS. TA.) *pramā*, *unmā*, *vimā*, *sammā*, *pratimā*.

sahasrasya pramāsi (TS. *°mā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*.

§994. The next is different in character:

manāsi (KS. *manā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*. In KS. it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom. *manā's*). In the others it becomes an *ā* stem.

§995. The next group contains textually dubious cases:

pitaraś ca upāsate (VS. *copā°*) RVKh. VS. The hiatus improves the meter; but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa āsate*, with hiatus in a different place.

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG. *medhāpsaraḥsu*) RVKh. MG. The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss. read *medhā aps°* in MG.; and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps°* in RVKh. without report of variant; he also reads *°psarassu*.

devā brahmāṇa āgachata āgachata GB., Conc.: *de° bra° āgachatāgachātāgachata* LŚ. But Gaastra reads for GB. *āgachatāgachata*; he notes a v. l. *āgachatā āga°*.

vibhur vibhāvā suṣākhā (AV. *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV. AV. So the mss. of AV., leaving *sakha* unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed. reads *sākhā ā'*. It seems at least possible that the AV. mss. correctly

present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Transl. assumes *sākhā'* (fusion of *sākhā* and *ā'*).

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

semāṁ (AV. *sa imāṁ*) *no havyadātīm juṣāṇaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV. should probably be read *sa imāṁ*.

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle *u*.

sa imāṁ (ŚG. *semāṁ*) *devaḥ pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varuṇaḥ*) ŚG. AG. SMB.

soma āyusmān sa oṣadhībhir (PG. *sauṣa°*) *āyusmān* TS. KS. PG. ApMB. This passage is prose. PG. is hyper-archaizing.

INDEXES

INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note.—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here; but *ā* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections.

- a*, epenthetic, 755, 763; elided before *e*, *o*, 709, 731; sandhi of initial (after *e*, *o*) 891-911; sandhi of final, with *r*, 913-7, 919:—and *ā*, 422-512; *i*, 570-596; *ī*, 600; *u*, 601-618; *ū*, 621; *r*, 631-4; *a* plus nasal, and *ā*, 300-2
- aya*: and *e*, 744-6
- ayi*: and *ai*, 747
- ar*: and *īr*, 573, 575; *ur*, 605, 615; *r*, 647-651; *rā*, 806
- av*: and *w*, 601-4
- ava*: and *ū*, 750; *o*, 748-9
- avi*, *ave*: and *e*, 747
- ā*, sandhi of final, with *r*, 913-8:—and *a*, 422-512; *i*, 599; *ī*, 597-8; *u*, 620; *ū*, 619; *r*, 632; *prā*, 873; *a* plus nasal, 300-2
- āyā*: and *e*, 747
- ār*: and *r*, 652
- i*, epenthetic, 751-764:—and *a*, 570-596; *ā*, 599; *iya*, 734; *ī*, 513-545; *u*, 622-7; *r*, 635-640; *e*, 686-694; *ai*, 699-700; *du*, 878; *ya*, *yā*, 733-8; *yu*, 736, 738; *i* plus nasal, and *ī*, 300-2
- iya*: and *y*, 766-798
- iya*: and *i*, 734; *e*, 747
- iye*: and *e*, 747
- ir*: and *ar*, 573, 575; *r*, 653
- ī*: and *a*, 600; *ā*, 597-8; *i*, 513-545; *u*, *ū*, 628; *r*, 638; *e*, 695-8; *ai*, 701-2; *ya*, 734-5; *yā*, 737; *yu*, 738; *i* plus nasal, 300-2
- īy*: and *y*, 786
- u*, epenthetic, 759, 761, 765:—and *a*, 601-618; *ā*, 620; *i*, 622-7; *ī*, 628; *ū*, 546-569; *r*, 641-3; *l*, 645; *o*, 713-9; *au*, 724; *va*, *vā*, 739-742; *vi*, *vī*, 743
- ur*: and *ar*, 605, 615; *r*, 654
- uv*: and *av*, 601-4; *v*, 766-798
- ū*: and *a*, 621; *ava*, 750; *ā*, 619; *ī*, 628; *u*, 546-569; *r*, 644; *ī*, 644; *o*, 720-3; *au*, 725-7; *va*, 739; *vī*, 743
- ūr*: and *r*, 655
- r*, sandhi of, with preceding *a*, *ā*, 913-9:—and *a*, 631-4; *ā*, 632; *i*, 635-640; *ī*, 638; *u*, 641-3; *ū*, 644; *o*, 646; *ar*, 647-651; *ār*, 652; *īr*, 653; *ur*, 654; *ūr*, 655; *ra*, 656-8, 660, 662-5; *rā*, 657-9, 661; *rī*, 666-676; *rī*, 677; *ru*, 678-684
- r̄*: and *ū*, 644
- l*: and *u*, 645
- e*: and *aya*, 744-6; *avi*, *ave*, *āyā*, 747; *i*, 686-694; *iya*, *iye*, 747; *ī*, 695-8, *ai*, 703-712; *ya*, *yā*, 803
- ai*: and *ayi*, 747; *i*, 699-700; *ī*, 701-2; *e*, 703-712
- o*, sandhi of final, 885, 887, 889 f.:—and *ava*, 748-9; *u*, 713-9; *ū*, 720-3; *r*, 646; *au*, 728-732; *va*, *vā*, 804
- au*, sandhi of final, 885-6, 888:—and *u*, 724; *ū*, 725-7; *o*, 728-732
- h*, present or absent, 378-384
- ñ*(*m*), present or absent, 300-310; as hiatus-bridger, 308-9
- k*, optional between final *ñ* and initial *s*, 939:—and *kh*, 81; *g*, 45-9; *gh*, 83; *c*, 126-7; *ch*, 128a; *q*, 135; *l*, 137-142; *p*, 148-153a; *bh*, 152
- kś*: and *kṣ*, *khy*, 190-1

- kṣ*, followed by evanescent *y*, 332, 335:—and *kś*, *khṣ*, 190-1; *ch*, 184; *ts*, 140; *ps*, 153a; *bj*, 196; *ś*, 297
- kh*: and *k*, 81; *g*, 82; *gh*, 70; *ch*, 129; *t*, 143; *dh*, 147; *b*, 151; *ś*, 296; *ṣ*, 295; *h*, 124
- khṣ*: and *kś*, *kṣ*, 190-1
- g*: and *k*, 45-9; *kh*, 82; *gh*, 83; *c*, 128; *j*, 130-4; *d*, 144-5; *p*, 153; *b*, 151-2
- gdh*: and *dhv*, or *ddh*, 875
- gh*: and *k*, 83; *kh*, 70; *g*, 83; *th*, 147; *dy*, 868; *dh*, 147; *pv*, 875; *h*, 123
- ñ*, sandhi of final, 939:—and *n*, 146
- c*: and *k*, 126-7; *g*, 128; *ch*, 84; *j*, 50-7; *t*, 155-6; *d*, 158; *p*, 162; *bh*, 878; *v*, 866; *ś*, 195; *ṣ*, 194
- ch*: and *k*, 128a; *kṣ*, 140, 183-4; *kh*, 129; *c*, 84; *ts*, *ps*, 140, 183, 185-6; *ś*, 195
- j*: and *g*, 130-4; *c*, 50-7; *jh*, 85; *t*, 156-7; *d*, 159; *dh*, 160; *y*, 192-3; *v*, 876; *ś*, 195; *h*, 196
- jh*: and *j*, 85
- t*: and *th*, 86-8; *d*, 58; *t*, 164-5, 167-8, 170; *th*, 170
- th*: and *t*, 86-8; *v*, 876
- d*: and *k*, 135; *t*, 58; *t*, 169-170; *th*, 165; *d*, 165-170; *dh*, 169; *r*, 272; *l*, 270-1
- qdh*: and *dh*, 168, 170
- n*: and *n*, 163, 165, 170, 945-54; *l*, 273
- t*, optional between final *n* and initial *s*, 938:—and *k*, 137-142; *kh*, 143; *c*, 155-6; *j*, 156-7; *t*, 164-5, 167-8, 170; *d*, 169-170; *th*, 89-96; *d*, 59-68; *dh*, 97-8; *n*, 871; *p*, 180; *bh*, 177; *l*, 878; *s*, 874
- tr*: and *v*, 876
- ts*, followed by evanescent *y*, 333:—and *kṣ*, 140; *ch*, 183, 185; *ps*, 180, end
- th*: and *gh*, 147; *t*, 170; *d*, 165; *t*, 89-96; *dh*, 71-8; *y*, 877
- d*: and *g*, 144-5; *c*, 158; *j*, 159; *d*, 165-170; *t*, 59-68; *dh*, 99-110; *b*, 179; *bh*, 177-8; *y*, 161; *r*, 272a; *l*, 273; *v*, 869
- du*: and *i*, 878
- ddh*: and *gdh*, *dbhy*, *dv*, 875
- dbhy*: and *ddh*, 875
- dy*: and *gh*, 868
- dv*: and *ddh*, 875
- dh*: and *kh*, 147; *gh*, 147; *j*, 160; *d*, 169; *dh*, 168, 170; *t*, 97-8; *th*, 71-8; *d*, 99-110; *p*, 177; *bh*, 172-6; *h*, 122
- dhv*: and *gdh*, 875
- n*, sandhi of final, 920-944; present or absent, 300-311; as hiatus-bridger, 309:—and *ñ*, 146; *n*, 163, 165, 170, 945-954; *t*, 871; *m*, 181; *r*, 860-5; *l*, 878
- p*, rhythmic lengthening of *a* before, 433, 460, 464-6:—and *k*, 148-153a; *g*, 153; *c*, 162; *t*, 180; *dh*, 177; *ph*, 111; *b*, 69; *bh*, 112-4; *m*, 203-5; *y*, 867; *v*, 198, 200-2; *ṣ*, 872; *s*, 874
- pt*: and *s*, 874
- pty*: and *pr*, 878
- pr*: and *pty*, 878; *śn(y)*, 878; *s*, 874
- prā*: and *ā*, 873
- pv*: and *gh*, 875
- ps*: and *kṣ*, 153a; *ch*, 183, 186; *ts*, 180, end
- ph*: and *p*, 111; *bh*, 79; *v*, 199
- b*: and *kh*, 151; *g*, 151-2; *d*, 179; *p*, 69; *v*, 206-219; *m*, 241
- bj*: and *kṣ*, 196
- bh*: and *k*, 152; *c*, 878; *t*, 177; *d*, 177-8; *dh*, 172-6; *p*, 112-4; *ph*, 79; *m*, 242; *v*, 220-2; *s*, 874; *h*, 116-121
- m*, present or absent, 300-312; lengthening of *a* and *u* before, 464-5, 468, 549; as hiatus-bridger, 309:—and *n*, 181; *p*, 203-5; *b*, 241; *bh*, 242; *v*, 223-240; *s*, 870
- y*, present or absent, 36, 313-347; as hiatus-bridger, 36, 338-344; after two consonants, 314-5, 321-2, 332-7; after palatals, *kṣ*, etc., 332-7; assimilation to adjoining consonant, 408:—and *iṃ*, 766-798; *īy*, 786; *j*, 192-3; *th*, 877; *d*, 161; *p*, 867; *r*, 244; *l*, 245; *v*, 246-255; *ṣ*, 877; *h*, 256
- ya*, *yā*: and *i*, *ī*, 733-8; *e*, 803
- yu*: and *i*, 736, 738; *ī*, 738; *vī*, 805
- yū*: and *vī*, 805
- r*, final, before *k*, *p*, 968; present or absent, 348-357; as hiatus-bridger, 353; after two consonants, 357; assimilated to adjoining consonant, 407; rhythmic lengthening of *i* and *u*

- before, 515-6, 550:—and *d*, 272; *d*, 272a; *n*, 860-5; *y*, 244; *l*, 257-265; *v*, 266-8; *h*, 269
- ra*: and *r*, 656-8, 660, 662-5; *ri*, 573
- rā*: and *ar*, 806; *r*, 657-9, 661
- ri*: and *r*, 666-676; *ra*, 573
- rī*: and *r*, 677
- ru*: and *r*, 678-684
- l*, assimilated to adjoining consonant, 409:—and *d*, 270-1; *n*, 273; *t*, 878; *d*, 273; *n*, 878; *y*, 245; *r*, 257-265
- v*, present or absent, 358-371; as hiatus-bridger, 358-362; after two consonants, 367, 370; assimilated to adjoining consonant, 408, 410; rhythmic lengthening of short vowels before, 464-8, 515-6, 520, 547, 550-1; variation of *a* and *u* before, 601-4:—and *uv*, 766-798; *c*, 866; *j*, 876; *th*, 876; *tr*, 876; *d*, 869; *p*, 198, 200-2; *ph*, 199; *b*, 206-219; *bh*, 220-2; *m*, 223-240; *y*, 246-255; *r*, 266-8; *ś*, 876; *h*, 269
- va*: and *u*, 739, 741-2; *ū*, 739; *o*, 804
- vā*: and *u*, 739-740, 742; *o*, 804
- vi*: and *u*, 743; *yu*, 805
- vī*: and *u*, *ū* or *yū*, 743, 805
- ś*: and *kś*, 297; *kh*, 296; *c*, *ch*, *j*, 195; *ś*, 288-292; *s*, 275-287
- śc*: and *sy*, 188
- śn(y)*: and *pr*, 878
- ś*, rhythmic lengthening of *i* and *u* before, 515-6, 547; for *s* final after non-*a* vowel before *t*, 955-8; for initial *s*, 981-8:—and *kh*, 295; *c*, 194; *p*, 872; *y*, 877; *v*, 876; *ś*, 288-292; *s*, 293-4; *h*, 299
- s*, present or absent, 372-7; final after non-*a* vowels before *t*, varies with *ś*, 955-8; final before *k*, *p*, 959-967; final before initial sibilant, 969-971; *ditto*, before sibilant plus surd, 972-7, and plus sonant, 972-3, 978-980; initial *s* varies with *ś*, 981-8:—and *t*, *p*, *pt*, *pr*, *bh*, 874; *m*, 870; *ś*, 275-287; *ś*, 293-4; *h*, 298-9
- sy*: and *śc* or *s* plus consonant, 187-9
- h*, present or absent, 385-7:—and *kh*, 124; *gh*, 123; *j*, 196; *dh*, 122; *bh*, 116-121; *y*, 256; *r*, *v*, 269; *ś*, *s*, 298-9

SANSKRIT INDEX

Note.—Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf. Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc.): with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras. The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here. Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction. It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means. Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word; only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed. The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences.—In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for.' References are to sections.

a-*privative, lengthened*, 470-1

añśadhri: °dri, 99

akūpāra, 198

agni: agra, 863-4

agneyāni, 357, 692

agra: agni, 863-4

aghr̥ṇi: āgh°, 473

añghr̥ṇi: āgh°, 300, 473

acha: achā, 461

atatantha, adadanta, 63

adham: sadam, 110

adhi: abhi, 172

anapatyatām: anapad°, 59

anavapṛṇa, 55

anaśyato, °śvato, °śśato, 255, 408

anaśrū: anaśśū, 407

anūkya: anūpya, 151

antarikṣa, 517

apas: āpas, 498

apikakṣa: apipakṣa, 151

aptu(bhiḥ), 152

abbhuva: abhva, 392, 790

abhi: adhi, 172

abhiśastipāvā: °pā u, 740

abhiṣṇāt, 142

abhva: abbhuvā, 392, 790

arśat: arṣat, 288

av (*root*), 253

avaṭa: °ta, 164

avākā, 496

avithura: avidhura, 77

aviśvaminvām: aviśvavinnām, 236

aśita: as°, 277

aśn(y)uṣṇi, 337

asrivi: asrivi, 277

aṣṭ(h)iva, 86

-as: -ās (*in s stems*), 502

asamheya, 121, 124

askra: āskra, 473

asyate: aśy°, 278

ā, *preposition, present or absent*, 508-9,

652, 694, 698, 711, 718, 722, 730

ā-: a-, *privative*, 470-1

-ā, *stem final, shortened*, 493

ākkhidate, 401, 405

āghr̥ṇi: añghr̥ṇi: aghr̥ṇi, 300, 473

āṇṛhuḥ: āṇṛdhuḥ, 122

āpas: apas, 498

āvabhūva, 215

āvṛt: rāvat: rāvaṭ, 168, 632

-ās: -as (*in s stems*), 502

āskra: askra, 473

- āsyan, 328
 ikṣva: iyakṣva, 734
 indh: īd, 169
 īd: indh, 169; —: vīd *etc.*, 169, 360
 ugra: ūgra, 567
 uttara: °rā, 476
 ud-ac: ud-aj, 53
 uramdha: °dhra, 353
 uruyā, 743, 791
 urv-: ūrm-, 228
 urviyā: urvyā, 767, 791
 ulumbara: °la, 265
 ulba: ulva, 219
 uṣṇan (= muṣṇan?), 401
 ūgra: ugra, 567
 ūrm-: ūrv-, urv-, 228
 ṛṇanti: rinanti, 676
 ṛṣabha: vṛṣ°, 359
 etagva: edagva, 59
 kakūṭha: kakkaṭa, 88, 401, 607
 kakud: kakubh, 178
 kakubha: kakuha, 120
 kakkaṭa: kakūṭha, 88, 401, 607
 : katkaṭa, 139
 kanānakā: kani°, kanīnikā, 595, 597
 kayāda: kravyāda, 355
 kariṣa, 152
 kavyavāhana: kravya°, 353
 kahya: gahya, 49
 kāsthā: gā°, 48
 kirika: girika, 49
 kilbiṣa: kilv°, 216
 kīrṣā: kīrṣā, 290
 kulaṅga: kuluṅga, 607
 kulīkaya: kulīkā: kulīpaya, 149, 802
 kulmaḥ = kurmaḥ, 263
 kuvala: kvala, 767, 782
 kuṣṭhā: kuṣṭā, 86; —: guṣṭhā, 49
 kuha: guha, 49
 kūvāra, kūvara, 198
 kṛṇatti: gr°, 48
 kṛtadvasu, 95
 kṛtta: kṛta, 401
 kṛtsnāmi: grathnāmi, 47
 kṛmi: krimi, 668
 kṛvi: krivi, 673
 kṛṣṭi: gr°, 46
 ketu, ketas: cetu, cetas, 126
 kevarta: kai°, 708
 krayi: kravi, krivi, giri-, 47
 kravyavāhana: kavya°, 353
 kravyāda: kayāda, 355
 krimi: kṛmi, 668
 krivi: kṛvi, 673;—see krayi
 kruñca: krauñca, 724
 klība: klīva, 219
 kvala: kuvala, 767, 782
 kṣā: kṣā, khyā, 190
 kṣayaṇa: kṣeṇa, 744
 kṣā: kṣā, khyā, 190
 kṣiyant: kṣyant, 767, 795
 kṣu, 183
 kṣudra(ka): kṣullaka, 262
 kṣeṇa: kṣayaṇa, 744
 kṣyant: kṣiyant, 767, 795
 khagalya: khrg°, 199, 631
 kharva: khalva, 265
 khid: chid, 129
 khilya: khilla, 408
 khrgalya: khag°, 199, 631
 khyā: kṣā, kṣā, 190
 gabhasti, 151
 gambh-: gah-, 120
 galgā: galdā, 144
 gahya: kahya, 49
 gāsthā: kā°, 48
 giri-, see krayi
 girika: kir°, 49
 guggulu: gulgulu, 409
 gulph: guṣp, 111
 gulbadhānaḥ, 260
 guṣṭhā: ku°, 49
 guha: kuha, 49
 gūḥ for guh, 558
 gr: pr, 153
 grṇatti: kṛ°, 48
 grṣṭi: kṛṣṭi, 46
 gotrabhid: °bhrd, 636
 grathnāmi: kṛtsnāmi, 47
 grabh: grah, 115-6
 ghoṣad, 83
 canīkhudad, 126
 car: tar, 155
 cariṣṇu: jar°, 57
 cākupāna: cāk|p°, 645
 cikitnu, 45

citra: śvitra, 195, 369
 cidākoh, 47
 cubuka, 84
 cetu, cetas: ketu, ketaś, 126
 cyu(t): ścut *etc.*, 336
 chid: khid, 129
 chubuka, 84
 jakṣuḥ: ca°, 55
 jagṛbhṇā, 116
 janman: manman, 856
 jariṣṇu: car°, 57
 jaṣa: jhaṣa, 85
 jāgṛyāma: jāgriyāma, 674
 jīgatnu, 45
 jinv: pinv, 852
 jmann: dyām, 159
 jyām: dyām, 159
 jyut: dyut, 159
 jhaṣa: jaṣa, 85
 ta: tya, 345; —: tva-, 365
 tanakmi: tanacmi, 127
 tap: tam, 204
 tar: car, 155
 tarutra: tarudra, 59
 tādiknā: °tnā, 141
 tityagdhi: titigdhi, 733
 tiṣṭhato (*for* °tu), 715
 tevī (devī), 21, 66
 tya: ta, 345; tyam: tvam, 252
 -tra: -trā (*adv. suffix*), 451-2
 tva-: ta-, 365
 tvam: tyam, 252
 tviṣ: dviṣ, 60
 -tha: -thā (*adv. suffix*), 453-5
 dā: dhā, 100-6
 dips: dhips (dabh), 107
 diś: viś, 869
 duruṣyaha, °ṣvaha, °ṣṣaha, 255, 408
 durbhūtam: °dam, 59
 durhaṇyataḥ: durhṇ°, 4, 631
 dūraka: dūragā, 46
 dṛbā: dṛvā: drubā, 219, 679
 devayat: deva-yaṭ(-yaj), 170
 devakāmā: devrk°, 633
 dyām: jmann, 159; —: jyām, 159
 dyut: jyut, 159
 drāghuyā, 240, 764
 drubā: dṛvā: dṛbā, 219, 679

dviṣ: tviṣ, 60
 -dha: -dhā (*adv. suffix*), 453-4
 dhavanī: dhamanī, 144, 225
 -dhā: -dha (*adv. suffix*), 453-4
 dhā: dā, 100-6; —: dhr, 350
 dhāman: nāman, 855
 -dhi: -dhī, *impv. ending*, 518
 dhita: bhṛta, 175, 639
 dhips: dips (dabh), 107
 dhur: dhūr, 557
 dhūr(u)ṣadam, dhūr(u)ṣāh-, 759
 dhr: dhā, 350
 dhrṣat, dhrṣad, 60, 110
 dhenukā: °gā, 48
 -na: -nā (*instrum. ending*), 458
 naptī: naptī, 357
 navakṛt: navagat, 46
 nahṛṣa: nahuṣa, 642
 nāth: nādh, 76
 nāman: dhāman, 855
 nicaṅkuṇa: nicuṅk°: nicumpuṇa, 150, 605
 niṣaṅgadhi: °thi: °ti, 77, 93
 nyemur (:ni yemur), 767, 770
 nyantar (:niyantar), 767, 770
 paḍbīṣa: °viṣa [:°viṣa], 217, 302
 paḍbhiḥ: pad°, 166
 pad: pād, 499
 parasvi: °spi, 198
 parita: paritta, 404
 palakṣa, 69
 paṣṭhavāh: prṣ°, 631
 pāṅsura: °la, 261
 pād: pad, 499
 pitar: pitār-, 500
 pitṛya: pitṛya, 674
 pinv: jinv, 852
 pīvas *etc.*: pib°, 211
 puṇjīṣṭa: °ṣṭha, 86
 purikaya, *see* puli°
 puritatā, puri°, puli°, puli°, 263, 532
 puriṣa, 152
 purutamā: °dama, 60
 puruṣa: pū°, 566
 pulikaya, puri°, pulikā, puliraya, 149, 802
 pulitatā, *see* puri°
 pūruṣa: pu°, 566

pr: gr, 153; —: bhṛ, 112
 prñcanti: vrñjanti, 57, 200
 prñacmi: prñajmi, 55
 prthivī: °vi, 524
 prsthavāh: paś°, 631
 prśvā: pruśvā, 680
 prakkhidate, 401, 405
 prakhān: praghān, 70
 pratadvasu, 95
 pratijagrāham, 808
 pratīta: pratīta, 404
 prapharvī: °vi, 524
 prayakṣu: prayatsu, 140
 praviśivāṅsam, 808
 prasutaḥ: prasupah, 180
 prā, for pra, 429, 439, 465, 512
 pru: plu, 261
 pruśvā: prśvā, 680
 prorṇ(u)vāthām, 767, 797
 plu: pru, 261
 phaliga, 46
 baḍabā, 219
 badh: vadh, 209
 bandhura: van°, 213
 bala: vala, 210
 bal(i)h: valh, 214, 762
 baṣkiha: vaṣ°: bāṣka, 219
 bahiṣṭha: vah°, 214
 bākura: vā°, 216
 bāṇa: vāṇa, 218
 bāla: vāla, 214-5
 bāṣka, see baṣkiha
 bīja: vīja, 216
 brh: vrh, 212, 215
 brhat: mahat, 241, 634
 bhū: hu, hū, 119
 bhūyāma: bhūyāma, 377
 bhr: pr, 112; —: hr, 117
 bhṛta: hita: dhita, 118, 175, 639
 -ma: -mā (endings of nouns), 459-460
 maṅgīradāsakau, °gau(ḥ), etc., 49
 mathavya, 78
 man: van (roots), 227; (suffixes), 240
 mant, lengthening of u before, 549
 mant: vant, vin, varī (suffixes), 238-9
 manthilava, 77, 597
 mand: vand, 229
 manman: janman, 856

mayas: vayas, 232
 marūka, 81
 maṣmaṣā, masmasā, 294, 632
 mahat: brhat, 241, 634
 mahānaghnī (°nagnī), 83
 -mā: -ma (noun endings), 459-460
 mātṛk (māḍṛk), 21, 66
 mānthāla, °lava, māndhāla, mānthil-
 ava, 77, 597
 mārḡmi: mārjmi, 131
 mṛddha: mṛdhra, 407
 mṛsmṛsā, 294, 632
 medin: vedin, 231
 medh-: vedh-(ved-), 109, 230
 -ya, noun suffix, 313-326; —: iya, 784-7
 -ya: -yā, gerund suffix, 456-7
 yati: yatti, 401
 -yin: -vin, 246-7
 yunagmi: yunajmi, 131
 yup: lubh, 113, 245
 yuva-: yuvā- (pronoun), 504
 raghuśyadaḥ: °taḥ, 64
 ratha-kṛtsa: °kṛtsna, °grtsa, 46
 rabh: labh, 262
 rayyās, rayyai: rāyas, rāye, 396
 rarāṭa: lalāṭa, 265
 rāyas, rāye: rayyās, rayyai, 396
 rāvaṭ: rāvat: āvṛt, 168, 632
 riṇanti: ṛṇanti, 676
 riṣ: liṣ, 261
 riṣak: riṣat, 142
 rohita: lohita, 262
 labh: rabh, 262
 lalāṭa: rarāṭa, 265
 liṣ: riṣ, 261
 lubh: yup, 113, 245
 loka: loga, 46
 lohita: rohita, 262
 vaḍabā, vaḍavā, 219
 vadh: badh, 209
 van: man (roots), 227; (suffixes), 240
 vanasad: vanarṣad: vanṛṣad, 650
 vaniṣṭu: °ṣṭhu, 86
 vant: mant (suffixes), 238-9; lengthen-
 ing of a, i, before, 467, 520
 vand: mand, 229
 vandhura: ban°, 213
 vayas: mayas, 232

- varivah: variyah, 249, 541a
 varī: vati, mati (*suffixes*), 239
 vala: bala, 210
 valh: bal(i)h, 214, 762
 vaṣkiha: baṣ°, bāṣka, 219
 vas: viś, 281, 576
 vastya: pastya, 198
 vahiṣṭha: bah°, 214
 vākura: bā°, 216
 vācam: vājam, 51-2
 vāṇa: bāṇa, 218
 vāyosāvitra, 716
 vāra: vāla, 261
 vārdhrāṇasa: vārdhrī°, vārhi°, 122, 597
 vāla: bāla, 214-5; —: vāra, 261
 vicarturam, 156
 vicrt: vivrt, 866
 vicrta: vicrtta, 401
 vitudasya, 65
 vid: vrdh, 108, 640
 -vin, *lengthening of a before*, 467; —:
 -mant, 239; —: -yin, 246-7
 vipraḥ: vibhṛjaḥ, vimṛjaḥ, vivṛtaḥ, 57
 viyantu: vyantu, 796
 vivrt: vicrt, 866
 viś: diś, 869; —: vas, 281, 576
 viśvahā, viśvāha, °hā, 477, 511
 vīja: bīja, 216
 vid: vid: Id, 169, 360
 vṛkka: vṛkya, 408
 vṛñjanti: pṛñcanti, 57, 200
 vṛdh: vṛt, 97; —: vid, 108, 640
 vṛścyantām, vṛścantām, 334
 vṛṣabha: ṛṣ°, 359
 vṛh: bṛh, 212, 215
 ved-: vedh-: medh-, 109, 230
 vedin: medin, 231
 vyantu: viyantu, 796
 śak: śik, 571
 śamtāci: °tāti, 156
 śabali: śav°, 219
 śam (*root*): śim, 572
 śam (*particle*): sam, 276, 278, 280
 śamopyāt, 277
 śava: śapha, 199
 śavali: śab°, 219
 śavas *etc.*: śravas *etc.*, 349
 śaspiñjara: śasp°, 278, 294
 śākī: sāki, 278
 śābalya: śābulya: śāmulya, 241, 607
 śiñśumāra: śiśu°, śiśu°, 305, 551
 śik: śak, 571
 śitiṅga: śvi°, 369
 śim: śam, 572
 śirā: śilā, 263
 śiśumāra, śiśu°: śiñśu°, 305, 551
 śukra: śukla, 262
 śudh: śubh, 173
 śuśulūkā, 279, 624
 śūra: śūra, 278, 284
 śoka: śoca, 126
 ścut: ścyut: cyu(t), 336
 śn(y)aptre, 337
 śrañś: srañś, 277
 śrama: sṛma, 277
 śravas *etc.*: śavas *etc.*, 349
 śriṣ: śliṣ, 261, 265
 śru: sru, 274-5, 278, 283
 śroṇa: śloṇa, 261
 śliṣ: śriṣ, 261, 265
 śloṇa: śroṇa, 261
 śvitiṅga: śi°, 369
 śvitra: citra, 195, 369
 ṣadvinśa, 217, 302
 sa: sam, 306; —: su, 612; —: sva, 364
 samśkr̥ti: samkṛti, 374
 samkṛṣya: °kaṣya, °kuṣya, 4, 631
 sacate: srjate, 3, 57, 634
 samjigāire, 387
 sat(a): sada(s), 60
 sad: śad, 278
 sada(s): sat(a), 60
 sadhriṣu, 353
 saniṣan: saniṣyan, 334
 sam: sa, 306; —: śam, 276, 278, 280
 samiddham: samṛddham, 39, 635
 samude (sam̐mude?), 401
 sarira: salila, 264
 saru: śaru, 278
 salila: sarira, 264
 sasṛgmahe: sasṛj°, 131
 saspiñjara: śasp°, 278, 294
 sāki: śāki, 278
 sāviṣak: °ṣat, 142
 simāḥ (śi°), 278
 su: sa, 612; —: sva, 741

suka (śuka), 278
 suci: śuci, 278
 suta: stuta, 419
 subhūtam: °dam, 59
 sumatitsaru, 180
 suvāna: svāna, 768, 794
 suṣīlikā, 279, 624
 sūra: śūra, 278, 284
 sṛ: sru, 682
 sṛkāyin: °vin, sṛgāyin, 48, 247
 sṛjate: sacate, 3, 57, 634
 sṛdh: sridh, 672
 sṛma: śrama, 277
 senāni: °ni, 523, 527
 soma: stoma, 419
 somapitsaru: somasatsaru, 180
 skabh: stabh, 137

stuta: suta, 419
 stoma: soma, 419
 sthūra: sthūla, 261
 sraṅs: śraṅś, 277
 sravati: srotyā, 749
 sri: śri, 278
 sridh: sṛdh, 672
 sru: sṛ, 682; —: śru, 274–5, 278, 283
 srotyā: sravati, 749
 sva: sa, 364; —: su, 741
 svasūr: svasṛ, 644
 svāna: suvāna, 768, 794
 hariśaya: hari°, harā°, 521, 597
 hita: bhṛta, 118, 639
 hu, hū: bhū, 119
 hṛ: bhṛ, 117
 hṛda: hrada, 658

SUBJECT INDEX

References are to sections

- Ablaut: see Guṇa, Vriddhi, Sampra-sāraṇa, and under the various vowels and diphthongs in the Index of Sounds etc.
- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: prefers *r* to *l*, 259
- Āpastamba Mantra Brāhmaṇa: drops final *s* before sibilant plus sonant, 978
- Aspirates: and non-aspirates, 80-114; and *h*, 23, 115-124
- Assimilation and dissimilation: of consonants, 38, 139, 406-416; of vowels, 416a, 601-5, 607, 609, 622-4, 678-680
- Atharva Veda and its school: prefers *śubh* to *śudh*, 173; *variyaḥ* for *varivah*, 249; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885a; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 915; final *s*: *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels before *l*, 957; final *s* before sibilant plus sonant, 978; Book 20 has *l* for *ḍ*, 270
- Consonants: double and single (in conjunction with other consonants) 389-392, (between vowels) 393-405; simplification of groups, 417-421 (see also 314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370); optional dropping of mute between nasal and other consonant, 417-8; see also Assimilation
- Denominative stems in *aya*, *āya*, 478; in *iya*, *īya*, 534; in (*i*)*ya*, 786
- Dentals: and gutturals, 136-147; labials, 171-181; linguals, 25, 163-170; palatals, 24, 154-161
- Diphthongs: 41-2, 685-750
- Dissimilation, see Assimilation
- Dittology, 810-3
- Epenthesis of vowels, 43, 751-798
- False divisions 814-840
- Gerunds in *ya*, *yā*, 456-7
- Graphic variants, 858-878
- Guṇa (normal Ablaut grade), 570-3, 582-3, 601-5, 615, 647-651, 686-8, 696, 713-5, 720
- Gutturals: and dentals, 136-147; labials, 148-153; linguals, 135; palatals, 125-134
- Haplogy, 807-9, 812-3
- Hiatus, 991-6; hiatus-bridger (Hiatus-tilger), nasals *as*, 308-9; *y* *as*, 36, 338-344; *r* *as*, 353; *v* *as*, 358-362
- Hieratic language: prefers *adha* to *atha*, 72ff.; *grabh* to *grah*, 115; *r* to *l*, 258, 261-2, 264
- Instrumentals in *na*, *nā*, 458
- Kāṭhaka Samhitā: writes *kṣā* for *khyā*, 190; *triyavi* for *tryavi*, 768, 776; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 914; final *s*: *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels before *l*, 957; final *s* before sibilants, 970, 974; *āgrāyaṇa* for *āgra*°, 492
- Labials, 29, 197-242; lengthening of short vowels before, 433, 460, 464-8, 515-6, 520, 547, 549-51; shortening of long vowels before, 475;—and dentals, 171-181; gutturals, 148-153; palatals, 162
- Linguals: and dentals, 25, 163-170; gutturals, 135
- Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā and its school: writes *kṣā* for *khyā*, 190; [*l* for *r*?, 259]; *ṣaṇḍa*: *ṣaṇḍa*, 289; *a* before *vant* and *vin*, 467; prefers *u* to *a* before *v* (?), 601-4; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 916; change of *n* to *ṇ*, 947, 952; final *ṣ* for *s* after non-*a* vowels before *l*, 957; final *s* before *k*, *p*, 963; final *s* before sibilants, 974; *āgrāyaṇa* for *āgra*°, 492
- Mantra-pāṭha, see Āpastamba

Metathesis, 799-806

Meter, relation to rhythmic lengthening and shortening, 425, 428-431, 438-448, 457-460, 515-6; concerned in hiatus, 991ff.; in patch-words, 843ff.

Nasals, present or absent, 35, 300-312; as hiatus-bridgers, 308-9; assimilation of consonants to adjoining—, 411-5; nasal after short vowel, varies with long vowel, 300-2

Nirukta: has *l* for *ḍ*, 270-1

Palatals, 26-8, 182-196; followed by evanescent *y*, 334, 336-7;—and dentals, 24, 154-161; gutturals, 125-134; labials, 162

Patch words, 822-833, 841-850

Popular language: prefers *atha* to *adha*, 72ff.; *grah* to *grabh*, 115; *l* to *r*, 258, 261-2

Prakritisms, 20-43 (summary, which see for further references)

Reduplicating syllable: rhythmic lengthening of vowels in, 468, 519, 548; *a* and *i* in, 581

Rhythmic lengthening and shortening, see Vowels

Rigveda and its school: *r* for *l* in, 261-2; *ḷ*, *ḷh*, for *ḍ*, *ḍh*, 270; *svāna* for *svāna*, 768, 794; *h* for *dh*, *bh*, 23; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 913; change of *n* to *ṇ*, 951; final *s:s* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *r* before *k*, *p*, 968

Rime words, 851-7

Sāma Veda and its school: has *atha* etc. for *adha* etc., 72; *g* for *j* before *m*, 131; prefers *u* to *a* before *v*, 601-4; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; tends to drop initial *a* after *e*, *o*, 902; change of *n* to *ṇ*, 947, 952; final *r* before *k*, *p*, 968

Samprasāraṇa, 656-665, 733-743

Sandhi, 879-996. See 881-2 for general principles; 883-4 (or Table of Contents) for analysis of contents of the chapter; 879 for references to sandhi

in other parts of the book.—Secondary crasis or double sandhi, 989-990. See Hiatus.

Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra: has *l* for *ḍ*, 270; *ḥ* for final *s* before sibilant plus surd, 975

Sibilants, 30-4, 274-299; lengthening of *i* and *u* before, 515-6, 547

Surds and sonants, 21-2, 44-79

Taittirīya Samhitā and its school: prefers *u* to *i*, 8, 622; prefers *v* to *y*, 8, 247-8; guttural for final labial, 148, 151; *ā* for *a* before *vant* and *vin*, 467; *prṣvā* for *pruṣvā*, 680; favors *iy*, *uv*, for *y*, *v*, after consonant, 767ff. (exceptions, 767); sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885c; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 914; change of *n* to *ṇ*, 947-8, 952; retains final *s* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *s* before *k*, *p*, 963

Vājasaneyi Samhitā and its school: has *badh* for *vadh* (?), 209, but often *v* for original *b*, 215-8; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 913; final *s:s* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, Kāṇva: has *k* and *g* for *c* and *j* before *m*, 125, 127, 131; *badh* for *vadh* (?), 209; *l* for *ḍ*, 270; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; final *s:s* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957

Voiceless and Voiced, see Surd and Sonant

Vowels, short and long, with and without following nasal, 35, 300-2; before double and single consonants, 393ff.; rhythmic lengthening, (of *a*) 422-468, (of *i*) 514-521, (of *u*) 546-552; rhythmic shortening, (of *ā*) 424, 473-7, (of *ī*) 522-4, (of *ū*) 553. See Assimilation, Epenthesis

Vriddhi (Dehnstufe): in primary noun formations, 485-9; in secondary noun formations, 314-326, 490-1, 699, 702, 707, 724-5, 728; in verb stems, 480-1, 700, 702, 712, 729

INDEX OF MANTRAS

References are to sections

- añśum gabhasti (babhasti) haritebhir
āśabhiḥ, 151
añśur-añśuṣ te (-añśus te) deva somā
pyāyatām, 958
añśūn babhasti haritebhir āśabhiḥ, 151
año rājā vibhajatīmāv (°mām) agni,
237
aṇhasapataye (aṇhaspatyāya) tvā,
325, 810
aṇhāriri asi bambhāriḥ, 123
aṇhomuce pra bharemā (bhare) manī-
śām, 808
akaḥ su (sa) lokam sukṛtam prthivyāḥ
(°vyām), 612
aktam rihānā viyantu (vyantu) vayah,
96, 152, 796, 857
akrān samudrah prathame vidharman,
508
akṣakṛtyās tripañcāśiḥ, 185, 192, 353
akṣatam ariṣṭam ilāndam, 411, 576
akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnaḥ gopā-
yanam, 411, 576
akṣāñām vagnum (vagnum, gatnum,
gaṇam) avajighram āpaḥ (upajigh-
namānaḥ, upalipsamānāḥ), 181, 832,
865
akṣitam asi mā pitṛñām (pitāma-
hānām, prapitāmahanām) kṣeṣṭhā
. . ., 576, 586
akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāḥ, 576, 586
akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāḥ,
576, 586
akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā. . ., 576, 586
akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me, 552, 587
akṣyo (akṣo) tanvo rapaḥ, 335
akhidrāḥ prajā abhivipaśya, 129
agan prāṇaḥ svargaḥ lokam . . ., 508
aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh (pra-
taram na āyuh), 411, 575, 824
aganma viśvavedasam, 508
aganma vṛtrahantamam, 508
agr̥bhīt, agr̥bhīṣata, 657
agotām anapatyatām (anapadyatām),
59
agor arir ā ciketa, 244, 837
agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ samasanād
ekaḥ, 181, 511, 875
agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvaṁ tejasvān
deveṣv edhi, 598
agnaya upāhvayadhvam, 509
agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rātham-
tarāyāṣṭākāpālāḥ (etc.), 495
agnaye tvā mahyam . . . āyur (mayo)
dātra . . . mayo mahyam pratigra-
hītre (pratigr̥hate), 511, 657, 719
agnaye dhūñkṣṇā (dhūñkṣā), 255, 311,
335, 568
agnaye samidham āhārṣam (āhārṣam),
508
agnāv (agnā) agniś carati praviṣṭaḥ,
888
agnāviṣṇu mā vām ava kramiṣam, 723
agnih pareṣu (pratneṣu) dhāmasu, 579
agnih pratnena manmanā (janmanā),
856
agnih pravidvān (°vān) iha tat kṛṇotu
(karotu, dadhātu), 925
agnih priyeṣu dhāmasu, 579
agnim yunajmi (yunagmi) śavasā
ghṛtena, 131
agnim śreṣṭhaśociṣam, 747, 843
agnim sa ṛchatu yo maitasyai (°syā)
diśo 'bhidāsati, 910
agnim sa diśām devaṁ devatānām
ṛchatu yo . . ., 910
agnim sruco adhvaṛeṣu prayatsu, 140
agnim sve yonāv (yonā) abhār ukhā,
888

agnim hotāram antarā vivṛttāḥ, 866
 agnim ca viśvaśambhuvam (°saṁ-
 bhuvam), 278
 agnijiḥvebhyaḥ tvartāyubhya (°bhyo)
 . . . , 918
 agninendreṇa somena . . . upa te huve
 savāham ('sā aham), 362
 agnim naras triśadhas the sam Idhire
 (indhate), 301
 agnim atirugbhyaṁ (atī°), 516
 agnim adya hotāram avṛṇtāyāṁ yaja-
 mānaḥ pacan pakṭiḥ (paṅkṭiḥ)
 pacan . . . , 310
 agnim indraṁ vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham
 ('haṇaṁ huvema), 850
 agnim indhita martyaḥ, 169, 302
 agnim indhe vivasvabhiḥ, 301
 agnim Idita martyaḥ, 169, 302
 agnim Idhe vivasvabhiḥ, 301
 agnim u śreṣṭhaśociṣam, 747, 843
 agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhiḥ, 907
 agnir adhi viyatto asyām, 910
 agnir adhyakṣaḥ (°āḥ), 494
 agnir annādo 'nnapatir . . . dadhātu
 (dadātu) svāhā, 104
 agnir amṛto abhavad vayobhiḥ (saho-
 bhiḥ), 907
 agnir āyusmān sa vanaspatibhir āyuṣ-
 mān ('māns) tena (tasyā) . . . , 932
 agnir ukthēna vāhasā (uktheṣv aṇ-
 hasu), 310
 agnir gārhapatyānām (gr̥hapatīnām),
 652, 737
 agnir dād (dā) draviṇaṁ vīrapeśāḥ, 392
 agnir dikṣitaḥ pr̥thivī . . . dikṣayatu
 (dikṣeta) . . . , 745
 agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ
 ('trebhyaḥ), 315, 747
 agnir deveṣu pra voca, 379
 agnir dvārā vy ṛṇvati (ur̥ṇvati), 654
 agnir no vanate (vanute, vaṇsate)
 rayim, 377, 606
 agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām, 509
 agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (sa id
 dhotā), 848, 996
 agnir viyatto 'syām, 910
 agnir haviḥ (havyam) śamitā sūdayāti
 (svadayatu), 737, 739

agnir havyāni siṣvadat, 739
 agnir havyānumanyatām (havyā no
 ma°), 719
 agnir havyā suśūdati, 739
 agnir hotā pr̥thivy antarikṣam, 821
 agnir hotā vetv (vettv) agnir (agner)
 hotraṁ vetu (vettu) . . . , 392, 691
 agnir hotreṇedaṁ (hotreṇa) havir . . . ,
 354, 833
 agniś ca dahataṁ prati, 512
 agniṣ t̥ān (t̥ān, t̥ān) agre pramumoktu
 devaḥ, 924, 958
 agniṣ t̥ān (t̥ān, t̥āl) lokāt (asmāt)
 pra . . . , 943
 agniṣ te agraṁ . . . , 910, 958
 agniṣ te tanvaṁ mā vinait, 958
 agniṣ te tejo mā hārṣit ('Iḥ, vinait), 958
 agniṣ te tvacaṁ mā hiṁsit, 958
 agniṣ te 'dhipatiḥ, 958
 agniṣ te hastam agrabhīt (agrahīt), 116
 agniṣ tvābhi pātu . . . , 958
 agniṣ tvā śrīṇātu, 958
 agniṣ tvā hvayati, 958
 agnis t̥ān agre . . . , 924, 958
 agnis te 'gram nayatu, 910, 958
 agnis te tanuvaṁ māti dhāk (tanvaṁ
 mā hiṁsit), 958
 agnis te tejo mā vi nait (mā prati
 dhākṣit), 958
 agnis te 'dhipatiḥ, 958
 agnis tvābhi pātu . . . , 958
 agnis tvā śrīṇātu, 958
 agnis tvā hvayati devayajyāyai, 958
 agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā, 554,
 578, 612
 agniḥ sruco adhvaṛṣu prayakṣu, 140
 agnihotraṁ pr̥thivīm antarikṣam, 821
 agnihotreṇedaṁ havir ajuṣatāvivr-
 dhata (°dhanta) . . . , 354, 833
 agnihvarebhyaḥ tvā rtā°, 918
 agni indrā vṛtrahaṇā huve vām, 850
 agnid rajanarāhuṇau (rāja°) . . . , 490
 agniṇdrayor ahaṁ devayajyāyā vīr-
 yavān indriyavān bhūyāsam, 467
 agniṣomā imaṁ su me, 888
 agniṣomābhyāṁ juṣṭaṁ ni yunajmi
 (yunagmi), 131
 agniṣomāv imaṁ su me, 888

agne akṣṇi nir daha svāhā, 338
 agneḥ puriṣam asi, 325, 381
 agneḥ puriṣavāhanah (puriṣya°, °vāh-
 anah), 319, 953
 agneḥ priyaṁ pātho 'pihi (apihi), 910
 agne kahya (gahya), 49
 agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva, 509
 agne ghr̥tenāhuta (°tah), 380
 agne tām vettha yadi te jātavedaḥ, 60
 agne tejasvin tejasvī . . . , 598
 agne trātar r̥tas (r̥tah) kaviḥ, 964
 agne tvam yonim āsida sādhyā, 505,
 874
 agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti
 (°ti, °śrito) divas (divaḥ) pr̥thivyoh,
 525, 626, 964
 agne tvam puriṣyaḥ, 325, 381
 agne tvāmkāmaya (tvām kāmaya)
 girā, 820
 agne dakṣaiḥ puniḥi naḥ (mā, puni-
 mahe), 802
 agne 'dabdhāyo 'śitatano (°śirtatano,
 'śitama) pāhi . . . , 353, 808
 agne deva paṇibhir viyamānaḥ (°ṇaḥ,
 guhyamānaḥ, idhyamānaḥ), 953
 agne devān (devān) ihā vaha, 924
 agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva
 (ikṣva), 325, 696, 734
 agne deveṣu pra vocaḥ, 379
 agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (bhavā)
 tvam naḥ, 434, 446
 agne pr̥thivipate . . . varuṇa dharma-
 nām pate . . . , 494
 agne pr̥thivyā adhipate . . . varuṇa
 dharmānām adhipate . . . , 494
 agne prehi prathamō devayatām
 (devā°, devatānām), 478
 agne br̥hann uṣasām . . . , 864
 agne brahma gr̥bh̥ṇiṣva (gr̥bh̥ṇiṣva,
 gr̥hiṣva), 116
 agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva
 (māvartasva, na ā vartasva, no
 nivartasva, na ā vavṛtsva), 516, 648
 agneyakṣṇi nir daha svāhā, 338
 agne yajasva rodasi urūci, 57, 363
 agne yajñasya cetataḥ, 864
 agne yat te tapas . . . yo 'smān (asmān)
 dveṣṭi . . . , 910

agne yat te tejas tena tam atejasam
 kuru (tam prati tityagdhi, titigdhi)
 yo 'smān (asmān) . . . , 733, 910
 agne yat te 'reis (arcis) . . . yo 'smān
 (asmān) . . . , 910 (bis)
 agne yat te haras . . . yo 'smān (asmān)
 . . . , 910
 agne yan me tanvā (tanuvā) ūnam
 (yan ma ūnam tanvas) tan ma ā
 pr̥ṇa, 503
 agne yān devān ayād . . . tām sasanu-
 śīṁ (samanaiśīr) . . . , 870
 agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (dūty-
 am vāriṣanyah), 225, 829
 agne yāhi suśastibhiḥ, 509
 agner akr̥ṇvann uśijo amṛtyave, 152,
 643, 650
 agner akṣṇaḥ kanīnakam (°kām,
 °nikām), 595
 agner agneyāny (agniyāny) asi, 357,
 692, 818
 agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavaḥ, 152,
 643, 650
 agner aveṇa marutām na bhojyā, 837
 agner jihvām abhi (jihvābhi, jih-
 vayābhi) gr̥ṇitam (gr̥ṇata), 309
 agner jihvāsi suhūr (subhūr, supūr)
 . . . , 114, 119
 agner yāny asi, 357, 692, 818
 agne varcasvin (°van) varcasvāns
 (°vi) . . . varcasvān (°vy) aham . . . ,
 596
 agne vājajid vājam tvā . . . , 360
 agne vikṣu pratidayat, 64, 864
 agne vitatam antar ā (antaram), 826
 agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma
 (°maḥ), 379
 agne virājam upasedha śakram, 138,
 569, 616
 agne vyacasva rodasi urūci, 57, 363
 agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (acār-
 ṣam), 754
 agneṣ tvā tejasā sādāyāmi, 958
 agneṣ tvā tejasā sūryasya . . . , 957
 agneṣ tvā mātrayā jāgatyā . . . , 491,
 958
 agneṣ tvāsyena prāśnāmi, 958
 agne saṁsṛjmahe girāḥ, 306

- agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayan̄ tava, 224
 agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (°nūr) hi
 bhūtva, 554, 578, 612
 agne samidham āhārṣam, 864
 agne samrād̄ iṣe rāye (rayyai) ram-
 asva . . ., 37, 396, 705
 agne sasṛjmahe girah, 306
 agnes tejasā sūryasya . . ., 957
 agnes tvā tejasā sādāyāmi, 958
 agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai (°tyā)
 . . ., 491, 958
 agnes tvāsyena prāśnāmi . . ., 958
 agne svam̄ (svām) yonim ā sīda
 sādhya (sādhuya), 505, 874
 agnau lājān āvapantī, 151
 agnau samrādhaniṁ yaje, 617, 806
 agrabhīt, agrabhīṣata, 657
 agre bhānn uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt,
 864
 agre yajñasya śocataḥ (cetataḥ), 156,
 195, 864
 agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam
 (bhajase mahad dhanam), 395a
 agre vikṣu pradīdayat, 64, 864
 agre samidham . . ., 864
 aghadviṣṭa devajātā, 147, 381, 619
 aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai (°daiḥ),
 384
 aghoraḥ prajā abhivipaśya, 129
 aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca, 816
 aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa (maitreṇa,
 cakṣuṣāham̄ śivena), 314, 699
 aghorebhyo 'tha (atha) ghorebhyah,
 908
 aghnyāv aśunam āratām, 569
 aghnyau śūnam āratām, 569
 aṅkāṅkaṁ (aṅkāṁ-aṅkaṁ, aṅkaṅkaṁ)
 chandaḥ, 362, 511
 aṅgād-aṅgāt sambhavasī (°śravasī), 853
 aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni ('sthini) ca me,
 598
 aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu, 322
 aṅgirasō me asya ('sya) yajūasya . . .,
 910
 aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñīyebhiḥ, 849
 aṅgirobhir yajñīyair ā gahīha, 849
 aṅgoṣiṇam avāvaśanta vāṇiḥ, 490, 599,
 720
 aṅgoṣiṇam pavamānam sakhyāḥ, 490,
 720
 anghārir asi bambhāriḥ, 123
 aṅghriṇā viṣṇo (viṣṇū) mā tvāva
 (vām ava) kramiṣam, 723
 andhi kham̄ vartayā papim (pavim),
 857
 acikitvāñ (°vāñś) cikitusaś cid atra, 930
 acikradat svapā iha bhuvat (bhavat),
 602, 838
 acittapājā agnīt, 399, 738
 acittamanā upavaktā, 399, 738
 aciṣyāma vṛjane viśva ūti, 242, 878
 acety agniś cikituh (°tiḥ), 623
 acyutapājā agnīt, 399, 738
 acyutamanā upavaktā, 399, 738
 acha yāhy ā vahā daivyaṁ janam, 460
 achalābhiḥ (°rābhiḥ) kapiñjalān, 26,
 184, 265, 631
 achā devān ūciṣe dhiṣṇyā (°ṇiyā)
 ye, 784
 achā no yāhy ā vaha, 460
 achā ma indram̄ matayaḥ svarvidah,
 234, 805
 achāyam̄ yanti śavasā ghṛtāciḥ, 824
 achāyam̄ eti śavasā ghṛtena (ghṛtā cit),
 824
 achā va indram̄ matayaḥ svaryuvah,
 234, 805
 achā viraṁ naryaṁ pañktirādhasam
 (paṇti°), 418
 achidrā uśijaḥ padānu takṣuh, 627, 992
 achidrām̄ pārayiṣṇum (°yiṣṇvīm), 743
 achidroṣijaḥ kavayaḥ padāni (°nu)
 takṣiṣ(v)at (°ṣuh), 627, 992
 achinnaṁ tantum anu sam̄ tarema
 (carema), 155
 achinnapatrāḥ (°rah) prajā anuvik-
 ṣasva, 129
 achinno divyas (daivyas) tantur mā
 mānuṣaś (manuṣyaś) chedi, 316, 490,
 699
 ajagan rātri sumanā iha syāḥ, 508
 ajanti vahnīm̄ sadanāny acha, 634
 ajany agnir hotā (ajann agniḥ) . . .
 928
 ajasya nābhāv (nābhā) adhy ekam
 arpitam, 888

ajasraṁ tvām (tvā) sabhāpālāḥ, 304
 aśśvāḥ paśupā vājapastyāḥ (vājavas-
 tyāḥ), 198
 ajitāḥ syāma śaradaḥ śatam, 537
 aṣṭapata (°jipata) vanaspatayah, 584
 aṣṭapattendram vājam, 52
 ajitāḥ (°tā) syāma śaradaḥ śatam, 537
 aśśmādyāsanāma ca (°sanāmādyā),
 158
 ajo dhūmro na godhūmaiḥ kuvalair
 (kvalair) bheṣajam, 782
 aṣṭā vṛṣabhaṁ patim, 376
 añjanti suprayasaṁ pañca janāḥ, 192,
 339, 617
 añśisakthāya (°śakthāya) svāhā, 580,
 986
 aṇṇāśasya paraḥ putrah, 511
 ata ū śu madhu madhunābhi yodhi,
 68, 379, 533
 atandrāso yuvatayo vibhṛtram (vi-
 bhartram, bi°), 207, 650
 ataś cakṣāthe aditiṁ ditiṁ ca, 853
 ataś cid indra ṇa (na) upa, 950
 atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo
 (tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam) viroha, 817
 atikiriṭam (°riṭam) atidanturam, 545
 atikulvam (°kūlvam) cātilomaśam ca,
 568
 ati niho ati sṛdhaḥ (sridhaḥ), 672
 atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (vavar-
 ṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ, vavṛṣvān pūta
 rāvat) svāhā, 351, 586, 632, 649
 ati vā yo maruto manyate naḥ, 477, 545
 atividhā vithureṇā cid astrā (astāḥ),
 357, 381
 ati setum durāvyam (durāyyam), 253
 atīva yo maruto manyate naḥ, 477, 545
 ato annenaiva jivanti, 94
 ato jyāyāś ca pūruṣaḥ (pur°), 566
 ato devī prathamānā prthag yat, 68,
 525
 ato dharmāṇi dhārayan, 578
 ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (yūdh-
 vam), 302
 ato no rudrā uta vā nv asya, 719, 778
 aty anyān (anyān) agām nānyān
 (nānyān) upagām, 924
 atra jahīmo 'śivā ye asan, 452, 686

atra pitaro mādayadhvam (°dhvam
 yathābhāgam . . . ; pitaro yathā°
 mandadhvam), 301
 atrā jahāma (jahīta, jahīmo) ye asann
 aśevāḥ (aśivāḥ, asan durevāḥ, 'śivā
 ye asan), 452, 686
 atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (bhadrā
 vṛṣaṇā agrbhāṇam), 292, 665
 atrā yamaḥ sādānā (°nāt) te minotu,
 405, 452, 512
 atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ
 (vṛṣṇaḥ), 640
 atriṇā tvā krime hanmi, 668
 atrivad vaḥ krimayo hanmi, 668
 atsarābhiḥ kapiñjalān, 26, 184, 265,
 631
 atha jivir (jirvir) vidatham ā vadāsi,
 73, 454, 529, 544, 801
 atha devānām vaśanir bhavāti, 454
 atha bhava yajamānāya śam yoh, 454
 atha māsi punar āyāta no grhān, 75, 454
 atharya pitum me pāhi, 248
 atharva pitum me gopāya (pāhi), 248
 atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ, 147, 381, 619
 atha viśve arapā edhate grhaḥ, 75, 454
 athā jivaḥ pitum addhi pramuktaḥ, 75,
 569, 870
 athā jivri vidatham ā vadāsi, 73, 454,
 529, 544, 801
 athā te sakhye andhaso vi vo made, 73
 athā te sumnam imahe, 73
 athā te syāma varuṇa priyāsaḥ, 73
 athāditya vrate vayam tava, 74
 athā devānām vaśanir bhavāti, 454
 athā devānām apy etu pāthaḥ, 74
 athā devaiḥ sadhamādām madema, 341
 athā na indra id viśaḥ, 341
 athā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta
 (°tana), 74
 athā no vardhayā girah (rayim), 74
 athā no viśvacarṣaṇe, 73
 athā pitṛṇ suvidatrān upehi (apihi,
 apita), 74
 athā pośasya pośeṇa, 75
 athā bhava yajamānāya śam yoh, 454
 athā mano vasudevāya kṛṣva, 74
 athāmṛtena jaritāram aṇdhi (aṇdhi),
 418

athā vayam āditya vrata tava, 74
 athā śatakratvo yūyam, 73
 athā sapatnān indragñi me, 75
 athā sapatnān (°nān) indro me, 75, 924
 athā sapatni yā mama, 74, 382
 athā somasya prayati yuvabhyām, 74, 504
 athāsmabhyām śam yor arapo dadhāta, 74
 athāsmabhyām saḥavirām (°raṁ) rayim dāh, 505
 athāsya madhyam ejatu, 75, 160
 athā syāta surabhayo gr̥heṣu, 75, 454, 618, 840
 athāsyaī (°syā) madhyam edhatām (°tu, ejatu, ejati), 75, 160
 athāham anukāmini (°gāmini), 45
 athemam asyā vara ā pr̥thivyāh, 236, 477, 840
 athemam enaṁ . . . , 810
 athem ava sya vara ā pr̥thivyāh, 236, 477, 840
 athem enaṁ pari dattāt pitṛbhyah, 810
 athem enaṁ pra hiṇtāt pitṛbhyah (pitṛr̥ upa), 810
 athaitaṁ pitum addhi prasūtaḥ, 75, 569, 870
 athainaṁ jarimā ṇayet, 341, 952
 atho adhivikartanam (°cartanam), 126
 atho annenaiva jīvanti, 94
 atho amivacātanah, 386
 atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam, 75
 atho ta indraḥ kevaliḥ, 341
 atho pitā mahatām gargarāṇām, 94
 atho mātātho pitā, 96, 386
 atho yamasya padbīśāt (°vīśāt), 217, 302, 872
 atho ye kṣullakā iva, 96, 262, 386
 atho rājann uttamaṁ mānavānām, 94
 athorāma ulumbaraḥ, 78, 265
 atho vyaṁ bhagavantaḥ syāma, 74
 atho varuṇyād uta, 325
 atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ, 96, 262, 386
 adabdhān cakṣur ariṣṭaṁ manaḥ . . . , 179, 802
 adabdhān mana iṣiraṁ cakṣuḥ . . . , 179, 802
 adabdhō gopāḥ (gopaḥ) pari . . . , 493

adayo vīraḥ (adaya ugraḥ) śatamanyur indraḥ, 471, 489
 adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhiḥ, 68, 379, 533
 adāyo vīraḥ śatamanyur indraḥ, 471, 489
 adārasṛd bhavata (°tu) deva soma, 611
 adāsyaṇn agna uta saṁgr̥ṇāmi, 45
 aditiḥ te (aditis te) bilaṁ gr̥bhṇātu (gr̥bhṇātu) . . . , 116, 958
 aditiḥ tvā (aditis tvā) devī viśva-devyāvati (°yavati) . . . sadhasthe aṅgirasvat (°ṅgi°) . . . , 467, 910, 958
 aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyah, 45, 107, 180, 446, 480
 adidyutat sv apāko vibhāvā, 838
 adikṣiṣṭāyaṁ brāhmaṇo 'sāv amuṣya . . . , 888
 adivyaṇn ṛṇaṁ yad ahaṁ cakāra, 702
 adr̥n̄hathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ), 222, 384, 640
 adr̥srann (adr̥sann) udahāryah, 356
 adevā devavattaram, 401, 840
 ado devī (devi) prathamānā pr̥thag yat, 68, 525
 ado ma āgachatu, 990
 adomadam annam addhi prasūtaḥ, 110, 569, 870
 ado māgachatu, 990
 ado yad devī prathamānā purastāt, 68, 525
 adbhīr viśvasya bhartṛibhiḥ, 677
 adbhīḥ sarvasya bhartṛibhiḥ, 677
 adbhyaḥ sambhūtaḥ (°bhṛtaḥ) pr̥thivyai (°vyā) . . . , 644
 adya no deva savitaḥ, 436, 440
 adyā kṛṇuhi vītaye (°hy ūtaye), 743, 805
 adyā tvā vanvan (vardhan) surekṇāḥ, 862
 adyā devān (devān) juṣṭatamo hi gamyāḥ, 936
 adyā no deva savitaḥ, 436, 440
 adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ sam āna (sahyaḥ samānaḥ), 383, 829
 adrog̥hāvācam matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham (yavi°), 857
 adrog̥hāvitā vācam acha, 52

adveṣe (°sye) dyāvāpṛthivī huvema
(huve), 319
adha tviṣimān abhy ojasā kriviṃ
(krviṃ) yudhābhavat, 673, 925
adharāñcam parā suva (suvā), 431
adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā, 235
adharo vad asau vadā svāhā, 235
adha vāyurṇ niyutaḥ saścata svāh, 454
adha sma (smā) te vrajanam kṛṣṇam
asti (astu, °nam astu kṛṣṇam), 436,
441
adha syāma surabhayo (syām asur
ubhayor) grheṣu, 75, 454, 618, 840
adhaḥ sapatnī yā mama, 74, 382
adhā jivī vidatham ā vadāthaḥ, 73,
454, 529, 544, 801
adhā jivema śaradām śatāni, 75
adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyah
(rāhyah), 649
adhā te sakhye andhaso vi vo made, 73
adhā te sumnam īmahe, 73
adhā te syāma varuṇa priyāsah, 73
adhā devānām apy etu pāthaḥ, 74
adhā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta, 74
adhā no vardhayā rayim, 74
adhā no viśvacarṣaṇe, 73
adhā pitṛṇ suvidatrān apīhi, 74
adhā poṣasya poṣeṇa, 75
adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṇuṣva, 74
adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi, 641
adhā māsi punar ā yāta no grhān, 75,
454
adhā vāyam āditya vrata tava, 74
adhā vāyam bhagavantaḥ syāma, 74
adhā vāyurṇ niyutaḥ saścata svāh, 454
adhā viśvāhārapa edhate grhe, 75, 454
adhā viṣitaḥ pitum addhi pramuktaḥ,
75, 110, 569, 870
adhā śatakratvo yūyam, 73
adhā sapatnān indrāgni me, 75
adhā sapatnān indro me, 75, 924
adhā sapatnān māmākān, 74, 382
adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām
(yuva°), 74, 504
adhāsyā madhyam edhatām, 75, 160
adhi kranda vīrayasva, 260
adhi kṣami prataram didhyānaḥ, 107,
506

adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṃ (kṣamā viśva°)
yad asti (asya, āsta), 291, 599
adhi dātre (dhātre) vocaḥ, 104
adhi na indraiśām (indreśām), 709
adhi bruvantu te 'vantv (avantv)
asmān, 907
adhivāsam (adhi°) yā hiraṇyāni asmai,
516
adhi skanda vīrayasva, 172, 260, 272,
853
adhivāsam . . ., see adhi°
adhr̥ṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (dhṛṣṇum
ojasā), 237, 818
adhorāma ulumbalah, 78, 265
adho vadādharo vada, 235
adhyakṣāyānuḥṣattāram, 321, 491
adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svasty-
asyādhvanaḥ (śreṣṭhasyādhvānaḥ,
śraīṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvānaḥ)
pāram aśīya, 321, 707
adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād eko
'hutād ekaḥ . . . sanasanād ekaḥ, 181,
511, 875
advā rajānsIndriyam, 421
anākṣikāya (°śakāya) svāhā, 591
anaḍvāns (°vān) ca me . . ., 930
anaḍvāns tapyate vahan (talpate vah-
ān), 503, 867
anandho 'śloṇo 'piśācadhīrah, 857
anamitraṃ no adharāt (me adharāk, no
adharāk), 142, 907
anamīmāsā iḍayā (anamivāsa iḍayā)
madantaḥ, 224, 544
anarśarātīm vasudām upa stuhi, 292,
579, 878
anasthikāya (°thakāya) svāhā, 591
anāgaso adham it samkṣayema, 110,
376, 582
anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema,
110, 376, 582
anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (grham
naḥ), 849
anādhṛṣṭam sahasyam (sahasriyam)
sahasvat, 353
anādhṛṣṭa apasyo vasānāḥ, 176, 599,
808
anādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdata . . . dadhatīḥ (dada-
tīḥ), 104

- anābho mṛḍa dhūrte (°ta), 353, 749, 862
- anāmayaiddhi (°yedhi) mā riṣāma indo, 78, 338, 344, 709, 989
- anāmi kṣatram ajaram suvīryam (suvīram), 323
- anārbhava mṛḍa, 353, 749, 862
- anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣṇu (jariṣṇuḥ, jariṣṇu), 57, 381
- anitir asi, 371
- anibhr̥ṣṭā apasyuvo vasānaḥ, 176, 599, 808
- anikair dveṣo ardaya (°rdaya), 907
- anukāśena bāhyam, 371, 550
- anukṣātre (°khyātre) namaḥ, 190
- anugr̥h̥sāś (°grābhāś) ca vṛtrahan, 874
- anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (ṇu, nakṛṇu), 653, 949
- anu tvā hariṇo vṛṣā (mṛgaḥ), 235
- anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ (kayādaḥ), 355, 371
- anu no mārṣtu tanvo yad viriṣṭam (vili°), 261, 813
- anu nau sūra maṁsate (°tai), 710
- anupūrvam yatamānā yati śtha (stha, yatiṣṭa), 86, 826, 987
- anupauhvad (anu po 'havad) anupahvayet (anuhvayaḥ), 200, 732, 833
- anumate 'nu (anu) manyasva na idam ('nv idam manyasva, 'nu manyasva), 847, 907
- anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (yaje hi, yajeha), 578, 849
- anu mārṣtu tanvo (tanuvo) yad viliṣṭam, 261, 813
- anuyā rātryā rātrīm jinva, 255
- anuroham jinva, 550
- anurohāya tvā, 550
- aruroho 'si, 550
- anuvāya (anuvāsi) rātriyai (°tryai) rātrīm (°trīm, tvā rā°) jinva, 255, 770
- anuvṛtam jinva, 550
- anuvṛte tvā, anuvṛd asi, 550
- anuṣṭup (°ṭuk) pañktyā saha, 148
- anuṣṭup (°ṭuk) pañktyai (°taye), 148
- anuṣṭub (°ṭum) mitrasya, 241, 412
- anu sapta rājāno ya utābhīṣiktāḥ, 63
- anu stomam mudīmahi (mademahi), 617, 697
- anūkāśena bāhvyam, 371, 550
- anūdḥā yadi jījanad (yad ajījanad) adhā ca nu (adhā cid ā), 578, 840
- anūroheṇānūrohāyānūroham (anu°) jinva, 550
- anūroho 'si, 550
- anūvṛtānūvṛte 'nūvṛj jinva, 550
- anūvṛte tvā, anūvṛd asi, 550
- aneśann asya yā iṣavaḥ (asyeṣavaḥ), 813
- antarā dyāvāpṛthivi apaḥ suvaḥ, (°thivyor apasyuḥ), 833
- antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām (uta pāṛthivā yāḥ), 321
- antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upa-draṣṭā . . ., 833
- antarikṣam puritatā (puri°, puli°, puli°), 263, 532
- antarikṣam pṛthivīm adṛṇhīt, 509
- antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaś-rotā, 833
- antarikṣe adhy (°dhy) āsate, 909
- antarikṣe pathibhir iyamānaḥ (hīy°, hriyamānaḥ), 353, 386
- antareṇānūkāśam, 371, 550
- antaḥ śubhrāvātā (śundhyāvātā) pathā, 173, 244, 305
- antas tiṣṭhatu (°to) me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ, 715
- antimitrāś (antyami°) ca dūre-amitrāś ('mitrāś) ca gaṇaḥ, 737, 910
- andha sthāndho vo bhakṣiya, 176, 977
- andhāhin (°he, °heḥ) sthūlagudayā (sthūra°, °gudā), 261
- andho achetah (°chetah), 910
- annapate 'nnasya (annasya) no dehi, 907
- annaṁ payo reto asmāsu ('smāsu) dhatta (dhehi), 907
- annaṁ me (no) budhya (budhnya) pāhi . . ., 311
- annaṁ me (no) budhyājugupas (budh-nyā°) . . ., 311
- annaṁ me dehi (dhehi), 103
- anyam te asman ('sman; asmat te) ni vapantu senāḥ (senyam), 319, 907

anyavratasya (anyadvra°) saścima
 (saścire, saścimah), 379, 420, 818
 anyāns te asman nivapantu tāh, 909
 anyām icha pitṛśadaṁ vyaktām (vit-
 tām), 139, 738
 anye 'sman nivapantu tāh, 909
 anyo-'nyo (-anyo) bhavati varṇo
 asya, 907
 anv agnir uśasām agram akhyat
 (akśat), 190
 anv adya no anumatiḥ ('nu°), 909
 anvādidhyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā,
 236, 832
 anvāsi, 770
 anvitir asi . . . , 371
 apaḥ pinva, 964
 apaḥ prāgāt . . . , see apa . . .
 apa kṣudham nudatām arātīm, 201
 apa tasya balaṁ tira, 201
 apa durhārdiśo (°dviśo) jahi, 410, 869
 apanttau (°tā) śaṇḍāmarkau (ṣa°)
 saha . . . , 289
 apa (apaḥ) prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti,
 384
 apa bādhatām dūritāni viśvā, 201
 apamityam apratittam yad asmi, 404,
 465
 aparivṛtāḥ (°hṛtāḥ) sanuyāma vājam,
 371
 apaśṛṇvate tvā, 616
 apaścādaghvānnasya (apaścāddagh-
 vānnam) bhūyāsam, 403
 apaścāddaghvane (apaścādaghvane)
 nare (naraḥ), 403
 apa śveta padā jahi (apaḥ śvetapad
 āgahi), 134, 201, 384, 817
 apasedhan (°dham) dūritā soma
 mṛḍaya (no mṛḍa), 849
 apa snehitir (snihitīm) nṛmaṇā a-
 dhatta (adhad rāḥ; nṛmaṇām adadh-
 rām), 77, 110, 356, 616, 696, 802, 824
 apas pinva, 964
 apaḥ siśāsan svar (suvar) apratitāḥ
 (°tittāḥ), 404
 apām rasam udvayasam (udayaṁsam,
 udayaṁsan), 310, 371
 apāgne agnim ('gnim) āmādam jahi,
 910

apām gambhan sīda, 120
 apām gambhīraṁ gacha, 120
 apānudo janam amitrayantam (ami-
 trā°), 478
 apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi . . . , 120
 apām tvā sadhiṣi (sadhriṣu) sādāyāmi,
 353, 627
 apām napātām aśvinā huve dhiyā
 (°nā hayantam), 847
 apām napād āśuheman ya ūrmiḥ
 kakudmān (ūrmiḥ pratūrṭiḥ kakud-
 mān or kakubhvān) . . . , 178, 239
 apām naptre jaśaḥ (jhaśaḥ), 85
 apām na yanty ūrmayaḥ, 829
 apāpāco (°vāco) abhibhūte nudasva,
 202
 apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra, 78,
 98, 205, 344
 apāmityam (apām ittham) iva saṁ-
 bhara, 832, 877
 apām ojmānam pari gobhir āvṛtam
 (ābhṛtam), 221
 apām ośadhīnām garbham dhāḥ (gar-
 bham me dāḥ), 104
 apām payaso yat payaḥ, 735
 apām payasvad it (yat) payaḥ, 735
 apālām indra (indras) triṣ (triḥ)
 pūtvī (pūtvā, pūrtvī, pūrtī), 351, 367,
 598a, 967
 apāvāco . . . , see apāpāco . . .
 apāvṛṇod duro aśmavrajānām (as-
 mdrathānām), 287, 363
 apā vṛdhi parivṛtam (°tim, parivṛttim)
 na rādhaḥ, 401, 586
 apāśnuṣṇim (apāśnyuṣṇim) apā rakṣaḥ
 (ragham), 337
 api pūṣā ni śidatu (°ti), 720
 apīparo mā rātriyā (rātryā) ahno mā
 pāhi, 791
 apīparo māhno rātriyai (rātryai) mā
 pāhi, 791
 apūtapā ādhūyamānaḥ, 355, 628
 apūpakṛd aṣṭake (apūpaghṛtāhute), 83
 apo adyānv acāriṣam, 244, 498, 754
 apo anv acāriṣam (acārṣam), 244, 498,
 754
 apo dattodadhim bhinta, 418
 apo divyā acāyīṣam, 244, 498, 754

- apo devā madhumatīr agr̥bh̥ṇan, 116
 apo devīr upasr̥ja (°jā) madhumatīh, 446
 apo devīr madhumatīr agr̥h̥ṇan (agr̥bh̥-
 ṇām), 116
 apo nayanta ūrmayah, 829
 apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah, 529, 608
 apo mahi vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamah, 529, 608
 apo vṛṇānah pavate kaviyan (°yān, kavyan), 786
 apo su (ṣu) myakṣa varuṇa bhiyasam mat, 987
 aptubhi rihāṇā vyantu vayah, 96, 152, 796, 857
 aprajastām (°jasyam) pautramṛtyum (°martyam), aprajastvam mātavat-sam, 368, 494, 650, 652
 apriyah prati muñcatām, 849
 apriye prati muñca tat, 849
 apriye prati muñcatam, 849
 apriye sam nayāmasi, 511, 878
 apsarasām anudattānṛṇāni, 237, 823
 apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇam nah (ṛṇāni), 237, 823
 apsarasu yo gandhah, 395
 apsarasu ca yā medhā, 395
 apsarasu ca yo gandhah, 395
 apsu dhūtasya deva . . . nṛbhi ṣtut-
 astotrasya (nṛbhiḥ sutasya stuta°)
 . . . yo 'śvasanir . . ., 419, 726, 910
 apsu dhūto (dhautam) nṛbhiḥ sutaḥ (sutam), 726
 apsu dhautasya te . . . nṛbhiḥ ṣtut-
 asya . . . yo āśvasanis . . ., 419, 726, 910, 988
 apsu dhautasya te . . . nṛbhiḥ sutasya . . ., 419, 726, 988
 apsu dhautasya te . . . nṛbhis stutasya . . . yo 'śvasanis . . ., 419, 726, 910, 988
 apsu dhautasya soma . . . nṛbhiḥ suta° . . . yo bhakṣo āśvasanir . . ., 419, 726, 910, 988
 abaddham mano . . ., 179, 802
 abadhiṣma rakṣo . . ., 209
 abhayaṁ vo 'bhayaṁ no astu (me 'stu), abhayaṁ me astu ('stu), 910
 abhi kranda vilayasva, 172, 260, 272, 853
 abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā śusukvaniḥ, 240, 283, 624
 abhi tyaṁ devaṁ savitāram onyoḥ (ūnyoḥ) kavikratum, 720
 abhi dyumnāṁ devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha (devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya), 121, 315, 579, 857
 abhi no vājasātamam, 516
 abhinne khilye (khille) ni dadhāti devayum, 38, 408
 abhi pra ṇonumo (no°) vṛṣan, 952
 abhi pra ṇonuvur (nonavur) girah, 603, 952
 abhi priyā divas padā (divaḥ kaviḥ), 964
 abhibhuve (°bhve, °bhve) svāhā, 604, 789
 abhi yo na irasyati (no durasyati), 878
 abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 220
 abhiratāḥ smaḥ (sma ha), 379
 abhiramyatām (°thām), 92
 abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya (vardhaya), 97
 abhivartaḥ saviṣṭah, 516
 abhi vāṇir ṛṣṇām sapta (saptā) nūṣata, 436, 447
 abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 220
 abhivīro abhisatvā (°satvā) sahojāḥ (sahojit), 986
 abhiṣaster avasparat (°svarat), 198
 abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam (°bhūvam), 288, 559, 736
 abhiśīr yā ca no gr̥he, 292
 abhiṣāhe svāhā, 516
 abhi ṣṭana duritā bādhamānah, 582
 abhiṣṭir (°ṭir) yā ca me dhruvā (ca no gr̥he), 292, 529
 abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavirāḥ, 242, 878
 abhi sumnaṁ devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha, 121, 315, 579, 857
 abhi somaṁ mṛśāmasi, 383, 830
 abhi somo avivṛtat (°vṛdhat), 97
 abhi spr̥dha usro vedim tatarda, 618
 abhi ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata, 309, 992

abhī na ā vavṛtsva, 516, 648
 abhī no vājasātātamam, 516
 abhīmāṇ (°mām, °mān) mahinā (°mā)
 divam (divaḥ), 181, 505
 abhīm ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata, 309, 992
 abhīm ṛtasya sudughā ghṛtaścutaḥ,
 309, 992
 abhivartaḥ savinśaḥ, 516
 abhiṣāc cābhiṣavi ca, 516
 abhiṣāt cābhiṣāhi cābhimātihaś . . .,
 516
 abhiṣāś (°ṣāt) cābhiṣāhyaś ca, 516
 abhiṣāhe svāhā, 516
 abhūn mama (nu naḥ) sumatau viś-
 vavedāḥ, 849
 abhūr gr̥ṣṭinām (vaśānām, v āpīnām,
 āpīnām, °ṇām) abhiśastipāvā (°pā
 u), 46, 360, 740, 824, 953
 abhy arcata (arṣata) suṣṭutim gavyam
 ājim, 194
 abhyaṣikṣirājābhūt (°bhūm, °bhūvam),
 288, 559, 736
 abhy aṣṭhām (asthām, asthād) viśvāḥ
 pṛtanā arātiḥ, 983
 abhy ahaṁ tam bhūyāsam yo asmān
 (°smān) dveṣṭi . . ., 910
 abhy ṛtasya sudughā . . ., 309, 992
 abhyaiti (abhyeti) na ojasā spar-
 dhamānā, 711
 amanmahīd anāśavaḥ (°hit tad
 āśavaḥ), 828
 amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (ma) indra,
 78, 205, 344
 amāyān māyavattaraḥ, 475
 amāvāsyē samivasanto (samivāsanto)
 mahitvā, 281
 amāsi sarvān (sarvān) asi praviṣṭaḥ,
 146
 amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam . . .
 āvr̥ṣāyīṣata (°yīṣata, avīvr̥ṣata), 533
 amukthā yakṣmād duritād avadyāt, 60,
 355, 715
 amutrābhūyād adha (adhi) yad yam-
 asya, 578
 amuṁ ma iṣāṇa (amuṁ manīṣāṇa), 829
 amūham asmi sā tvam, 723
 amṛṇmayam (amṛn°) devapātram, 954
 amṛtenāvṛtām puram (purim), 600

ameṣṭam asi svāhā, 339
 amoci yakṣmād duritād avartyai, 60,
 355, 715
 amo 'si sarvān asi praviṣṭaḥ, 146
 amo 'ham asmi sā (sa) tvam, 723
 amba niṣpara (niṣvara, nisvara, nis-
 mara), 200, 205, 234, 986
 ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī (ambā dulā
 nitatnir) . . ., 179, 529
 ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā, 179
 ambhaḥ (ambha) sthāmbho vo bhak-
 ṣya, 176, 977
 ayam yaḥ puro vibhinatty (°naty)
 ojasā, 392
 ayam yo asya yasya ta idaṁ śiraḥ, 738,
 907
 ayam yo 'si yasya ta idaṁ śiraḥ, 738,
 907
 ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhṣāṇaḥ (jar-
 hiṣāṇaḥ), 635
 ayam sa vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam, 612
 ayam sa śīṅkte (śīṅte) yena gaur
 abhivṛtā, 418
 ayam sahasram ānavo dṛṣaḥ . . . vi-
 dharna (°mā), 460, 833
 ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe . . . vidhar-
 maṇi, 833
 ayam su vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam, 612
 ayanam mā vivadhīr (viba°) vikram-
 asva, 209
 ayann arthāni kṛṇavann apāṇsi, 482
 ayam no agnir varivas (°vaḥ) kṛnotu,
 964
 ayavānām ādhipatyam, 485
 ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ, 401, 402, 502
 ayasā havyam ūhiṣe, 502, 739
 ayasthūṇam (ayaḥ°, ayas°, ayasthū-
 ṇāv) uditā (°tau) sūryasya, 92, 188,
 237, 824
 ayasmayam vicṛtā (viṣṛtā) bandham
 etam, 195
 ayasmayān vi cṛtā bandhapāśān, 195
 ayād indrāgnyoś (agnir indrāgniyoś)
 . . ., 792
 ayā no yajñam vahāsi, 739
 ayāvānām ādhipatyam, 485
 ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhiśastiś (°tiś) ca,
 529

- ayā (ayāḥ, ayās) san (ayāsā) manasā hitaḥ (kṛtaḥ, kṛttaḥ), 401, 402, 502
 ayā (ayāḥ, ayās) san (ayāsyam) havyam ūhiṣe, 502
 ayāsā manasā (vayasā) kṛtaḥ, 401, 402, 502
 ayā somaḥ (soma) sukṛtyayā, 380
 ayuktāso abrahmatā vidadāma (yad asan), 255
 ayupitā yoniḥ, 113
 ayebyaḥ kitavam, 253
 ayoddheva (ayodhyeva) durmada ā hi juhve, 347
 arāṁgamāya jagmaye (jagmave), 248
 arāṇyāya sṛmarāḥ, 316, 490
 arāddhya edidhiṣūpatim (arādhyai didhiṣūpatim), 381, 474, 554
 arāyo asmān abhiduchunāyate, 248
 arālāg udabhartsata, 90
 arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate, 248
 ariṣṭyā avyathyai . . . abhibhūtyai svāhā, 644
 arejetām (arejayatām) rodasī pājasā girā, 745
 areḍatā manasā devān gacha (gamyāt, manasā tac chakeyam), 269
 arepasah . . . manyumattamās (°man-tas) cite goḥ (citā goḥ, cidākoḥ), 47, 61, 826
 arghaḥ, arghyam, arghyam bhoḥ, 123, 321
 arcīṣātriṇo nudataṁ praticāḥ, 156
 arcīṣā śatrūn dahataṁ pratītya, 156
 arthaṁ rihāṇā vyantu vayaḥ, 96, 152, 796, 857
 arthaś ca ma emas (ca mā ema, ca me yāmas) ca me, 803
 ardhamaṣyam prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ, 559
 aryamā te hastam agrabhīt, 116
 aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān, 509
 aryamā hastam agrabhīt (agrahīt), 116
 aryo naśanta (naḥ santu) saniśanta (°tu) no dhiyaḥ, 287, 828
 arvān ehi somakāmaṁ tvāhuḥ, 512
 arhaṇiyā āpah, 123, 321
 arhann idaṁ dayase viśvam abhavam (abbhavam), 392, 730
 alarṣirātīm vasudām upa stuhi, 292, 579, 878
 alivandāya svāhā, 579, 627, 862
 alubhitā yoniḥ, 113
 avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram, 209, 919
 avakrakṣiṇaṁ vṛṣabham yathājuram (yathā juvam), 267, 835
 avakro 'vithuro ('vidhuro, 'vithuro 'ham) bhūyāsam, 77
 avajihva nijihvika, avajihvaka nijihvaka, 595
 ava jyām iva dhanvanaḥ, 24, 159, 594
 avatasya visarjane, 25, 164
 avatatya dhanuṣ tvam (dhanus tvam), 958
 ava tara nadiṣv ā, 401, 833
 ava tasya balaṁ tira, 201
 avatasya visarjane, 25, 164
 avattaram nadiṣv ā, 401, 833
 avattaro nadinām, 401, 833
 ava dikṣām asṛkṣata (adāstha) svāhā, 201
 ava devānām yaja heḍo agne (yaje hīdyāni, yaje heḍyāni), 325, 696
 ava devān yaje heḍyān, 325, 696
 ava dyām iva dhanvinaḥ, 24, 159, 594
 ava droṇāni gṛhṭavānti sīda (°vanti roha), 501a
 avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ, 209
 avanty asya pavitāram (pavi°) āśavaḥ, 531
 ava bādhatām . . . , 201
 avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa (nicaṅkuṇa, nicuṅkuṇa), 150, 605
 avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś (sugā°) ca, 741
 avamais ta ūrvais te . . . , 750
 ava rudram adīmahi, 535
 avartyai vadhāyopamanthitāram, 209, 919
 avavyayann asitaṁ deva vasma (vasvāḥ), 240
 ava śveta padā jahi, 134, 201, 384, 817
 ava sedim tṛṣṇām kṣudham jahi, 201
 ava somaṁ nayāmasi, 383, 830
 avasphūrjan didyud (vidyud) varṣan bhūtar āvṛt (varṣaṁ tvesa rāvaṭ, varṣaṁ tveva rāvat) svāhā, 869

ava sma durhañyataḥ (durhṛṇ°), 4, 39, 631
 avasyur asi duvasvān, 554
 avasyuvātā bṛhatī (°tīr) na (nu, tu) śakvarī (°rīḥ), 381, 614
 avasyūr asi duvasvān, 554
 avāḍḍ dhavyāni surabhīṇi kṛtvā (kṛtvī), 598a
 avātīrataṁ bṛsayasya (prathayasya) śeṣaḥ, 69, 658
 avā no devyā dhiyā (kṛpā), 421, 824
 avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān, 138
 avāmba rudram adimahi (adī°), 535
 avāra ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ (pārye-bhyaḥ) . . ., 325, 786
 avārāya kevarṭam, 41, 325, 708
 avāryāni pakṣmāni pāryā ikṣavaḥ, 325
 avāryāya mārḡāram, 325
 avāsrjo apo (°po) achā samudram, 907
 avikṣobhāya (°kṣodhāya) paridhīn dadhāmi, 176
 avidahanta (°taḥ) śrapayata, 980
 avinaṣṭān avihrutān (°hṛtān), 683
 avimuktacakra (°rā) āsīran, 139, 235, 643, 861
 aviraghnīr ud ajantv (acantv) āpaḥ, 53
 aviraghno (°nī) viratarāḥ (°tamaḥ, vīravataḥ) suvirān (suśevān), 123
 avivarata vo hi kam (hikam), 817
 avebhyaḥ kitavam, 253
 avocāma kavaye medhyāya, 109, 230
 avo devasya sāsasi, 421
 avyo (avyā) vāre (vāraiḥ) pari priyaḥ (priyam), 381, 706
 avradanta vilitā, 271
 aśīślikṣum śīślikṣate (aśīlīpu śīlīṣate), 195
 aśīmahi tvā, 617
 aśīrṣāṇā ahaya (°ṇo 'haya) iva (°ṇa ivāhayaḥ), 512
 aśūsubhanta yajñīyā ṛtena, 174, 286, 292
 aśmaṇs (aśman) te kṣut, 932
 aśrathnan dṛḍhāvradata vīḍitā, 271
 aśīrām (aśīlām) cit kṛnuthā (°thāt) supratīkam, 261

aśīrā (aśīlā) tanūr bhavati, 261
 aśrubhiḥ pṛṣvām (pṛuṣvām), 40, 680
 aśroṇā, *see* aśloṇā . . .
 aśīlīpu . . ., *see* aśīślikṣum . . .
 aśīlām, *and* aśīlā, *see* aśīr° . . .
 aśleṣā nakṣatram, 265, 473
 aśloṇā (aśro°) aṅgair ahrutāḥ (aśloṇ-aṅgair ahrutā, ahrutāḥ) svarge, 261, 683, 819, 980, 990
 aśloṇo 'pīśācadhītaḥ, 857
 aśvām jajñānam sarirasya (salilasya) madhye, 264
 aśvavat soma vīravat, 467
 aśvasya vāje (krande, krandyē) puruṣasya māyau, 315
 aśvān anaśśato (anaśyato, anaśsato, anaśvato) dānam, 255, 408
 aśvā bhavata (°tha) vājinaḥ, 90
 aśvāvāt soma vīravat, 467
 aśvinā gharmaṁ pātān hārdvānam (hārddivānam, pātān aharvyānam, pibatān hārdṛānum), 267, 764
 aśvinā bhiṣajāvataḥ (°tam, °ta), 379
 aśvinendram na jāgrvi (°vī), 525
 aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa (°kṣarayā) prā-ṇāpānāv (°nā) ud ajayatām, 886
 aśvibhyām tiroahniyānām (tirohny-ānām) somānām anubrūhi, 787, 910
 aśvibhyām tirohnyān somān prasthitān preṣya, 787, 910
 aśvibhyām pradhāpaya (pradāpaya), 104
 aśāḍḍham (aśālham) yutsu . . ., 474
 aśāḍḍham ugram sahamānam ābhiḥ, 474
 aśāḍḍhāya sahamānāya vedhase (mī-dhuse), 170, 235, 696
 aśṭabhyaḥ (°yaḥ śatebhyaḥ) svāhā, 495
 aśṭasthūṇo daśapakṣaḥ, 495
 aśṭapakṣām daśapakṣām, 495
 aśṭabhyaḥ (°yaḥ śatebhyaḥ) svāhā, 495
 aśṭrām tāḍam pratīnāhū (tālām prati-nāham), 271
 asamheyam parābhavan, 23, 121, 124
 asadan mātaram purah, 853, 861
 asanan mātaram punah, 853, 861
 asapatnaḥ kilābhuvam, 602
 asapatnā kilābhuvam (°bhavam), 602

- asapatnā sapatnaghñī (°nighñī), 588
 asaṁbādhaṁ badhyato (ma°) māna-
 vānām (°veṣu), 241
 asaṁbādha yā madhyato mānave-
 bhyaḥ, 241
 asaṁbhavyaṁ parābhavan, 23, 121, 124
 asaṁmṛṣṭo jāyase mātroph (mātrvoh)
 śuciḥ, 368
 asāv (asā) anu mā . . ., 888
 asā (asāv-asāv) upahvayaśva, 886
 asikny (°kniy) asy oṣadhe, 777
 asiknyā (°kniyā) marudvṛdhe vitas-
 tayā, 791
 asuṁ gharmaṁ divam (svar) ātiṣṭhānu,
 360
 asuntāya (°thāya) voḍhave, 93
 asūrtā (°te) sūrtā (°te) rajaso (°si)
 vimāne (niṣatte, °tā, na sattā), 293,
 578, 828
 asūṣudanta yajñiyā ṛtena, 174, 286, 292
 asṛṇmukho rudhireṇābhyaktaḥ (°āvy-
 aktaḥ), 220
 astabhnād dyām vṛṣabho (dyām ṛṣa°)
 antarikṣam, 359
 asti hi śmā (astu sma) te śuṣminn
 avayāḥ, 436, 442, 987
 astrto nāmāham . . . ni dadhe (pari-
 dade), 104
 asthabhyaḥ (asthi°) svāhā, 591
 asthūri nau (nau, no, no) gārhapatyam
 (°tyāni) . . ., 732, 950
 aspārṣam (°śam) enaṁ śataśāradāya,
 292
 asmadrātā (asmaddātrā, °rātā ma-
 dhumatī, °tīr) devatrā gachata
 (gacha), 357, 800
 asmadryak (°driyak) saṁ mimīhi śra-
 vāṁsi, 784
 asmadryag (°driyag) vāvṛdhe vīryāya,
 784
 asmaḥ dattām (dhattām) varuṇaś
 ca manyuḥ, 105
 asmaḥ indra varivaḥ (varivaḥ)
 sugaṁ kṛdhi, 249, 541a
 asmaḥ mahi varivaḥ sugaṁ kaḥ,
 249, 541a
 asmān u devā avatā haveṣu, 742, 924
 asmānś cakre mānyasya medhā, 930
 asmākam yonā (yonāv) udare suśevāḥ,
 886
 asmākam aṁśum (aṁśam) maghavan
 puruṣpṛham, 618
 asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī, 231,
 263
 asmāñ cakre mānyasya medhā, 930
 asmāñ (asmāñ) citrābhīr avatād abh-
 iṣṭibhiḥ, 930
 asmān u devā avatā bhareṣv ā, 121, 267,
 742, 924
 asmān devāso 'vatā haveṣu, 121, 267,
 512, 742
 asmān site payasābhyāvavṛtsva, 849
 asmāsu ṛṇmām dhāḥ, 509
 asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdānaḥ, 107,
 506
 asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiñḥ (°ṇaḥ, puri-
 ṣiñḥ), 152, 617
 asmiñ (asmiñ) chūra savane māda-
 yasva, 937
 asmin nara indriyam dhattam ojaḥ, 105
 asmin brahmaṇy (°mann . . .) asmin
 karmaṇy (karmann) . . ., 928
 asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya, 704
 asmin vayam saṁkasuke (°kusuke),
 605
 asme indrābṛhaspatī, 704
 asme karmaṇe jātaḥ, 704
 asme kṣatrāṇi dhāraye anu dyūn, 704
 asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata, 704
 asme dehi . . ., see asme dhehi . . .
 asme dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam, 704
 asme dhatta vasavo vasūni, 704
 asme dhārayataṁ (°tām) rayim, 704
 asme dhehi (dehi) jātavedo mahi
 śravaḥ, 105
 asme prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin, 704
 asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya (rāṣṭram adhiś-
 raya), 704
 asme rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam,
 704
 asmai indrābṛhaspatī, 704
 asmai karmaṇe jātaḥ, 704
 asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne, 704
 asmai dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam, 704
 asmai dhatta vasavo vasūni, 704
 asmai dhārayataṁ rayim, 704

asmai prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin, 704
asmai rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam,
704

asya kurmo (kulmo, kṛṇvo, kṛṇmo)
harivo medinam tvā, 231, 263

asya te sakhye vayam, 340

asya pītā (pītvā) svarvidah, 367

asya sutasya svar na (ṇa), 949

asya snuṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim, 857

asya hotuḥ pradiśy (praśiṣy) ṛtasya
vāci, 292

asyā avata vīryam, 449

asyām devā abhi samvīśantah, 340

asyai nāryā upastare (°stire), 573

asredhanta itana vājam acha, 52

aham śatrūn jayāmi jarhīṣṇah, 635

aham hy ugras (ūgras) taviṣas tuviṣ-
mān, 567

aham hy ugro (ūgro) maruto vidānah,
567

aham daṇḍenāgatam, 580

aham id dhi pituḥ (pituḥ) pari, 967

aham pratnena manmanā (janmanā),
856

ahar-ahar aprayāvam bharantah, 117

ahar-ahar balim it te harantah, 117

ahar divābhir ūtibhiḥ, 165, 272, 272a,
324, 360

ahalag (ahalam) iti vañcati, 511

ahaścārebhyaḥ, 488, 690

ahā anadatā hate, 888

ahā arātim avidaḥ (avartim avidat)
syonam, 806

ahā neta sann (ned asann, netar asann,
ahād eta sann) avicetanāni (apuro-
gavāni), 62

ahā yad dyāvo (devā) asuntim ayan
(āyan), 482, 803

ahāv anadatā hate, 888

ahāḥ śarīram (ahāc, char°) payasā
sameti (sametya), 737

ahim daṇḍenāgatam, 580

ahim budhnyam (°niyam) anu rīya-
mānāḥ (samcarantīḥ, anv īyamānāḥ)
353, 784

ahir asi budhnyah (°niyah), 787

ahir jaghāna kim (kaṁ) cana, 578

ahir dadarśa kaṁ cana, 578

ahir na jūrṇām (ahir ha jīrṇām) ati
sarpati tvacam, 628

ahirbudhnya mantraṁ me 'jugupaḥ
(°jū°) . . . , 548

ahirbudhnya mantraṁ me pāhi, 787

ahir budhnyo (°niyo) devatā, 787

ahinś ca sarvān (sarvāñ) jambhayan
(°ya), 936

ahedatā manasā devān gacha, 269

ahedatā (°latā) manasedam juṣasva,
269

ahē budhniya mantraṁ me gopāya, 787

ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā . . . , 803, 840

ahorātrābhyām puruṣaḥ samena
(kṣaṇena), 420

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive (°ṣṭhīve) . . . , 86,
803, 840

ahnānsi rātryai . . . , 255

ahnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam (kim-
cit; enaḥ cakṛmeha kimcit), 849

ākāśye kārśyo yathā, 290

ākūtim (°tam) agniṁ prayujam svāhā,
587

ākūtim (°tīm) devīn manasaḥ (°sā,
subhagām) puro dadhe (prapadye)
529

ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (agnaye)
svāhā, 910

ākramaṇam kuṣṭhābhyām, 49

ākrayāyā ayogūm (ākrayāyāyogūm,
ākram°), 990

ākṛān samudrah . . . , 508

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (°lavas, mān-
dhālas) te pitṛṇām, 77, 489, 597

ākhuṁ tvā ye dadhire devayantah,
193, 296, 835

ākhuḥ srjāyā śayaṇḍakas te maitrāḥ
(śayaṇḍakās te maitryāḥ), 315, 489

āgan apāna . . . , 508

āganma mitrāvaruṇā vareṇyā (vareṇa,
vareṇyam), 326

āganma viśvavedasam, 508

āganma vṛtrahantamam, 508

ā garbho yonim etu te, 711

ā galgā dhavanīmām (galdā dhamanī-
nām), 144, 225

āgniś ca dahatam prati, 512

āgne yāhi suśastibhiḥ, 509

āgrayaṇaś (āgrā°) . . . , and °yaṇas,
 °yaṇāt, °yaṇo . . . , 492
 ā gharṇo agniṁ ṛtayann asādi (°dit),
 533, 840
 ā gharṇo agniṁ amṛto na sādī, 533, 840
 āṅgūṣāṇām avāvaśanta vāṇiḥ, 490,
 599, 720
 āṅgūṣyaṁ pavamānaṁ sakhāyaḥ, 490
 720
 āchettā te (vo) mā riṣam (riṣat, mār-
 ṣam), 753
 ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām, 508
 ājim tvāgne . . . , 360
 ājim na girvavāho jigyor aśvāḥ, 810
 ājim na jagmur girvāho aśvāḥ, 810
 ā juhota (°ta) duvasyata, 442
 ājyasya kūlyā upa tān kṣarantu, 565
 ājanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu (sprśan-
 tām, mṛśantām), 200, 205, 235, 375,
 640
 ātapati varṣan virād āvṛt svāhā, 168
 ā tasthāv (tasthā) amṛtaṁ divi, 888
 ātir vāhaso darvidā te vāyave, 325, 529
 ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana (°naḥ), 380
 āti vāhaso darvidā te vāyavyāḥ, 325,
 529
 ā te garbho yonim etu (aitu), 711
 ā te yonim garbha etu, 711
 ā te suparṇā aminanta (°taṇ) evaiḥ, 308
 ātmann (°many) evānupaśyati, 928
 ātmam indrāya pyāyasva, 224, 831
 ātmānaṁ ta āgrāyaṇaḥ (āgra°) pātu,
 492
 ātmāsy ātmann ātmānaṁ (ātmanāt-
 mānaṁ) me mā hiṁsiḥ, 401, 836
 ā tvam (svam) indrāya pyāyasva, 224,
 831
 ā tvā pariśritaḥ (°sṛtaḥ, °srutaḥ)
 kumbhaḥ (°aḥ), 275, 626, 682, 831
 ā tvā prāpān aghāyavaḥ (adyā°), 832,
 868
 ā tvā vahantu harayaḥ sucetasah
 (sace°), 612
 ā tvā subhava (suhava) sūryāya, 119
 ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (°śir, °śam) aguḥ
 (ayan, gaman, upa, ayann iva, air-
 ayam), 701

ā darśati (darśate) śavasā bhūryojāḥ
 (sapta dānūn), 292
 ādāyo virāḥ śatamanyur indraḥ, 471,
 489
 ādityaṁ garbhaṁ payasā sam aṅgdhi
 (aṅdhi, aṅjan), 418
 āditya nāvam āruksaḥ (āroksam), 715
 ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantaḥ (kṣy-
 antaḥ), 795
 ādityāṁ chmaśrubhiḥ (°yāṁ śma°, °yāṁ
 śma°), 937
 ādityānām patvānv (patmānv) ihi
 (ehi), 240, 694
 ādityānām prasitir (°sṛtir) hetir ugrā,
 637
 ādityā rudrā vasavas tvedate (tvel°,
 tenute), 271
 ādityāsaḥ sumahasaḥ (sa°) kṛṇotana,
 612
 ādityās te citim (citam) āpūrayantu,
 587
 ādityās tvā prabr̥hantu (pravṛ°) jāga-
 tena chandasā, 212
 ādityebhyaḥ preṣya (ādityebhyaḥ) pri-
 yebhyaḥ . . . mahasvasarasya (mah-
 aḥ sva°) . . . , 980
 ādityebhyas tvā pravṛhāmi . . . , 212
 ād id antā adadṛhanta pūrve, 341, 835
 ād id dyāvāpṛthivī aprathetām, 341
 ād id dhotāraṁ ny asādayanta (aśā°),
 983
 ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (bhu-
 vanā vipaśyan), 840
 ādhyakṣyāyānuḥṣattāram, 325, 491
 ā na indo mahim iṣam, 353
 ā na indo śatagvinam (śā°), 512
 ā na indra mahim iṣam, 353
 ānandā modāḥ pramudaḥ, 713
 ānando modāḥ pramodaḥ, 713
 ā naḥ śṛṇvann ūtibhiḥ sīda sūdanam,
 376
 ā na (naḥ) stuta upa vājebhir ūti, 977
 ā nu tac (tyac) chardho divyaṁ
 vṛṇīmahe, 345
 ā no agne sucetunā (suketunā), 126
 ā no goṣu viśatv auśadhīṣu (oṣ°, ā
 tanūṣu), 730

ā no yāhi tapasā janeṣu (janiṣva,
 janeṣv ā), 693, 742, 826
 ā no viśva āskrā (viśve askrā) gamantu
 (°ta) devāḥ, 473
 āntarikṣam prthivīm adrñhit, 509
 āntrīmukhaḥ . . ., 386, 511
 ānyāvākṣid (ānyā vakṣad) vasu vāry-
 āṇi, 481
 āpataye tvā grhṇāmi, 867
 āpataye tvā . . . tanūnaptre śākvarāya
 śakvana (°tre śakmane śākvarāya
 śakmann) ojiṣṭhāya, 240
 āpaprivān (āpaprvān) rodasī antarik-
 ṣam, 671
 āpaḥ śundhantu mainasaḥ, 173
 āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (te sadā),
 842
 āpas tvā sam ariṇan (ariṇvan, āpaḥ
 sam ariṇan), 366
 ā pitaram vaiśvānaram avase kaḥ
 (kuḥ), 611
 āpura stā . . ., 90, 319, 568
 ā puṣtam etv ā vasu, 309, 992
 āpūryā sthā . . ., 90, 319, 568
 ā pūṣā etv ā vasu, 309, 568, 992
 āprṇo 'si samprṇaḥ (āprṇoṣi sam-
 prṇa) . . ., 293, 380, 827
 āpo agre viśvam āvan, 253
 āpo adyānv acāriṣam, 244, 498, 754
 āpo asmān (mā) mātaraḥ śundhayantu
 (sūdayantu, śundhantu), 109, 286, 302
 āpo grheṣu jāgrata, āpo jāgrta, 662
 āpo devīḥ pratigrbhṇita (°grhṇita)
 bhasmaitat, 116
 āpo devīr agrepuvo agreguvo . . ., 910
 āpo devīḥ svadantu (sadantu) . . ., 371
 āpo deveṣu jāgratha, 662
 āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣit (prāṇijan),
 700
 āpo mā . . ., see āpo,asmān . . .
 āpo me hotrāśaṁsinah (°nyaḥ), 328
 āpo ha yad brhatīr (yan mahatīr)
 viśvam (garbham) āyan, 253
 āpo haviṣu jāgrta, 662
 āptam manah, 874
 āptye sam nayāmasi, 511, 878
 āpyāyadhvam aghniyā (aghnyā) . . .,
 787

āprā (āprād) dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam,
 392
 ābhiṣ tvāham . . . sūtavai (°ve), 705
 ābhur anyo 'pa (°va) padyatām, 201
 ābhur (ābhūr) asya niṣaṅgadhiḥ
 (°thiḥ), 77, 93, 98, 554
 ā mā gantām (°tam) pitarā mātara ca
 (yuvam), 482
 ā mā goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu, 730
 ā mā vareo 'gninā dattam etu, 907
 ā māśiṣo (ām āśiṣo) dohakāmāḥ, 836,
 837
 ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (gamet),
 357, 713, 803
 ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt, 357,
 713, 803
 āyataye tvā grhṇāmi, 867
 ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāḥ (°nah),
 507
 ā yaṁ (āyan) naraḥ sudānavo dadā-
 śuṣe, 413, 831
 āyann arthāni kṛnavann apānsi, 482
 ā yāta pitarah somyāsaḥ (somyāḥ), 747
 ā yā dyām (divam) bhāsy ā prthivīm
 orv (urv) antarikṣam, 718
 ā yāhi tapasā janeṣu (janiṣva, janeṣv
 ā), 693, 742, 826
 ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (hariha, hari
 iha), 545
 ā yāhy arvān upa vandhureṣṭhāḥ
 (ban°), 213
 āyuhpati rathamtarām (āyuh pratira-
 thamtarām) . . ., 354, 840
 āyukṛd āyuhpatnī svadhā vah, 962
 āyukṣi sarvā oṣadhīḥ, 140, 255, 805
 āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (°tā) avihru-
 tam, 888
 āyur dadhānāḥ prataram naviyah, 575
 āyurdā agne jarasam vṛṇānah, 196, 267,
 643, 854
 āyurdā agne 'si, 100
 āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣānah (haviṣā
 vṛdhānah), 196, 267, 643, 854
 āyurdā asi, 100
 āyurdā deva jarasam vṛṇānah (grṇ°),
 196, 267, 643, 854
 āyur dehi, 103
 āyurdhā agne 'si, 100

- āyurdhā asi, 100
 āyur dhehi, 103
 āyur no dehi jīvase, 105, 106
 āyur no viśvato dadhat, 105
 āyur bṛhat tad aśīya tan māvatu
 (mām avatu), 812
 āyur mayi dhehi, 100, 102
 āyur me dehi (dhehi, dāh, dhattam),
 100, 102, 103
 āyur vasāna upa vetu (yātu) śeṣaḥ
 (śeṣam), 803
 āyus ca prāyus ca cakṣaś ca vicakṣaś
 (cakṣuś ca vicakṣuś) ca prāñ cāpāñ
 (cāvāñ) ca, 202, 608
 āyusṣṛte svāhā, 716
 āyusṣṛd āyuspatni svadhāvantau, 962
 āyus te viśvato dadhat, 105
 āyusmān (°māñ, °mān, āyusyañ) jara-
 daṣṭir yathāsat (°sam, °sāni), 936
 āyusmān agne haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ, 196,
 267, 643, 854
 āyu (āyuh) stha, 977
 āyoh patmane svāhā, 240, 967
 ā yoniḥ garbha etu te, 711
 āyobhavyāya catuṣpadī, 319, 421
 ā yo viśvāni śavasā (śravasā) tatāna,
 349
 āyoṣṣṛte svāhā, 716
 āyoṣ patvane svāhā, 240, 967
 āraṇāya śmarah, 316, 490
 ā raśmīn (raśmīñ) deva yamase (yuv-
 ase) svaśvān (°vah), 235, 617
 ārādhyai didhiṣūpatim, 381, 474, 554
 āruroha tve sacā (tvayy api), 747
 āre asman (asmin) ni dhehi tam, 578
 āre śatrūn (āreśatruñ) kṛṇuhi sarva-
 vīraḥ (°ram), 820
 ā rohantu janayo yonim agre, 863
 ārtavā adhipataya āsan, 652
 ārtavā asṛjyanta, 652
 ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt, 652
 ārtyai janavādinam, 652
 ārdraḥ prathasnur (prṛthusnur) bhuv-
 anasya gopāḥ, 609, 658
 āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt, 509
 ārvāñ ehi somakāmañ tvāhuh, 512
 ālikhann animiṣaḥ . . . hantrīmukhaḥ
 . . ., 386, 511
 ālebhānād ṛṣtibhir yātudhānāt, 262
 ā va indrañ kriviṃ (kṛviṃ) yathā, 673
 āvat tam indraḥ śacyā dhamantam,
 407, 826, 873
 ā vato jagatā (jāyatām, jagadaiḥ)
 saha, 60
 āvartam indraḥ śacyā dhamantam,
 407, 826, 873
 ā vah somañ nayāmasi, 383, 830
 āvitte dyāvāprthivi ṛtāvṛdhau, 97, 466,
 665, 871
 āvittau mitrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratāu, 466,
 665, 871
 āvitsi sarvā oṣadhiḥ, 140, 255, 805
 āvinne dyāvāprthivi dhṛtavrate, 97,
 466, 665, 871
 āvinnau mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhau, 466,
 665, 871
 āviṣ (āviḥ) kṛṇuṣva daivyāny agne, 967
 ā vīrañ pṛtanāṣaham (°saham), 984
 ā vṛṣcyantām (vṛṣcantām) aditaye
 durevāḥ, 334
 āvo yudhyantañ vṛṣabhañ daśadyum,
 873
 āvyuṣaṃ jāgrtād (jāgryām, °yāmy)
 aham, 674
 āśātikāḥ kṛmaya (kri°) iva, 668
 āśiṣe rādhasa mahe, 627
 āśīr ṇa (nā, ma) ūrjam uta saupra-
 jāstvam (supra°), 724, 949
 ā śīrṇaḥ śamopyāt (sam°), 277
 āśuh kāṣṭhām (gā°) ivāśaran (°ram),
 48
 āśum jayantam anu yāsu vardhasa,
 287, 339, 618, 840
 āśum tvāṇau dadhire devayantaḥ, 193,
 296, 835
 ā śuṣe rādhasa mahe, 627
 āśūn iva suyamān aha ūtaye, 843
 āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye, 843
 āśreṣā nakṣatram, 265, 473
 āśāḍhañ yutsu . . . āśāḍham ugrañ
 . . ., 474
 āṣṭa (āṣṭhāḥ) pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi
 (avido hi, avide [°dan] nu) gādham, 86
 āsannā udabhir yathā, 90
 āsann ā (āsan naḥ) pātrañ janayanta
 (°tu) devāḥ, 383, 837

āsanniṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn, 180, 298,
 386, 634, 693, 820
 āsann eṣām apsuvaḥo mayobhūn, 180,
 298, 386, 634, 693, 820
 ā samudrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829
 āsam manah, 874
 ā sim ugrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829
 ā sutrāvne sumatim āvr̥nānah, 60, 287,
 294, 355, 854
 ā soma suvāno (svāno) adribhiḥ, 794
 āstām jālma (jalma) udaram śraṇ-
 śayitvā (śraṇsayitvā), 277, 489
 āsmā āsr̥ṇvann āśāḥ, 873
 āsmāsu nṛmṇam dhāt, 509
 āsminn ugrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829
 ā svam indrāya . . ., see ā tvam . . .
 āhalag (°lam) iti vañcati (sarpati), 511
 āhṇārasya parasyādaḥ, 511
 inkārāya (°kṛtāya) svāhā, 386, 544
 ichanto 'paridākṛtān, 159, 186
 idā (idā) ehi, 272
 idāprajaso (idā°) mānaviḥ, 475
 idā manuṣvad (°yad) iha cetayanti, 248
 idāyās (°yāḥ) padam . . ., 964
 idāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtam, 272
 idāvān (°vān) eṣo asura prajāvān, 925
 idāsmān anu vastām ghr̥tena, 271, 665,
 924
 iḍito devair harivān (°vañ) abhiṣṭiḥ,
 539
 iḍaiyāsmān (iḍaiva vām) anu vastām
 vratena (ghr̥tena), 271, 665, 924
 iti cid dhi tvā dhanā jayantam, 68, 735
 itidam viśvam bhuvanam sam eti (vi
 yāti), 803
 ito dharmāṇi dhārayan, 578
 idam rādhah prati gr̥bhñihy (gr̥bhñihy)
 āngirah, 116
 idam rādho agninā dattam āgāt, 907
 idam vatsyāmo bhōḥ (vatsyāvah), 237
 idam varco agninā dattam āgāt (āgan),
 907
 idam ta ekaṁ para ū ta (uta) ekam,
 547, 831
 idam tam adhiṣṭhāmī (abhi°), 172
 idam te tad vi śyāmy āyuso na ma-
 dhyāt, 614

idam devānām idam u nah (idam nas)
 saha, 971
 idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (rakṣobhiḥ)
 sam dahāmi (sam ūhāmi), 383, 826
 idam aham sarpāṇām . . . gr̥athnāmi
 (kṛṇāmi, kṛtsnāmi), 47, 665
 idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyasya pāp-
 mānam ava (apa) gūhāmi, 201
 idam brahma pipṛhi (pipṛhi) sau-
 bhagāya, 640
 idam me prāvātā vacaḥ, 449
 idāhna id āharam aśīya, 709
 idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ (prakhyāya-
 taḥ), 27, 191
 inatamam āptyam (āptam) āptyānām,
 315
 ino viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ, 693
 indur indum avāgāt (°gan, upāgāt,
 apā°), 201
 indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ (akṣitaḥ), 576
 indra ukthebhir mandīṣṭhaḥ (bhand°),
 242
 indra ṛbhukṣā marutaḥ pari khyan
 (kṣan), 190
 indra ṛbhuhir brahmaṇā sarūvidānah,
 108, 640, 919
 indra eṇam (eṇam) prathamam adhy
 atiṣṭhat, 950
 indra eṇam (eṇam) parāśarit, 702, 950
 indrah karmasu no 'vatu, 380
 indrah kṛtvā maruto yad vaśāma, 380,
 664
 indrah patis tuviṣṭamo (tavastamo)
 janeṣv ā, 596, 604, 742, 964
 indrah pāṣena siktā vaḥ (vaḥ siktā),
 367, 383, 819
 indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām (āh°),
 509
 indram vājam vi mucyadhvam, 52
 indram sa ṛchatu yo maitasyai (°syā)
 diśo 'bhidāsati, 910
 indram sa diśām devam devatānām
 ṛchatu yo maitasyai diśo 'bhidāsati,
 910
 indra karmasu no 'vata, 380
 indra kratvā maruto yad vaśāma, 380,
 664

- indra dartā purām asi, 107
 indra dhartā purām asi, 107
 indrapāśena sitvā, 367, 383, 819
 indram agniṁ ca voḍhave, 694
 indram ādityavantam . . . bṛhaspati-
 mantaṁ (°vantam) . . ., 239
 indratubhir brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānaḥ,
 108, 640, 919
 indravanta (°taḥ) stuta (studhvam),
 977
 indravanto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ, 467
 indra vājeṣu no 'va (ava, vaha), 907
 indravān bṛhad bhās svāhā, 467
 indravān svavān bṛhad bhāḥ, 467
 indravāhāv (°hā) ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ,
 888
 indraś ca mṛdayāti (mṛl°) naḥ, 271
 indra (indrah) śrutasya mahato mah-
 āni, 380
 indra sayugbhir . . ., 364
 indra suteṣu someṣu, 380
 indra somam imaṁ piba (somaṁ pibā
 imam), 432, 444
 indra somasya pitaye, 380
 indra stomena pañcadaśena . . ., 380
 indras patis tavastamo janeṣu, 596, 964
 indrasya tvā bhāgaṁ somenā tanacmi
 (tanakmi), 127
 indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (nu
 prā vocaṁ vīr°), 437, 449
 indrasya priyaṁ pātha upehi (pātho
 apīhi, 'pīhi), 910
 indrasya vaimṛdhasyāham . . ., 699
 indrasya śuśmam trayann apasyubhiḥ,
 699
 indrasyāham vimṛdhasya . . ., 699
 indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvi
 (°vān, °yavān) bhūyāsam, 467, 598
 indra svadhām anu hi no babbūtha,
 380
 indra svayugbhir . . ., 364
 indrah suteṣu someṣu, 380
 indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā, 820
 indrah somasya pitaye, 380
 indrah stomena pañcadaśena . . ., 380
 indrah svadhām anu hi no babbūtha,
 380
 indrāgniḥ (°gniḥ) ahaṁ devayajy-
 ayendriyāvy annādo (°driyavān vir-
 yavān) bhūyāsam, 467, 792
 indrāgniḥ (°gniḥ) ahaṁ ujjitim
 anūjeṣam, 792
 indrāgniḥ (°gniḥ) bhāgadheyi
 (°yīh, °yīs) stha, 792
 indrāṇyai kīrśā (kīrśā), 290
 indrādhipatiḥ (°patyāiḥ) pipṛtād ato
 naḥ, 700
 indrāpāśya phaligam, 46, 545, 811, 867
 indrāya ṛṣabheṇa, 919
 indrāya tvā bhāgaṁ somenātanacmi,
 127
 indrāya tvā suṣuttamam, 397
 indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (śramo dadat),
 277, 664
 indrāyayāśya śephāṁ alikam . . ., 46,
 545, 811, 867
 indrāyaṛṣabheṇāśvibhyāṁ sarasvat-
 yai, 919
 indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam, 52
 indrāya suṣuttamam (suṣuttamam), 397
 indrāvataṁ karmaṇā (kāvyair) daṇ-
 sanābhiḥ, 77
 indrāvathuḥ (°dhuḥ) kāvyair daṇsan-
 ābhiḥ, 77
 indrāvanto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ, 467
 indrāvaruṇā algābhyām, 888
 indrāvān svāhā, 467
 indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā, 820
 indreṇa devir (devair) vīrudhaḥ saṁ-
 vidānāḥ, 701
 indreṇa ma indriyaṁ dattam ojaḥ,
 105
 indreṇa yujā (sayujā) pramṛṇta (pra-
 [mṛ]ṇitha) śatrūn, 90
 indremaṁ prataraṁ (°rām) kṛdhi
 (naya), 506
 indre suvānāsa (svānāsa) indavaḥ, 794
 indro jyesthānām (jyaisthyānām,
 °thyāya), 321, 707
 indro nāma śruto gṛṇe (gaṇe), 633
 indropānasyakehamanaso . . ., 699
 indro balaṁ rakṣitāraṁ dughānām, 210
 indro marudbhir ṛtuthā (°dhā) kṛṇotu,
 75

indro me śarma yachatu, 234
 indro yajvane pṛṇate ca śikṣati (grṇate
 ca śikṣate), 153
 indro yad abhinad valam (balam), 210
 indro valaṃ rakṣitāraṃ dughānām, 210
 indro vaḥ śarma yachatu, 234
 indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhiḥ (sahar-
 ṣibhiḥ), 919
 indro vo 'dya parāśarait, 702
 indhāna enaṃ jarate (jarite, janate)
 svādhiḥ, 861
 invakā (°gā) nakṣatram, 48
 ima udvāsikāriṇa ime durbhūtam
 akran, 59, 126, 520a, 875
 imaṃ yajñaṃ svadhayā ye yajante
 (dadante), 159, 741
 imaṃ yajñaṃ juṣamāṇā (°ṇāv) upetam,
 886
 imaṃ yajñaṃ avantu (avatu) no (yā)
 ghṛtāciḥ (°ci), 281
 imaṃ logaṃ (lokaṃ) nidadhan mo
 ahaṃ riṣam, 46
 imaṃ ca yajñaṃ sudhayā dadante, 159,
 741
 imaṃ tam abhitiṣṭhāmi, 172
 imaṃ taṃ punar ādade 'yam ('ham),
 256, 845
 imam agne camasaṃ mā vi jihvarah
 (ji°), 519
 imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṃ me
 (kṣatriyāṇām), 826
 imam ū (u) ṣu tvam asmākam (tyam
 asmabhyam), 252, 547
 imaṃ me agadaṃ kṛta (kṛdhi), 849
 imaṃ me varuṇa śrudhī (°dhi), 518
 imā uddhāsicāriṇa ime durbhūdam
 akran, 59, 126, 520a, 875
 imāṃ su nāvam āruham, 817
 imāṃ khaṇāmy oṣadhīm (°dhīm), 529
 imāṃ narāḥ (naraḥ) kṛṇta vedim etya
 (eta, etat), 328, 401, 494
 imā brahma pīpihi saubhagāya, 640
 imā brahma brahmavāhaḥ (°ha), 381
 imā yā devīḥ pradiśaṣ catasrah, 707
 ime jivā vi mṛtair āvavṛtran (āvavart-
 tin), 648
 ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam (sūdām)
 akran, 59

ime vāsantikā ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ,
 888
 ime śaiśirā ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ, 888
 imau te pakṣāv (pakṣā) ajarau patatri-
 nau (°ṇah), 676, 732, 888
 imau bhadrāu dhuryāv (°yā) adhi, 888
 imau stām anupakṣitau (anapekṣitau),
 618
 iyaṃ vaḥ sā satyā saṃdhābhūd (saṃ-
 vāg abhūd) yām indreṇa samadhad-
 dhvam (°dadhvam), 104, 391
 iyaṃ vai pitre rāṣṭry ety agre, 321, 803
 iyaṃ te yajñiyā tanūḥ (tanuḥ), 554
 iyaṃ apa (ava) dikṣām ayaṣṭa, 201
 iyaṃ eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat
 (vyuchat), 724
 iyaṃ oṣadhe (°dhi) trāyamāṇā, 695
 iyaṃ pitryā (pitre) rāṣṭry ety (etv)
 agre, 321, 803
 iyānaḥ kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ, 538
 ira ehi, 272
 irām u ha (irām aha) praśaṃsati, 613,
 830
 irāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtam, 272
 iryatāyā akitavam, 544
 ila ehi, 272
 iluvardāya svāhā, 579, 627, 862
 ilaiva vām anu vastām vratena, 271
 iṣam ūrjaṃ yajamānāya dhehi (duh-
 rām, dattvā), 105
 iṣaś corjaś ca śāradāv (°dā) ṛtū, 888
 isuṃ na vīro astā, 840
 iṣur nāvīrastāram, 840
 iṣe pīpihi (pipihi), 545
 iṣe rāye (rayyai) ramasva sahase
 dyumnāyorje (°yorja-, dyumna ūrje)
 'patyāya (patyāya, apa°), 37, 396,
 705, 910
 iṣkartā vihrutaṃ punaḥ, 650, 683
 iṣkṛtāhavam avatam, 164
 iṣṭaṃ vītam abhigūrtam vaṣaṭkṛtam,
 153
 iṣṭaṃ ca vītam (vittam) ca (cābhūt),
 398
 iṣṭaṃ pūrtam abhipūrtam vaṣaṭkṛtam,
 153
 iṣṭena pakvam upa te huve savāham
 ('sū aham), 362

- iṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā . . . , 690
iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir draviṇodā yati-
bhir (yattibhir) āśīrdā vasubhiḥ (āśīr-
vān atharvabhiḥ, vasubhir āśīrvān
atharvabhiḥ), 401, 925
iha kṛpmo (kurmo, kulmo) harivo
medinam (vedinan) tvā, 231, 263
iha gatir vāmasya, 694
iha pūṣā ni śidatu, 720
iha prasatto (prasakto, prasapto) vi
cayat kṛtam naḥ, 139, 152
iha rama (ramah), 379
ihetthā (°tha) prāg apāg udag adharāk,
455
iheha vaḥ svatavasah (svatapasah), 200
ihaiva san (saṁs) tatra santam tvāgne
(sato vo agnayah), 932
ihaiva stam mā vi yauṣṭam (yoṣṭam),
729
Imkārāya (°kṛtāya) svāhā, 386, 544
Idito (il°) devair harivān abhiṣṭiḥ,
539
Idiṣva hi mahe (mahi) vṛṣan, 695
Ide agniḥ svavasam (svāvasam) nam-
obhiḥ, 466, 618
Ide (ile) dyāvārṣhivī pūrvacittaye, 271
Idenyakratūr aham, 272, 360, 383, 554,
600
Idenyo (il°) namasyah, 271
Ipsantaḥ parijākrātān, 159, 186
Iyānaḥ kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ, 538
Iryatāyā akitavam, 544
il°, see Id°
Ilamṛdā āyuryudhaḥ, 165, 241, 271
Isāna imā bhuvanāni viyase (iyase),
360
Isānam jagadaiḥ saha, 60
Isāno jagatas patih, 60
Isāno vi syā (srjā) dṛtim, 192, 640
Ise yo asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ, 907
Iṣām khrgalyam śavam (khagalyam
śapham), 199, 631
uktham vācindrāya, 322
ukthapattra (°patra) idyo grbhitaḥ,
390
uktham avācindrāya, 322
uktham indrāya śaṁsyam, 322
ukthas te 'ngāni pātv asau, 322
ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhṇāmi,
322, 805
ukthyam vācindrāya śṛṇvate tvā, 322
ukthyam indrāya śaṁsyam, 322
ukthyebhya ukthyāyuvam, 322, 805
ukṣantūdā maruto ghr̥tena, 183, 411
ukhām sravantīm agadām aganma
(akarma), 46, 862
ugradhanvā pratihitābhir astā, 569
ugram ojiṣṭham tavasam (tarasam)
tarasvinam, 268
ugrampaśyā (ugram paśyāc) ca rāṣ-
ṭrabhṛc ca tāni, 405, 820
ugrampaśye ugrajitau tad adya, 820
ugrampaśye (ugram paśyed) rāṣṭrabhṛt
kilbiṣāni, 820
ugras tanticaro vṛṣā, 144
ugro virājann apa vṛṅkṣva (sedha)
śatrūn, 138, 569, 616
uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāt (°nāsāham; °vādi
pṛtanāji), 159, 984
uc chuṣmā oṣadhinām (chuṣmauṣa°),
989
ucchvañcamānā (ucchmañc°) pṛthivī
su tiṣṭhatu (hi tiṣṭhasi), 224
uc chvañcasva (chmañc°) pṛthivī mā
ni bādhatāḥ (vi bādhitāḥ), 29, 224
uchantūnnā maruto ghr̥tena, 183
uta gnā vyantu (viyantu) devapatnīḥ,
796
uta trātā śivo bhavā (bhuvo) varū-
thyah, 602
uta tvā gopā adṛśan, 356
uta no brahmān aviṣah (brahman
haviṣah), 386
uta padyābhir yaviṣṭhaḥ, 192
uta prajātaḥ bhaga id vaḥ syāma, 641,
818
uta prahām atidivyaḥ jayāti (°divā
jayati), 327
uta rājñām uttamam mānavānām, 94
uta vām uṣaso budhi (budhiḥ), 381
uta śravasā (°sa ā) pṛthivīm, 991
utā no mitrāvaruṇā ihāgatam, 180, 437,
440, 888
utāno asmad yajate vi cāvaḥ (vic-
āyah), 254, 840
utāyam pitā mahatām gargarāṇam, 94

utārebhāṇāṇ ṛṣibhir yātudhānān, 262
 utālabdham (utārabdhān) spr̥ṇuhi
 jātavedaḥ, 262
 utūla parimīdho 'si, 568
 utem anānamuḥ (uteva nānamuḥ),
 236, 840
 utem arbhe havāmahe, 569, 693, 831
 utem (uto) āśu mānam piparti (bi-
 bharti), 112
 utainam gopā adṛśan (adṛśan), 356
 uto araṇyāniḥ (°nis) sāyam, 971
 uto padyābhir javiṣṭhaḥ (yav°), 192
 utkūlanikūlebhyaś triṣṭhinam (utkū-
 lavikūlābhyāṁ trīṣṭhinam), 986
 uttamaṁ nākam (uttame nāke) adhi
 rohayemam (rohayainam, rohemam),
 712, 745
 uttarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ
 (°tā), 487
 ut tiṣṭhata (°tā) pra taratā sakhyāḥ,
 433, 442
 ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohi-
 tākṣi (puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohi-
 tākṣa) . . . , 591
 ut te stabhnāmi (tabhnomi) pṛthivīm
 tvat pari, 374
 ut tvā (u tvā) mandantu somāḥ, 392
 ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ (śuśmeṇa,
 dhāmnā, vr̥ṣṭyā, dr̥ṣṭyā), 869
 ut sakthyā (°yor) ava gudam (°yor
 gr̥dam) dhehi, 641
 utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva
 (ūrmim, arvan, juṣasva śatadhāram
 arvan), 228, 621
 ut satvanām māmakānām manāṁsi
 (mahāṁsi), 857
 udādāya pṛthivīm jīvadānum (jīra-
 dānuḥ, °num), 266
 ud it te vasuvittamāḥ, 345, 627
 udīcyām tvā diśi vīśve . . . abhiṣiñ-
 cantv . . . , 512
 ud irayathā (°tā, °ta) marutaḥ samud-
 rataḥ, 90, 443
 ud u tye (ud-ut te) madhumattamāḥ,
 345, 408, 627
 ud usriyāḥ sṛjate (sacate) sūryaḥ sacā,
 3, 57, 634
 ud enam uttaram (°rām) naya, 506

udgātar devayajanaṁ me dehi (dhehi),
 104
 udgrābheṇod agrabhīt (ajigrabhat,
 ajigrabham, ajigrbham), 519, 657
 udno dattodadhiṁ bhintta (dehy uda-
 dhiṁ bhindhi), 418
 udno divyasya no dehi (dhātaḥ), 106,
 569
 ud balasyābhināś tvacam, 210
 udbhinnaṁ rājñāḥ, 724
 udyatām iva sūryaḥ, 743
 udyan nakṣatram arcivat (°mat), 239
 ud vaṁśam iva yemire, 110, 296, 354,
 569, 840
 ud valasyābhinat (°nas) tvacam, 210
 un nayāmi svān (svān) aham, 924
 unnetar un non (no) nayonnetar vasvo
 abhy un nayā naḥ, 248
 unnetar vasiyo na (nā) un nayābhi
 (vasyo 'bhy un nayā naḥ), 248, 786
 unmāsi (unmā asi), 993
 upa ṛṣabhasya (uparṣa°) retasi (yad
 retaḥ), 919
 upa jmann upa vetase, 159
 upa tvā kāma imahe sasṛgmahe, 131
 upa tvā kāmān mahāḥ sasṛjmahe, 131
 upa dyām upa vetasam, 159
 upa drava payasā godhug oṣam (oṣum;
 payasā goṣam), 618
 upa naḥ (nas) sūnavo girah, 971
 upa no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam, 180,
 437, 440, 888
 upa prakṣe (upaprakṣe) madhumati
 kṣiyantaḥ, 817
 upapravada (upapla°) maṇḍūki, 263
 upa preta jayatā naraḥ, 441
 upa mā jakṣur (ca°) upa mā maṇiṣā, 55
 upa mā (mām) dhenuḥ saharṣabhā
 (saharṣa°) hvayatām, 919
 upa mām dyaus (dyauiḥ) pitā hvaya-
 tām, 967
 upa yajñam asthita (astṛta, astu no)
 vaiśvadevi, 96, 627, 640, 643, 849
 upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena (°ṇoṣ-
 ṭhena, adharoṣṭhena), 731
 uparṣabhasya . . . , see upa ṛṣ°
 upavir asi, 465
 upaṣṛṇvate tvā, 616

- upa śravat (śruvat) subhagā yajñe asmin, 603
 upaśrito (upaśrutī, °rito) divaḥ prthi-vyoh, *see* agne tvaṁ sūktavāg . . .
 upa śreṣṭhā na āśīsaḥ (āśīraḥ), 557
 upastutyam (°stutam) janima tat (mahī jātām) te arvan, 327
 upa stuhi (snuhi) tam nṛmṇām (nṛmaṇām) athadrām, 77, 110, 356, 616, 696, 802, 824, 871
 upasthāvarābhyo dāśam, 597
 upasthāvaribhyo bai(n)dam, 597
 upasthe mātuh surabhā (°bhāv) u loke, 886
 upasthe soma āhitaḥ (ādhitaḥ), 122
 upa snuhi, *see* upa stuhi
 upahūtā gāvaḥ saharṣabhāḥ, 919
 upahūtā dhenuḥ saharṣabhā (sahaṛṣ°), 919
 upahūtā saptahotrā (°tāḥ saptahotrāḥ), 381
 upahūto dyaus (dyauh) pitā, 967
 upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇe (haviḥ°), 962
 upahūto 'yam yajamāna uttarasyām devayajyāyām (°yājyāyām), 487
 upākṛtaṁ śāsamānam yad asthāt (sadhasthāt, sad asthāt), 110, 829
 upānasah saparyan, 383, 614, 832
 upāyava (°vas, °vaḥ) stha, 977
 upāvīr asi, 465
 upo nu sa saparyan, 383, 614, 832
 upo ha yad vidatham vājino guḥ (gūḥ), 558
 ubhayebhyaḥ pra cikitsā gaviṣtau (gaiṣtau), 889
 ubhayor ārtnyor (ārtniyor, ubhayo rājñor) jyām, 791, 837
 ubhā (ubhāv) upāṇśu prathamā pibāva, 886
 ubhā dātārāv (°rā) iṣām rayiṇām, 888
 ubhāv indrā (indro) udithaḥ sūryas ca, 92, 188, 824
 ubhāv upāṇśu . . ., *see* ubhā . . .
 ubhe id asyobhayasya (asyobhe asya) rājataḥ, 832, 911
 ubhe ca no (cainam) dyāvāprthivi anhasaḥ (°sas) pātām (syātām, *etc.*), 867, 964
 ubhe prṇakṣi rodasī, 718
 ubhe yatete ubhayasya (ubhe asya) puṣyataḥ, 832, 911
 ubhau lokau sanem (sanomy) aham, 331
 uruka urukasya . . ., 49
 uru kṣayāya nas (naḥ) kṛdhi, 964
 uruga urugasya . . ., 49
 uruṇasāv . . ., *see* urū°
 urudrapso viśvarūpa induḥ, 291, 421, 742
 uru prathasvornamradam svāsastham devebhyah, 475, 493
 uruṣya rāya eṣo (rāyo 'veṣo, rāyah sam iṣo) yajasva, 361
 uruṣyā no (no) aghāyataḥ samasmāt, 950
 urūṇasāv (uru°) asutīpā (°pāv) udumbalau (ulu°), 273, 551, 886
 uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi, 371a, 716, 821
 uro vā padbhīr (padbhīr) āhate (°ta), 166
 urva iva paprathe kāmō asme, 564
 urv antarikṣam vīhi, 564
 urvī gabhīrā (gambhīrā) sumatiḥ te astu, 305
 urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran, 46, 564, 824
 urvī rodasī varivas (°vaḥ) kṛṇotam (kṛṇutam), 964
 urvy antarikṣam vīhi, 564
 ulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata (akurvata), 724
 ulena pariṣito 'si, 568
 ulokam u dve upa jānim īyatuh, 392, 627
 ulo halikṣṇo vṛṣadañśas te dhātṛe (dhātuh), 532, 568
 uśmahi tvā, 617
 uśasa śreyasī-śreyasīr (uśasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr) dadhat, 930
 uśā apa svasas tamaḥ (svasuḥ ṭamaḥ), 956
 uśo dadṛkṣe na punar yatīva, 563
 uṣṭārayoh pilvayoh (pil°), 544

uṣṭro ghr̥ṇivān vārdhrīnasas (ghr̥ṇā-
vān vārdhrīnasas) te matyai, 597,
952
uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (°kenaidhi,
vāyav udakenehi, vāyur udakenet),
122, 712, 887
usrā etaṁ dhūrbādhā avīrahaṇā anaśśū
(°śrū) brahmacodanau, 122, 207, 407,
888
usrā (usrāv) etaṁ dhūrśāhau (dhūr-
vāhau) [yuyethām] anaśśū avīra-
haṇau brahmacodanau, 122, 207, 407,
876, 888
ūtim arbhe havāmahe, 569, 693, 831
ūti śa (sa) bṛhato divaḥ, 987
ūdhno divyasya no dhātāḥ, 106, 569
ūmaiḥ pitṛbhir . . ., 750
ūrubhyām te aṣṭhivadbhyām (°ṣṭhi°),
909
ūruvor ojaḥ, 792
ūrjaṁ saṁsūdēna (°sīdena), 628
ūrjaṁ ca tatra sumatīṁ ca pīnvata
(°tha), 90
ūrjaṁ bibhṛad vasuvaniḥ (vaḥ sum-
anāḥ, vaḥ suvaniḥ, vasumanāḥ)
sumedhāḥ, 227, 383, 828
ūrjaṁ mayi dhehi, 103
ūrjaṁ me dhehi (dehi), 103
ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (rājasūyāya, rāja-
sūyās) citānāḥ, 326
ūrjasvatīr ośadhīr ā riśantām (viś°),
267
ūrjasvatīḥ svadhāvinīḥ (svadhāyinīḥ),
247
ūrjā pṛthivīm gachata (yach°), 853
ūrje pipīhi (pipīhi), 545
ūrṇamradasām (ūrṇā°) tvā stṛṇāmi
(ūrṇamradāḥ [°dām] prathasva)
svāsasthām (°sthām) devebhyāḥ, 475,
493
ūrṇamradā yuvatir (°mrādāḥ pṛthivi)
dakṣiṇāvate (°vatī), 695
ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire, 110, 296,
354, 569, 840
ūrdhvacitāḥ śrayadhvam (śnay°), 195,
355, 865
ūrdhavadhanvā pratihitābhir astā, 569

ūrdhvaṁ manah svargyam (suvargam),
315
ūrdhvaśritāḥ śrayadhvam, 195, 355, 865
ūrdhvā yasyāmātir bhā adidyutat
(atidyutat), 63
ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (°dhvara ās-
thāt, °dhvare sthāḥ, adhware sthāt),
508, 910
ūrdhvo virājann apa sedha śatrūn,
138, 569, 616
ūrva iva paprathe kāmo asme, 564
ūrvaṁ gavyaṁ pariśadanto agman, 46,
564, 824
ūrvaiḥ, 725
ūrvor ojaḥ, 792
ūrvy antarikṣaṁ vihi, 564
ūlena parimīdho °si, 568
ūlo halikṣṇo vṛśadañśas te dhātuh,
532, 568
ūśā dadṛśe na punar yatīva, 568
ṛkṣalābhīḥ kapiñjalān, 26, 184, 265, 631
ṛkṣo jatūḥ suśiltkā (suśulūkā) ta
itarajanānām, 279, 290, 624, 628
ṛksamāc (°samāc) chukraḥ, 985
ṛco akṣare (°kṣare) parame vyoman, 907
ṛjīte pari vṛndhi naḥ, 360
ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ, 180, 694,
698, 919
ṛtaprajātā bhaga id vaḥ syāma, 641, 818
ṛtava (°vas) stha ṛtāvṛdhaḥ (sthartā°),
ṛtavaḥ stha . . ., 919, 977
ṛtavo °dhipataya āsan, 652
ṛtavo °srjyanta, 652
ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhaḥ, 919
ṛtasya goptrī tapasaḥ parasvi (par-
aspi, tarutri), 198
ṛtasya tantum vitatam vivṛtya (vicṛ-
tya, dṛśe kam), 866
ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ, 383, 627, 838
ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ, 421
ṛtasya nābhāv adhi (abhi) saṁ punāmi
(°ti), 172
ṛtasya brahma prathamota jajñe, 460
ṛtasya yonir mahiṣasya dhārām, 421
ṛtasyartena mām uta (ita), 383, 627,
838
ṛtān mā muñcatāñhasaḥ, 421

rtur janitrī tasyā apas (apasas) pari,
810
rtuṣṭhā (°ṣṭhāḥ, °ṣṭhās) stha rtāvṛdhaḥ
(sthartuṣṣṭhāḥ), 919
rtūn (rtūn) anyo vidadhaj jāyate
punaḥ (jāyase navaḥ), 927
rtūn (rtūn) utsṛjate vaśī, 927
rtūn prṣṭibhiḥ (prṣṭi°), 539
rtena (rte 'va) sthūnām (°nāv, °nā)
adhi roha vaṇśa (vaṇśaḥ), 237, 380,
824, 888
rtyai janavādinam, 652
rdhag ayā (ayād) rdhag utāsamīṣṭhāḥ
(°miṣṭa), 86, 234, 835
rdhyāsam adya makhasya śīraḥ, 659
ṛṣabham naryāpasam, 359
ṛṣabhāya gavayī (°ya rājñe gavayaḥ),
359
ṛṣabhena gāḥ (tvaṣṭā), 359
ṛṣabho gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 359
ṛṣabho 'si svargo lokah, 359
ṛṣir ha (hi) dirghaśruttamah, 578
ṛṣiṇām ca stutir (°nām suṣtutir) upa,
293, 850
ṛṣiṇām putro adhirāja eṣaḥ (avirāja
eṣaḥ, abhiśastipā u, abhiśastipāvā,
abhiśastipā ayam), 172, 254, 740, 824
ṛṣī bodhapratibodhau, 516
ṛṣvāḥ satīḥ kavaṣaḥ (kavayaḥ) śum-
bhamānāḥ, 877
ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (cā
suhūte), 119, 434, 446, 741
eko devo apy atīṣṭhat, 909
eko bahūnām asi manyav īdītaḥ
(manya īdītā), 889
eko vo devo apy ('py) atīṣṭhat, 909
eko ha devaḥ pradīśo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578
etaṁ jānātha (jānītāt, jānīta) parame
vyoman, 90
etat tām pratimanvāno asmin, 227, 365
etat te agne rādha aiti (eti) somacyu-
tam, 711
etat tvam deva soma (tvam soma) . . .
devān (devān) upāgāḥ (upāvṛtaḥ),
924
etat tvātra pratimanvāno (°vanvāno)
asmi (asmin), 227, 365

etad brahmann upavalhāmasi (apa°,
upabalihāmahe) tvā, 214, 762
eta pitarah somyāsaḥ, 747
etām samkṛṣya (°kaṣya, °kuṣya) juh-
udhi, 4, 605, 631, 641
etā te aghnye nāmāni, 787, 910
etāni te aghniye ('ghnye) nāmāni, 787,
910
etena tvam śīrṣaṇyām (°yān) edhi
(tvam atra śīrṣaṇvān edhi), 248
edaṁ barhir ni śīdata (śīda naḥ), 849
ed u madhvo (madhor) madintaram,
368
enaṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhyā, 275, 682, 831
enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām, 592
enā viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ, 693
enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā, 709
eno mahac cakṛvān baddha eṣa, 592
endram vagnunā vahata, 256, 346, 800
endram agniṁ ca voḍhave, 694
endram acucyavuh . . ., 712
emā agmann āśīso dohakāmāḥ, 836
emām anu sarpata, 379
emām parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ, 275, 682,
831
em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ
svadantu (sad°), 371
erum tundānā patyeva jāyā, 159, 421
evam vapāmi hārmyam, 491
evā vapāmi harmyam, 491
eṣa iṣāya māmāhe, 640
eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathaḥ, 325, 491
eṣa ṛṣaye māmāhe, 640
eṣa te yajño yajñapate . . . suvīraḥ
(suvīryaḥ, sarvavīras . . .), 323
eṣa me 'muṣmīn ('muṣmīn) loke prak-
āśo 'sat, 943
eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā, 325, 491
eṣa hi devaḥ pradīśo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578
eṣā te agne samit tayā (tayā tvam)
vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva, 808
eṣā vas sā satyā samvāg abhūd yām
indreṇa samadadhvam, 104, 391
eṣu dyumnaṁ svar yamat, 711
eṣo ha devaḥ pradīśo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578
eḥa gatiṛ vāmasya, 694
aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ, 165, 241, 271, 828

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge nididhyat (ni
 dedhyat, nidhitāḥ), 696
 aindram acucyavuh . . ., 712
 aindraḥ śuśmo viśvarūpo na āgan, 699
 aindrāsūrāḥ (°saurāḥ) śyetalalāmās
 (śyāmala°) tūparāḥ, 725, 818
 aindropānasyakehamanaso . . ., 699
 ailabṛdā (ailamṛdā) āyuryudhaḥ (yav-
 yudhaḥ, vo yudhaḥ), 165, 241, 271,
 828
 aiśu dyumnāḥ svar yamat, 711
 okhām dadhātu (dadātu) hastayoh,
 101
 ojasā pitṛbhyāḥ pitṛn jinva, 936
 ojasā nāmāsi, ojasvinī nāmāsi, 248
 ojo dehi (dhatta), 103
 ojo mayi dhehi (me dāḥ), 103
 ottarād adharād (°rāg) ā purastāt, 145
 obhe aprā rodasi vi (vi) śa āvāḥ, 515,
 516
 obhe prṇāsi rodasi, 718
 ośadhayaḥ prati grbhñita, 116
 ośadhayaḥ prati grhñitāgnim (grbhñi°)
 etam, 116
 ośadhayaḥ prāvata vācam me, 449
 ośadhibhyaḥ (°dhibhyaḥ), 529
 ośadhibhyaḥ paśave no (paśubhyo me)
 janāya (dhanāya), 160
 oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatīm grṇānāḥ, 60,
 294, 355, 854
 oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām
 (°kośābhyām), 293, 347, 618, 804, 816
 o śu (sū) vartta (varta) maruto vipram
 acha, 389, 547
 audbhidyam rājñāḥ, 724
 aurvaiḥ, 725
 aulaba it tam upā hvayatha (aulava
 . . . hvayata), 90, 219
 aulūkhalā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata, 724
 aulūkhalāḥ sampravradanti grāvāṇāḥ,
 724
 kakup (kakuc) chanda ihendriyam, 178
 kakup (kakuc) chandaḥ, 178
 kakubham (kakuham) rūpaḥ vṛṣabh-
 asya (rūpam ṛṣa°) rocate brhat
 (brhan), 23, 120, 359
 kati kṛtvāḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca (prā-
 ñiti cāpa cāniti), 582

kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāḥ, 739
 kad va ṛtaḥ kad anṛtam (amṛtam),
 181
 kanātkābhām na ābhara, 79, 151
 kanikhunad iva sāpayan, 126
 kapota (°tā) ulūkāḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai
 (nairṛtāḥ), 699
 kam agaṇ (agaṇ) janayopanaḥ, 936
 kara ād (id) arthayāsa it, 599
 karaṇam asi, karuṇam asi, 606
 karṇābhyām chubukād (cubukād)
 adhi, 84
 karma kṛṇvantu (°to) mānuṣāḥ, 719
 kalpantām te diśāḥ sarvāḥ (me diśāḥ
 śāgmāḥ), 235, 285
 kalpayatām mānuṣīḥ, 316, 490
 kavaśyo kośadhāvanīḥ (koṣa°, 'koṣa°),
 289
 kavir gīrbhiḥ kāvyenā (°na) kaviḥ san,
 458
 kavir yaḥ putraḥ sa im ā (imā, sā imāḥ)
 ciketa, 383, 545, 831
 kavīn chavyā, 128a
 kavīn prchāmi vidmane (vidvano) na
 vidvān, 240
 kaśotkāya svāhā, 33, 81, 295
 kas te gātrāṇi śamyati (śim°), 572
 kaholaḥ kauṣṭakim (°kam), 590
 kā ūrū pādā ucyete, 886
 kāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (°śa
 ārpitāni), 509
 kā prasnā va āhutiḥ, 365
 kāmāḥ duhātām iha śakvaribhiḥ, 91
 kāmaya māno vanā tvam, 312
 kāmāyai svāhā, 319
 kāmēna kṛtaḥ (kṛta) śrava ichamānaḥ,
 380
 kāmāyāi svāhā, 319
 kāyamāno vanā tvam, 312
 kāv ūrū pādā ucyete, 886
 kāṣṭhā ajmeṣv (yajñeṣv) atnata, 339
 kim it te viśno paricakṣyam bhūṭ
 (°cakṣi nāma), 737
 kim ūrū pādā ucyete, 886
 kiyaṁbv atra rohatu, 782
 kikasābhyo anūkyāt (°nūkyāt), 907
 kukūnanānām tvā patmann ādhūnomi,
 151, 720, 810

- kumbhīnasah (kaum°) puṣkarasādo
lohitāhis te tvāṣṭrāḥ, 724
kuyavam (kū°) ca me 'kṣitīḥ ('kṣitam)
ca me, 552, 587
kurkurah sukurkurah, 568
kurkuro nīlabandhanah, 568
kurvāṇo anyān adharān sapatnān, 907,
924
kulikā devajāmibhyaḥ, 149
kulpāny āvāpantikā, 151, 568, 800, 867
kulyābhyaḥ svāhā, 565
kuvayaḥ ('yih) kuṭarur . . . , 596, 782
kuvit su no gaviṣṭaye (gaiṣṭaye), 889
kuvīn no asya sumatir naviyasī
(bhavi°), 857
kuśmāṇḍāḥ, °ḍāni, °ḍyaḥ, 290, 568
kuṣṭayā te kriṇāni, 86
ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām aśvinā, 553, 831
kuṣṭhayā te kriṇāni, 86
kuśmāṇḍāḥ, °ḍāni, °ḍyaḥ, 290, 568
kuhūm aham (kuhūm devīn) suvṛtam
(sukṛtam, subhagām) vidmanāpa-
sam, 857
kuhvai ('ve) trayo 'ruṇaitāḥ, 705
kūtanānām tvā patmann ā dhūnomi,
151, 720, 810
kūyavam, *see* ku°
kūrkurah (°ras) sukūrkurah, 568
kūrkuro bālabandhanah (vāla°), 214,
215, 568
kūlyābhyaḥ svāhā, 565
kūśmān (kūṣ°) chakapīṇḍaiḥ (śaka°,
chakabhiḥ), 290
kūśmāṇḍāḥ, °ḍāni, °ḍyaḥ, *and* kūṣ°, 290,
568
kūṣṭho devāv aśvinā, 553, 831
kūṣ-, *see* kūś-
krkalāsah . . . , krkilāsah . . . , 596
krṇutam naḥ sviṣṭim (°ṭam), 45, 587
krṇutam tāv adhvarā jātavedasau,
885 b,
krṇotu so adhvarān (°rā) jātavedāḥ,
907
krṇvāṇo anyān (anyān, 'nyān) adharān
sapatnān, 907, 924
krṭam cid enaḥ pra mumugdhy (mu-
mukṭam) asmat (asmāt), 510
krṭān naḥ pāhy anhasah (enasah), 421
krṭe yonau (krṭo yonir) vapateha
bijam (vijam), 216
krṭyaīśa padvatī bhūtvā (bhūtvī), 598a
krṭvī (krṭvā) devair nikilbiṣam, 598a
krṭvī (krṭvā) savarṇām adadur (ada-
dhur) vivasvate, 105, 598a
krḍhi ṣv (sv) asmān aditer anāgān
(°gāḥ), 987
krṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (lalāṭe) pur-
astāt, 265
krṣṇagrīvaḥ śitikakṣo 'ñjisakṭhas
(°ñjisakṭhas) ta aindrāgnāḥ, 986
krṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhaḥ (°ṣṭhāḥ), 493
krṣyai tvāsusasyāyai (sumanasyāyai),
867, 870
kevalāgho (°lādyo) bhavati kevalādi,
868
ko ambādadate dadat, 907
ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭiḥ, 739
kotanāsu, 151, 720, 810
ko nu vām mitrāvaruṇāv (°ṇā)rtāyan,
888
ko 'mbādadate dadat, 907
kauberakā viśvavāsaḥ, 235, 267
kaumbhīnasah, *see* kumbhī°
kyāmbūr atra rohatu (jāyatām), 782
kratūdakṣābhyaṁ me varcodā varcase
pavasva, 556
kratvā variṣṭham vara āmurim uta,
293, 529, 691, 840
kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta,
293, 529, 691, 840
krāṇā śīśur mahīnām, 152
krāṇā sindhūnām kalaśān avīśasat, 152
kriyanta ā barhiḥ sīda, 152, 825, 971
kriḍantau (krīl°) putrair naptṛbhiḥ, 271
krīḍī (krīlī) ca śākī cojjeṣī (śākī cor-
jiṣī, °jiṣī, ca), 278, 407, 693
krūram ānaśa (ānāśa) martyaḥ (mar-
taḥ), 301, 315
kva pratnā va āhutih, 365
kvayih kuṭarur . . . , 596, 782
kṣatrasyolbam (°vam) asi, 219
kṣayasyāsi vidhataḥ (vidhartā), 350
kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (devo ati-
duritāty) agniḥ, 908
kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne (°dhām-
ne), 240

kṣumāsi (kṣupāsi), 205
 kṣuro bhrajaś (bhṛjvāñ, bhṛjaś, bhrājaś)
 chandaḥ, 486, 658
 khakholkāya svāhā, 33, 81, 295
 khajāpo 'jopakāśiniḥ, 21, 69, 151, 381
 khaṇvakhāji khaimakhāji madhye tad-
 uri, 124
 khanyābhyah (khalyā°) svāhā, 878
 gandharvāya janavide (jani°) svāhā,
 588
 gandharvo dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat
 (dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat), 118, 639,
 855
 gandharvo nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu, 118,
 639, 855
 gabhīram (gambh°) imam adhvaram
 kṛdhi, 305
 gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvebhiḥ
 (pūrvebhiḥ), 315
 gambhīraiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ (pūry-
 ānaiḥ), 315, 368
 gargī vācakanavi, 490
 garbha iva (ivet) subhṛto garbhīṇibhiḥ
 (sudhito garbhīṇiṣu), 175, 639
 garbham sravanti agadām akarma, 46
 garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām
 (°tām?), 93
 garbhaḥ samjāyase punaḥ, 829, 936
 garbhe sañ (san, sam-) jāyase punaḥ,
 829, 936
 garbho asy ('sy) oṣadhinām, 909
 garbho jarāyuh pratidhuk piyūṣaḥ, 381
 gavayam te śug ṛchatu (te kṣut), 145
 gātum vittvā gātum ihi, 360
 gāyatrī (°tri) chandasām mātā
 (mātāḥ), 525
 gāyatriyai (°tryai, °tryā) gāyatram,
 791
 gārgī vācakanavi, 490
 gārhapatyah (°tyāt) prajāyā (prajā-
 vān) vasuvittamaḥ, 250
 gāva upāvatāvatam (upa vadāvaḥ),
 60, 164, 511, 835
 gāvo gulgulugandhayaḥ (guggulu°),
 409
 gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān
 (achāt, ma ichāt), 580
 gira stomān pavamāno manīṣāḥ, 419

gira (giraḥ) stomāsa irate, 977
 giraḥ somaḥ pavamāno manīṣāḥ, 419
 girā-girā ca dakṣase (cakṣase), 158
 girā ca śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ, 57,
 383, 865
 girir na viśvatas (°taḥ) pṛthuh patir
 divaḥ, 964
 giḥ kośvoṣyaur yadā giraḥ, 290
 guhā satirṇ gahane gahvareṣu, 299
 guhāhitām nihitām gahvareṣu (guhā-
 hitām gah°), 299, 808
 grṇatā naḥ sviṣṭaye, 45
 grṇānāḥ śravase (śa°) mahe, 349
 grḍhraḥ śitikakṣī vārdhrānasas te
 divyāḥ (vārhiṇasas, vārdhrī°, te
 'dityāḥ), 23, 122, 597, 952
 grbhṇāmi te saubhagatvāya (supra-
 jāstvāya) hastam, 116
 grhāñ jugupatām yuvam, 548, 935, 936
 grhāñāṅgāny apve (aghe) parehi, 875
 grhāñ ajūgupatām yuvam, 548
 grhā naḥ santu sarvadā (sarvataḥ), 68
 grhāñ aimi (emi) manasā . . ., 711
 grhāñ jugupatām yuvam, 548, 935, 936
 grhā mā bibhita mā vepadhvam (vep-
 idhvam), 168, 584
 grho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ (mithaḥ; grho
 mito hiraṇyayaḥ), 96
 grhṇāmi te saubhagatvāya (supra-
 jāstvāya) hastam, 116
 grhyopagrho . . ., 646
 godānāc chubukād adhi, 84
 godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardaḥ
 (atardat), 63
 godhūmās ca me masūrās (masurās)
 ca me, 568
 gopāya mā (mām) śevadhis te (°dhiṣṭ
 ṭe), 958
 gomad ū śu nāsatyā (nā°), 952
 gomāñ id (yad) indra te sakhā, 735
 gośaphe śakulāv (°lā) iva, 888
 gośad asi, 83
 goṣv aśveṣu śubhriṣu (°uṣu), 622
 gohya upagohyo marūko (mayūkho)
 manohāḥ, 81, 244, 646
 gauram te śug ṛchatu (te kṣut), 145
 gaurī (gaurī, gaur in) mimāya salilāni
 takṣatī, 357, 545, 824, 862

- gaur dhenubhavyā (dhenur bhavyā), 357, 818
- gnās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatiḥ (°vy-
avatiḥ) pṛthivyāḥ sadhasṭhe aṅ-
girasvat . . . (°ṅirasvac . . .), 467,
910
- graha viśvajana niyantar viprāyāma
te (nyantar vipra ā satī), 342, 695,
770, 838, 870
- grāmaṁ sajanāyo gachanti (grāmān
sajātayo yanti), 871
- grāme vidhuram (vikhuram) ichanti
svāhā, 147
- grāmyamaṅkiradāsakau (grāmyaṁ
maṅkiradāsakau), 49, 279, 824
- grāvāvādīd (grāvā vaded) abhi soma-
syāṅśum (°śunā), 481, 697, 836
- grīvāyāṁ (grīvāsu) baddho apikakṣa
āsanī (apipakṣa āsan), 151
- gharmaṁ śocantaḥ (°ta, °taṁ) prava-
neṣu (prāneveṣu) bibhrataḥ, 384, 802
- gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata (°tā,
°trā) vāt (vet, vat), 357, 448, 511
- gharmas triṣug vi rājati (rocate), 57
- ghaṣinā (ghaṣinā) me mā samprkṭhāḥ,
545
- ghṛtaṁ yavā madhu yavāḥ, 803
- ghṛtaṁ ghṛtayone (ghṛtavane) piba,
255
- ghṛtaṁ duhata (duhrata) āśiram, 356
- ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapitāḥ (pra-
pīnāḥ, praviṇāḥ), 170, 198, 871
- ghṛtapratikaṁ va (ca) ṛtasya dhūr-
śadam (dhūruśadam), 759, 866
- ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (harito
vahantu), 299
- ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu, 299
- ghṛtaṁ eva madhu yavāḥ, 803
- ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe (°kṣire) ghṛtaṁ asya
yonīḥ, 356
- ghṛtavatī savitar (°tur) ādhipatyē
(°tyaiḥ), 381, 610, 706
- ghṛtaścuta madhuścutaḥ (°ścyuto,
°ścyutaḥ; °cyuto, °cyutaḥ), 336
- ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām,
421
- ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim,
421
- ghṛtāhutaḥ somaprṣṭhaḥ (stoma°) suv-
iraḥ, 419
- ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām
(prornvā°, prornuvātām), 91, 797
- ghṛtena no (mā) ghṛtapvaḥ (°puvaḥ)
punantu, 789
- ghṛte śrito ghṛtaṁ v (uv) asya dhāma,
774
- ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ, 816
- ghorā ṛṣayo namo astv ebhyaḥ (astv
adya yebhyaḥ), 340
- ghoṣenāmīvāṅś cātayata (°mīvāṅ cāta-
yadhvam), 930
- cakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi, 866
- cakṣaṣī sāmavedasya, 608
- cakṣurdā (°dhā) asi, 100
- cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāḥ, 104
- cakṣur dehi (dhehi), 103
- cakṣur ma urvyā (uruyā, urviyā) vi
bhāhi, 743, 791
- cakṣur mayi dhehi, 100, 103
- cakṣur me dāḥ (dehi, dhehi), 100, 103
- cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam,
340
- cakṣur yeṣāṁ (hy eṣāṁ) tapa uccabhi-
mam, 340, 396
- cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaś ca saṁdhau, 340
- cakṣuṣī sāmavedasya, 608
- cakṣuḥ (cakṣu) sthāś . . ., 977
- catuspadām uta yo (ca) dvipadām, 499
- catuspāda uta ye dvipādāḥ, 499
- catvāri māyobhavāya, 319, 421
- caniṣṭhad agne aṅgiraḥ, 54
- canikḥdudat yathāsapam, 126
- candreṇa jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ
(°nā), 381
- capyāṁ (cappāṁ) na pāyur bhiṣag
asya vālah (vārah, bālah), 214, 261,
408
- camī mā hīnsīr amuyā śayānā, 57, 181,
512, 824
- carmevāvādhus (°bādhus) tamo apsv
antaḥ, 207
- cikitvāṅ (°vān) anu manyatām, 925
- cita (citaḥ, citas) stha . . ., 977
- cittim (citiṁ) juhomi . . ., 399
- cittim acittim (citim acitim) cinavad
(°vo) vi vidvān, 399

cittih (citti) sruk, 980
 citra ādityānām, 195, 369
 citraḥ śiśuḥ (śiśuḥ) pari tamāṅsy
 aktūn (aktaḥ), 967
 citrā etagvā (eda°) anumādyāsaḥ, 21,
 59
 citrebbhir abhraiṇ upa tiṣṭhato (°tho)
 ravam, 91
 citro rakṣitā, 195, 369
 cec-cec chunaka srja . . ., 84
 corasyānnaḥ (caur°) navaśrāddham,
 728
 chad aphi . . ., 84
 chandonāmānām (chandomānānām,
 chandomānām) sāmraḥjyaḥ gacheti
 (gachatād iti, gached iti) . . ., 802,
 808
 chavīm chavyā, 128a
 chlilīpu chlilīṣate, 195
 jakṣivāṅsaḥ papivāṅsaś (°pāṅsaś) ca
 viśve, 200
 jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat
 (aska°), 137
 jagatyā ṛksamam (ṛkṣa°), 985
 jagatyainam (°tyenam) vikṣv ā veś-
 ayāmaḥ (°yāmi, °yāni), 709
 jagad asi, 491
 jagāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (vi
 madhyam), 816
 jagṛhmā (jagṛbhmā, jagṛbhñā) te dak-
 ṣiṇam indra hastam, 116
 jagdhā vicaṣṭir (vitṛṣṭir) . . ., 156, 634
 jagdho maśako jagdhā vicaṣṭir
 (vitṛṣṭir) . . ., 634
 jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir
 (. . . jagdhā vitṛṣṭi svāhā) . . ., 634
 jajñā neta sann apurogavāsaḥ, 62, 192
 jananta uśaso bhagam, 366
 janayas tvāchinnaṣatrā devīr viśva-
 devyāvatīḥ (°vyavatīḥ) . . ., 467
 janiyanti nāv agravaḥ, 534
 janiṣṭa hi jenyo agre ahnām, 441
 janiṣṭhad agne aṅgiraḥ, 54
 janiṣvā (°ṣva) hi jenyo agre ahnām, 441
 janiyanto nv agravaḥ, 534
 jambhābhyaḥ (jambhyais, jambhye-
 bhis) taskarāḥ (°raṇ, °rān) uta, 315,
 924

jayaḥ (jayan) kṣetrāṇi sahasāyam
 indra, 941
 jarām gachāsi (gacha, su gacha) pari
 dhatsva vāsaḥ, 850
 jari cetid abhiśiṣaḥ, 193, 353, 676, 802
 jāgataḥ asi (jāgataṣi), jāgato 'si, 491
 jāgaritāya (jāgrtāya) svāhā, 649
 jāgrtsyas tripañcāśiḥ, 28, 47, 185, 192
 jātavedo nayā hy (nayāsy) enaḥ
 sukṛtāḥ yatra lokāḥ, 298, 825
 jātavedo maruto adbhīs (°dbhīs) tama-
 yitvā, 908
 jātavedo vahemaḥ (vahasvainam)
 sukṛtāḥ yatra lokāḥ (lokāḥ), 298, 825
 jātānām janayāś ca yān (janayāṅsi
 [°yāsi] ca), 303a
 jātena jātam ati sa pra sarsṛte (ati
 sṛt pra sṛṅsate), 633
 jānita smainam (jānitād enaḥ) parame
 vyoman, 90
 jāmim icha pitṛṣadaḥ nyaktam (°tām),
 139, 738
 jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān, 198, 579,
 637, 840, 871
 jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt, 198, 579,
 637, 840, 871
 jāmim mā hiṅsīr amuyā (anu yā)
 śayānā, 57, 181, 512, 824
 jinva gā jinvārvataḥ, 852
 jinvanta uśaso bhagam, 366
 jīhvā pavitram aśvināsan (°nā sam)
 sarasvati, 835, 938
 jīmūtān hṛdayaupāśābhyaḥ (°śena,
 °sena), 278
 jivaḥ rudanti vi mayante (nayanṭy)
 adhware (°ram), 181
 jivann eva pratidatte (prati tat te)
 dadāmi (°ni, dadhāmi), 61, 106
 jivasṛ devakāmā (virasūḥ) syonā, 633
 jivām rudanti vi mayante adhware, 181
 jivātave na mrtyave (martave), 327,
 650
 jivātave pratarām (°ram) sādhyā
 dhiyaḥ, 506
 jivām ṛtebhyaḥ (mr̥t°) pariṇīya-
 mānām, 311, 402
 jivebhyaḥ tvā samude (sam̐mude)
 vāyur indraḥ, 401

- juṣantām soṃyām (sau°) madhu, 728
 juṣetām (°thām) yajñam iṣṭaye, 91
 juṣtām devebhyo havyām ghṛtāvat
 (ghṛtavat svāhā), 467
 juhota (°tā) pra ca tiṣṭhata, 433, 441
 jaitrāyā (jaitryāyā) viśatād u mām
 (°tām mām, ° tām mām), 315
 jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anike,
 840
 jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmāṇi kṣor anike, 840
 jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat, 909
 jyok śrotre 'dhi (adhi) jāgarat, 909
 jyog ajitā (jitā, jivā) ahatāḥ (°tā)
 syāma, 980
 jyog jivema sarvavīrā vayam tama, 224
 jyog rāṣtre adhi jāgarat, 909
 jyotiḥ paśyantā (°ta) uttaram, 967
 jyotiḥ paśyanti vāsaram, 967
 jyotiṣam na prakāśate, 278
 jyotiṣ paśyanta uttaram, 967
 jyotiṣ paśyanti vāsaram, 967
 ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca, 135, 165
 ṇāsatyā . . ., see nāsatyā . . .
 ta ā vahanti kavayaḥ purastāt, 342
 tam vai manyet pitaram mātaram ca,
 849
 tam vo grhṇāmy uttamam, 116
 tam sakhāyaḥ purorucam (purū°), 721
 tam sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni (vṛṣṇi-
 yāni), 784
 tam sma jānīta (°tha) parame vyoman,
 90
 tam hed agnir vidhāvati, 123, 637
 tam gopāya (°yasva), 365
 tam ghed agnir vṛdhāvati, 123, 637
 tataḥ pāvakaś āśiṣo no juṣantām, 811
 tatam me apas (ma āpas) tad u tāyate
 punaḥ, 488
 tataś cakṣāthām (cakrāthe) aditiṃ
 ditiṃ ca, 853
 tato jyāyānś ca pūruṣaḥ, 566
 tato dharmāṇi dhārayan, 578
 tato na vicikitsati (vijugupsate), 45,
 56, 68, 180
 tato no dehi jīvase, 105
 tato no mitrāvaruṇāv aviṣtam, 533, 888
 tato no rudrā uta vā nuv ('nv) asya,
 719, 778
 tato no vardhayā rayim, 74
 tato yajñas tāyate viśvadānim, 157
 tato yajño jāyate viśvadāniḥ, 157
 tato vākā āśiṣo no juṣantām, 811
 tato viṣvañ vyakrāmat, 94
 tato ha jajñe ('ham yajñe) bhuvanasya
 gopāḥ (goptā), 192, 307
 tat tvendragraha . . ., see tam tve°
 tatra indro bṛhaspatiḥ, 452, 992
 tatra cakrāthe aditiṃ ditiṃ ca, 853
 tatra no brahmaṇas patiḥ, 452, 992
 tatra pūṣābhavat (°bhavat) sacā, 602
 tatra yamaḥ sādānā te kṛṇotu, 405,
 452, 512
 tatra yoniṃ kṛṇavase, 452
 tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam
 (°retām, sambhavatām), 267, 712
 tatra śiśriye 'ja ekapādah, 907
 tatra havyāni gāmaya (gam°), 479
 tatrā no brahmaṇas patiḥ, 452, 992
 tatrā sadah kṛṇavase, 452
 tat satyam yad viraṃ bibhrthaḥ
 (°taḥ), 91
 tathā viṣvañ vyakrāmat (tathā vyak-
 rāmad viṣvañ), 94
 tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (vanu-
 tām), 606
 tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām
 (asthām), 287, 877
 tad aham nihnave (nihnuve) tubhyam,
 603
 tad āyuh, 360
 tad āharanti kavayaḥ purastāt, 342
 tad indrāgni jinvatam (pinvatām)
 sūnṛtāvat, 852
 tad vāyuh, 360
 tad viprāso vipanyavaḥ (°yuvah), 604
 tad vipro abravid udak (u tat), 65, 142,
 830
 tad vo astu sucetanam (°tunam, sajo-
 ṣanam), 607, 612
 tanuam . . ., see tanvam . . .
 tanūnapāc ca sarasvatī, 195, 810
 tanūnaptre śakmane śākvarāya śak-
 manā ojiṣṭhāya, 240
 tanūnaptre śākvarāya śakmann (śak-
 vana) ojiṣṭhāya, 240
 tanūpāc ca sarasvatī, 195, 810

tanūpā bhiṣajā sute, 867
 tanūpā ye nas (tanūpāvānas) tanvas
 tanūjāḥ (tapojāḥ), 254, 723, 833
 tanūpāś ca sarasvatī, 195, 810
 tanūyā bhiṣajā sute, 867
 tanūr me tanvā saha, 793
 tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā, 368, 861
 tanūs tanvā (tanuvā) me saha, 793
 taṁ te gr̥bhñāmy uttamam, 116
 taṁ te duścakṣā māva khyat, 190
 taṁ te vi ṣyāmy āyuso na madhyāt
 (nu madhye), 614
 taṁ tvaṁ viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn
 (°bhya ṛtūn) kalpaya, 420, 665
 taṁ tvā gr̥hñāmi tavaṣam atavyān
 (ataviyān), 786
 taṁ tvā ghr̥tasnav (°sna) Imahe, 889
 taṁ tvā pra viśāmi . . . saha yan me
 'sti tena, 910
 taṁ tvā bhr̥taraḥ suvr̥dhā (°dho,
 suhr̥do) vardhamānam, 109, 269
 taṁ tvā vayaṁ sudhyo (sudhiyo)
 navyam agne, 789
 taṁ tvā viśve 'vantu (avantu) devāḥ,
 907
 taṁ (tat) tvendragraha . . . saha yan
 me 'sti (asti) tena, 910
 tan naḥ parṣad (pariṣad) ati dviṣaḥ,
 43, 758
 tan nas trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato (tan
 no viśvato) mahat, 410
 tan no danti (°tiḥ) pracodayāt, 529a
 tan no durgīḥ (durgā) pracodayāt, 599
 tan no brahmā (°ma) pracodayāt, 460
 tan nau samivananaṁ kṛtam, 593
 tan ma (mā) āpyāyatām punaḥ, 992
 tan mā jinva, 354, 829, 871
 tan mā devā avantu śobhāyi, 414, 700
 tan mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam, 414
 tan mārjitvā, 354, 829, 871
 tan māvatu (mām avatu), 812
 tan māvīt (mām āvit), 812
 tan me tanvaṁ trāyatām sarvato
 br̥hat, 410
 tan me rādhyatām, 659
 tan me samṛdhyatām (samṛddham),
 659
 tanvaṁ (tanuvaṁ) me pāhi, 793

tanvo adya ('dya) dadhātu me, 909
 tapati varṣan virāḍ rāvaṭ (rāvat)
 svāhā, 168
 tapate svāhā, 329
 tapatyai svāhā, 248, 329
 tapas ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv (°rā)
 ṛtū, 888
 tapasarṣayaḥ (°sarṣayaḥ) suvar (svar)
 anvavindan, 781, 918
 tapasas tan mahinājāyataikam, 204
 tapur yayastu carur agnivān (°mān)
 iva, 239
 tapūṁṣy agne juhvā patamgān, 723
 tapojām vācam asme niyacha devā-
 yuvam, 51
 tapobhir agne juhvā patamgān, 723
 tapyate svāhā, 329
 tapyatvai (°tyai) svāhā, 248, 329
 tam agne pṛtanāśaham (°saham), 984
 tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava (tapa)
 svaiḥ, 200
 tam abhi śoca yo 'smān (asmān)
 dveṣti . . . , 910
 tam arciṣā sphūrjayaṁ (°yaṁ) jāta-
 vedah, 936
 tam ardhamāsam prasutān pitryā-
 vataḥ, 559
 tamasas tan mahinājāyataikam, 204
 tam ahaṁ punar ādade, 256, 845
 tam ahve vājasātaye, 613, 798, 828
 tam ā pṛṇa (pṛṇā) vasupate vasūnām,
 442
 tam āhutaṁ naśimahi (°tam aśimahi),
 311
 tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it,
 365, 826
 tam in mahe vṛṇate nānyaṁ tvat, 365
 tam u tvaṁ māyayāvadhiḥ, 252
 tam u nir vāpayā punaḥ, 365
 tam u me agadaṁ kṛdhi, 849
 tam u śuciṁ śucayo dīdivāṁsam, 547
 tam u huve vājasātaye, 613, 798, 828
 tam ū śuciṁ śucayo dīdivāṁsam, 547
 taṁ pipṛhi daśamāsyō 'ntar udare, 112
 taṁ priyāsaṁ (bhri°) bahu rocāmānaḥ,
 112
 taṁ manyeta pitaraṁ mātaraṁ ca, 849
 taṁ mātā daśa māso bibhartu, 112

- tam mā devā avantu śobhāyai, 414, 700
 tam mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam, 414
 tam mā mṛdhaḥ, 98, 225
 tayā gr̥ṇantaḥ sadhamādeṣu, 325
 tayānantam kāmam (lokam) aham jayāni, 365
 tayā nas tanvā (tanuvā) śāntamayā, 793
 tayā prattam svadhayā madantu, 365
 tayā madantaḥ sadhamādeyeṣu (°mādeṣu, °mādhyeṣu), 110, 325
 tayāvahante kavayaḥ purastāt, 342
 tayāham śāntyā . . ., 365
 tayā hatena pāpena, 365
 taylor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi, 315
 taylor (taylor nāv) asthūri (°ri nau) gārhapatyam . . ., 950
 taylor aham anu bhakṣam (°syam) bhakṣayāmi, 315
 taylor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi, 315
 taylor devā adhisamvasantaḥ, 172, 281
 taylor nāv, see taylor asthūri . . .
 tarakṣuḥ (°kṣaḥ) kṣṇaḥ śvā caturakṣo (°kṣyā) . . ., 335, 609
 tari mandrāsu prayakṣu, 374, 381, 830, 839, 861
 tava-tava rāyaḥ, 42, 748
 tava tyan māyāvadhīḥ, 252
 tava praśastayo mahīḥ (°taye mahe), 695
 tava vāyav (vāya) ṛtaspatē, 889
 tava śravāṁsy upamāny ukthya (°ya), 460
 tava syām śarman trivarūtha udbhit, 932
 tava syāma śarmaṇs trivarūtha ud-bhau, 932
 tavāham nāma bibharāṇy agne (agre), 864
 tavāham agne bibharāṇi nāma, 864
 tasthur gr̥ṇantaḥ sadhamādyāsaḥ, 325
 tasthau nākasya sānavi (śarmaṇi), 287
 tasmā u adya samanā (savane) sutam bhara, 233
 tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛṇuta praśastam (kṛṇuhi supraśastam), 845
 tasmād āpo anu śthana (sthana), 987
 tasmād vār nāma (ṇāma) vo hitam (vaḥ priyam), 952
 tasmiṁs tad, see tasmin tad . . .
 tasmiṁ chīśriye aja ekapāt, 907
 tasmin (tasmiṁs) tad eno vasavo ni dhetana (dhattana), 932
 tasminn ā tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā, 386
 tasminn āpitā bhuvanāni viśvā, 386
 tasmin ma indro rucim ā dadhātu, 596
 tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smaḥ (sma), 379
 tasmin sīdāmṛte pratitiṣṭha (sīdāmīte pratitiṣṭhan), 638
 tasmin somo rucam ā dadhātu, 596
 tasmin ha tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā, 386
 tasmai devā adhi bravan (bruvan), 602
 tasmai no devāḥ paridatteha (°dhatta, °dhatteha) sarve (viśve), 106, 844
 tasmai brahma ca brāhmās (brahmā) ca, 491
 tasmai mā devāḥ pari dhatteha sarve, 106, 844
 tasmai somo adhi bravat (bruvat), 602
 tasya ṛksāmāny . . ., 919
 tasya tārksyaś cāriṣṭanemiś ca senā-nīgrāmānyau (senāni°), 523
 tasya te bhaktivāṁsaḥ syāma (°vāno bhūyāsma), 377
 tasya te vājipītasypahūtasyopahūto (vājapītasypahūta [°hata] upahūtasya) bhakṣayāmi, 594
 tasya te vājipītasypahūto bhakṣayāmi, 594
 tasya te vājibhir . . . vājipītasya . . ., 594
 tasya doham aśīmahī (aśīya, aśīya te), 849
 tasya nāmna . . . yo 'smān (asmān) dveṣṭi . . ., 910
 tasya no dhehi jivase, 105
 tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (dāḥ), 106
 tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ (bhīravo nāma), 604
 tasya yad āhuḥ pippalaṁ svādv agre, 746

tasya rathagrtsaś (°krtsnaś, °krtsaś)
ca rathaujāś ca senānigrāmaṇyau
(senāni°), 46, 311, 523

tasya rathaprotāś (rathe°) cāsamara-
thaś ca senānigrāmaṇyau (senāni°),
523

tasya rathasvanaś . . . senānigrāma-
nyau (senāni°), 523

tasyarksāmāny . . . , 919

tasya senajic . . . senānigrāmaṇyau
(senāni°), 523

tasyāṁ devaḥ savitā dharmaṁ sāviṣat,
142, 307

tasyāṁ devā adhi saṁvasantaḥ, 172,
281, 340

tasyāṁ devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā,
281

tasyāṁ no devaḥ savitā dharmaṁ
(°ma) sāviṣat (°sak), 142, 307

tasyāpo apsarasa (°psarasa, °sā) ūrjo
nāma (°psaraso mudāḥ), 910

tasyās te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma (bhak-
tiyāno bhūyāśma, bhāgam aśimahi),
377

tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyāś
caramaṇa paśunā krīṇāmi, 162

tasyed āhuḥ pippalaṁ svādv agre, 746

tā ubhau caturah . . . prasārayāvahai
(°yāva), 379

tā ekamūrdhnir abhi lokam ekam, 172

tā eva vivahāvahai, 269, 578, 694, 888

tā ehi saṁ rabhāvahai, 269, 694, 888

tāḥ prācyā (°yaḥ, prācīr) ujjigāhire
(°hīre, saṁjigāire), 387, 540, 581, 737

tām vidyāṁ brahmayoniṁ svarūpām
(brahmayonisva°), 818

tām śaśvantā upayanti vājāḥ, 365

tām ha jaritar na (naḥ) pratyagrbhṇan,
384

tā te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhyai, 705
tādītnā (°knā) śatruṁ (°ūn) na kilā
vivitse (vivatse), 141, 580

tāni brahmā tu (brahmota) śundhati
(śumbhati, śaṁsati), 173, 616

tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta,
637, 909

tām dhīrāso anudīśya (°dīśya) yajante
(°dīśyāyajanta kavayaḥ), 637, 909

tām naḥ pūṣaṁ chivatamām erayasva,
937

tāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (°ṣa ārp°),
509

tābhīr yāsi dūtyām (°yam) sūryasya,
494

tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ sarvaśāntibhiḥ śam-
ayāmy aham, 365

tābhiḥ tvam (tābhis tvam) ubhayībhiḥ
saṁvidānaḥ, 958

tābhyām (°yām vayarṁ) patema sukr-
tām u lokam (pathyāśma sukr̥tasya
lokam), 96

tā mandasānā manuṣo duroṇa ā, 609

tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante, 637,
909

tām airayaṇś candramasi svadhābhiḥ,
930

tām pūṣaṁ (pūṣaṁ) chivatamām era-
yasva, 937

tām pūṣānu yachatu (pūṣābhi rakṣatu),
184, 244

tā yā devā . . . śāśva (śāśsva) . . . , 391

tā vām vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai,
705

tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavaḥ (°yuvaḥ),
604

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ, 379

tāv iha saṁ bhavāva, 269, 578, 694, 888

tāv ehi vivahāvahai (eha saṁvahāva-
hai), 269, 578, 694, 888

tāv ehi saṁrabhāvahai, 269, 694, 888

tāv ehi saṁbhavāva, 269, 694, 888

tāsām viśiśnānām (°śnyānām), 315, 878

tāsām svasṛ (svar, svasūr) ajanayat
(ajanan) pañca-pañca, 644

tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ (maghavan), 83,
242

tāsām ekā harikṇikā (°klikā), 273

tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena (mahasā
svena), 287, 857

tāsv adhvaryav ādhāvendrāya . . .
br̥haspatimate . . . , 239, 890

tāsv adhvaryo indrāya . . . br̥haspati-
vate . . . , 239, 890

tigmam āyudhaṁ viditām (°dham
īditām, anikām viditām) sahasvat,
169, 360, 545

- tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ
(śṛṇotana), 383, 827
- tiraścīrāḥ (tiraścīnarāḥ) rakṣitā, 542
- tiroahniyān somān prasthitān preṣya,
787, 910
- tiro rajāṅsy aspṛtaḥ (°tam, asṛtaḥ),
180
- tilvilāstām irāvatīm, tilvilā sthājirā-
vati, tilvalā sthirāvati, tilvilā syād
irāvati, 596, 828
- tiṣṭhā ratham (rathe) adhi taṁ (yaṁ,
yad) vajrahasta (°taḥ), 380
- tisraḥ kṣapas (°pās) trir ahātivrajad-
bhiḥ, 494
- tisraś ca rājabandhaviḥ (°vaiḥ), 490,
701
- tisro jihvasya samidhaḥ parijmanaḥ,
192, 579
- tisro dadhur (dadur) devatāḥ saṁ-
rarāṇāḥ, 105
- tisro bhūmīr dhārayan (°yaṅs) trīṇr
uta dyūn, 927, 932
- tisro yahvasya samidhaḥ parijmanaḥ,
192, 579
- tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (iyuḥ), 598
- tuce tanāya (tunāya) tat su naḥ, 605
- tuje janā (jane) vanam svaḥ, 207, 387
- tujo yujo vanam (balaṁ) sahaḥ, 207,
387
- tutho vo . . . varṣiṣṭhe adhi ('dhi)
nāke, 910
- tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ (°yaḥ), 54, 93, 375
- tubhyam sutāsaḥ somāḥ, 846
- tubhyam somāḥ sutā ime, 846
- tubhyam agne (agre) pary avahan, 864
- turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān,
64, 578, 826
- turiyāditya (turyā°) savanam (ha°) ta
indriyam, 299, 786
- turo na yāmann etaśasya nū raṇe, 561
- tuvidyumnam vibhvāsaham (vibhā°),
371
- tuviśvaṇasam (°śmaṇasam) suyajam
ghṛtaśriyam, 236
- tūrṇim devāsa iha suśriyam dadhuḥ,
177
- tūrvan na yāmann etaśasya nū raṇe,
561
- tṛṇam vasānā (°nāḥ) sumanā asas (asi)
tvam, 381
- tṛta enaṁ (enan) manuṣyeṣu mamṛje,
414, 468, 670
- tṛtiyasya savanasya ṛbhumato (°sy-
arbhū°) . . . bṛhaspatimato (°vato)
. . . , 239, 919
- tṛtiye dhāmāny abhy (dhāmānny adhy)
airayanta, 172, 928
- tṛte devā amṛjatatad enaḥ, 670
- tṛṣucyavaso juhvo nāgneḥ, 40, 667
- tṛṣu yad annā veviṣad vitiṣṭhase, 667
- tṛṣṭam piṣitam asyate (aś°), 278
- te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛṇvantu, 360
- te asmat pāsān pra muñcantv enasaḥ,
907
- te asmā agnaye (°yo) draviṇam dattvā,
909
- te asmin (asmiṇ) javam ādadhuḥ, 936
- tekaś ca sasaramataṇḍaś ca, 135, 165
- tegān daṇṣṭrābhyām, 374
- tejo mayi dhehi, tejo me dāḥ (dehi,
dhāḥ), 103
- tejo yaśasvi sthaviṛam samiddham
(samṛddham), 39, 635
- te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye, 705
- te dakṣiṇām duhate (te duhrate dak-
ṣiṇām) saptamātaram, 356
- te na ātmasu jāgrati (jāgrta), 662
- tena ṛṣiṇā . . . , 919
- te naḥ pāntv asmin brahmaṇy . . .
asmin karmaṇy asyām . . . , 928
- tena kṛṇāntiś carata (°tha) priyeṇa
(vaśān anu), 90
- tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam, 835
- tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ, 983
- tena devā vy asahanta śatrūn, 983
- tena no mitrāvaruṇāv (°ṇā) aviṣṭam,
533, 888
- tena mām abhiṣiñcatam, 293, 835
- tena mā saha śundhata (śumbhantu,
°atu), 173
- tena yo 'smat samṛchātai (samṛt-
sātām), 183, 811
- tena rādhyāsam (tenardhyāsam), 806
- tenarṣiṇā . . . , 919
- tena vayan sahasravalśena, 458
- tena vayan bhagavantaḥ syāma, 458

tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (var-
dhasva cāpyāyasva), 808
tena saṁvanināu svake, 593
tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi, 47, 386, 840
tena sann anugṛhṇāsi, 47, 386, 840
tena sahasrakāṇḍena, 458
tena somābhi rakṣa naḥ, 516, 950
tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam (var-
dhayā mām), 835
tenānyo 'smat samṛchātai, 811
tenārātsyam (°tsam), 333
tenā vyaṁ bhagavantāḥ syāma, 458
tenā sahasrakāṇḍena, 458
tenemam agna (agra) iha varcasā
samaṅgdi, 864
tenemām upa siñcatam, 293, 835
te no 'gnayaḥ paprayaḥ pārayantū
(pāla°), 260
te pāyavaḥ sadhryaṇco (sadhriyaṇco)
niṣadya, 784
te brahmalokeṣu (°loke tu) parānta-
kāle, 824
tebhiḥ tvaṁ putraṁ janaya, 958
tebhiḥ somābhi (°bhī) rakṣa naḥ
(naḥ), 516, 950
tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyaitu (dhāra-
yitum), 747
tebhyo namo astu (°stu), 910
te mat prātaḥ prajāniṣyethe (°te), 91
te mā prajāte prajāniṣyathaḥ (°taḥ
. . .), 91
te varṣanti te varṣayanti, 360
teṣāṁ yo ajyānim (°jyānim) ajitim
āvahāt (ajijim . . .), 588, 907
teṣāṁ viśipriyāṇām . . ., 878
teṣāṁ saṁ hanmo akṣāṇi (saṁ dadhmo
akṣiṇi), 598
teṣāṁ ajyāniṁ (°naṁ) yatamo vahāti
(na āvahāt), 588
teṣāṁ apsu sadas kṛtam, 988
teṣv ahaṁ sumanāḥ saṁ viśāmi (°ti,
°ni, vasāma), 281
te 'smat pāśān pra muñcantv anhasaḥ,
907
te 'smā agnaye draviṇāni dattvā, 909
te ha jajñe bhuvanasya gopāḥ, 192, 307
tais tvaṁ putraṁ (°ān) vindasva, 958
to-to (to te) rāyaḥ, 42, 748

toyena jivān vi sasarja (vya ca sarja,
vyasasarja) bhūmyām, 736
tau te krodhaṁ nayāmasi, 98
tau te bhakṣaṁ (bhakṣyaṁ) cakratur
agra etam, 315
tau saha caturaḥ . . . prasārayāvahai
(°yāvah), 379
tyaṁ hy agne agniṇā, 252
trayīḥ ṣaḍ urvīr uru ṇas kṛṇota, 817,
950, 964
trātāram indram akṛṇor avadhyam
(ayudhyam), 255
triṇśad asyā jaghanaṁ yojanāni, 340
triṇśad dhāma (triṇśaddhāmā) vi
rājati, 460
triṇśad yasyā jaghanaṁ yojanāni, 340
trikakue (°kup) chandaḥ, 178
trikadrakebhiḥ patati (pavate), 853
triṇave marutaḥ (°ta) stutāḥ (stutam),
977
trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje, 414,
463, 670
trite devā amṛjaitad enaḥ, 670
tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roraviti, 687
tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā (yās ca ṣaṭ-
padāḥ), 381
tribandhureṇa trivṛtā rathena, 213
tribandhuro manasā yātu yuktaḥ, 213
triyavi-, see tryavi-
trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre
(°hrire), 810
trivandhureṇa trivṛtā rathena, 213
trivandhuro manasā yātu yuktaḥ, 213
trivṛd bhuvanaṁ yad rathavṛt (°vṛk;
trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt),
142
triṣug gharṁ vibhātu me (gharmas
sadam in me vibhāti), 145, 355
triśrud gharṁ vibhātu me, 145, 355
triṣaptāso marutaḥ svādusamṁmudāḥ,
986
triṣucyavaso juhvo nāgneḥ, 40, 667
triṣu yad annā veviṣad vitiṣṭhase, 667
triṣṭub (triṣṭug) graiṣmī, 148
triṣaptāso marutaḥ svādusamṁmudāḥ,
986
triṇi padāni (padā) nihitā guhāsya
(guhāsu), 808, 826

trīṇi padāni rūpo anv arohat, 569
 trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇy (ṣa°) agnim,
 988
 tredhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti, 687
 tryavir (triyavir) . . ., and tryaviś (tri-
 yaviś) . . ., 776
 tva eṣaḥ saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ,
 292, 360, 694
 tvaṁ rājāsi pradivaḥ (pratipat) sutā-
 nām, 64, 200
 tvaṁ rāya ubhayāso janānām, 507
 tvaṁ rauhiṇaṁ (roh°) vyāsyah, 728
 tvaṁ valasya gomataḥ, 210
 tvaṁ vettha yati te jātavedaḥ, 60
 tvaṁ hi rādhaspata (°syata) eka
 īśiṣe, 867
 tvaṁ hy agne agninā, 252
 tvaṁ gopāya, 365
 tvaṁ no devatātaye (deva dātave),
 61, 248, 832
 tvam u nirvāpayā punaḥ, 365
 tvam etāñ (etāñ) janarājño dvir daśa,
 936
 tvaṁ balasya gomataḥ, 210
 tvayāgne kāmam ahaṁ jayāmi, 365
 tvayā jvasena sam aśimahi tvā, 421,
 835
 tvayā prattam svadhayā madanti
 (°tu), 365
 tvayā bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ, 831, 911
 tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (badhet,
 badhyāt), 209, 803
 tvayāvasena sam aśimahi tvā, 421, 835
 tvayāham śāntyā . . ., 365
 tvayā hatena pāpena, 365
 tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra, 380,
 870
 tvaṣṭa turīpo (°yo) adbhutaḥ, 867
 tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ, 380, 870
 tvaṣṭā no atra varivaḥ (variyaḥ)
 kṛnotu, 249, 541a
 tvaṣṭā no atra vi dadhātu rāyaḥ, 849
 tvaṣṭā rūpāni dadhatī (dadati) saras-
 vatī, 105
 tvaṣṭā sudatro vi dadhātu rāyaḥ, 849
 tvaṣṭimati te sapeya, 357, 641
 tvaṣṭur varutrīm varuṇasya nābhim,
 528, 562

tvaṣṭrmantas (tvaṣṭri°, tvaṣṭu°) tvā
 sapema, 39, 357, 641, 667
 tvaṣṭrimati te sapeya, 357, 641
 tvām rāya ubhayāso janānām, 507
 tvām śāsvanta upa yanti vājāḥ, 365
 tvām agne samidhānam yaviṣṭha
 (°ṭhya), 315
 tvām adya ṛṣa (adyarṣa) ārṣeya ṛṣṇām
 (ārṣeyarṣi°) . . . 919
 tvām abhi pra ṇonumaḥ (no°), 952
 tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it,
 365, 826
 tvām maho vṛṇate (°te naro) nānyaṁ
 tvat, 365
 tviṣim indre na (indreṇa) bheṣajam,
 826
 tviṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu, 849
 tviṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu, 849
 tve ā bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ, 831, 911
 tve iṣaḥ (viśve) saṁ dadhur bhūri-
 varpasah (bhūriretasaḥ), 292, 360,
 694
 tve kratum api vṛṇjanti viśve (prñ-
 canti bhūri), 57, 200
 tveṣaṁ cakṣur dadhire codayanvati
 (°mati), 239
 tveṣas te dhūma ṛṇvati (ūrnotu), 655
 dakṣakratubhyāṁ . . ., 556
 dakṣaṁ ta ugram ābhāriṣam (te
 bhadram ābhārṣam), 758
 dakṣaṁ dadhāsi (dadāsi) jīvase, 105
 datto asmabhyāṁ (dattvāyāsma°, dat-
 tāyāsma°, dattāsma°) draviṇeha
 bhadram, 90, 342, 367
 dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram,
 90, 342, 367
 dadhad yo dhāyi sute vayāñsi, 272a,
 592, 612
 dadhad ratnaṁ (°nā) dakṣaṁ pitṛbhya
 (dakṣapit°) āyuni (āyūñṣi), 555, 819
 dadhad ratnā dāṣuṣe vāryāni (ratnāni
 dāṣuṣe, ratnā vi dā°), 849
 dadhad vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayātai,
 145, 332, 634, 710
 dadhanvān (°vā, °vān) yo naryo apsv
 antar ā, 942
 dadhi mantham pariśrutam (manthām
 parisrutam), 275

- dadhir yo dhāyi sa te vayānsi, 272a, 592, 612
 dadhiṣa ehi, 635
 dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayāte (vidhakṣan pariṅkhayātai), 145, 332, 634, 710
 dadhṛṣy ehi, 635
 dame-dame suṣṭutir (°tyā, °tīr, °tī) vām iyānā (vāvṛdhānā, °nau), 236, 544, 640, 828
 daridra (°dram) nīlaloḥita, 401
 darbhāiḥ stṛṇita haritaiḥ suparṇaiḥ (suvarṇaiḥ), 200
 daśasyantāmṛtāya (°tvāmṛtāya) kam, 367
 dahraṁ (daharaṁ) vipāpṁmavaraveś-mabhūtam (vipāpmaṁ varaṁ veś-mabhūtam, vipāpam . . .), 763, 819
 dātum cec chikṣān sa (chaknuvāṅsaḥ, °vān sa) svarga eva (eṣām), 381, 571, 826
 dātrasyāgne svarpatih (svaḥ°), 968
 dāma grīvāsv avimokyam yat (grīvāsv avicartyam), 649
 dāmno-dāmno rājan, 107
 dāsyann adāsyann uta sam grṇāmi (uta vā kariṣyan), 45
 digbhyaś cakravākaḥ (cakṛ°), 658
 digbhyo vaḍabe (°ve), 219
 diteḥ putrāṇām aditer akārṣam (°ri-sam), 758
 diva oṣadhasya (°yaḥ) pari, 964
 divaḥ parjanyaḍ antarikṣāt prthivyāḥ, 964
 divaḥ prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt, 964
 divaḥ prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam, 964
 divaḥ prṣṭham svar (suvar) gatvā, 964
 divaḥ prṣṭh-, *see* divas *etc.*
 divaṁ skabhāna, 137
 divam agreṇāsprkṣaḥ (°ṣat, agreṇā-prāt), 375
 divaś cid antād upamām (upa mām, antān upamān) ud ānat, 824
 divaś chadmāsi, 324
 diva (divas, divaḥ) skambhanir (°nīr, °ny) . . . 529, 977
 divas parjanyaḍ antarikṣāt prthivyāḥ, 964
 divas prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt, 964
 divas prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam, 964
 divas prṣṭham svar gatvā, 964
 divas (divaḥ) prṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti (rohanti) cetasa (tejasā), 57, 802, 964
 divas (divaḥ) prṣṭham (°the) bhand-amānaḥ (mand°) sumanmabhiḥ, 242, 964
 divas (divaḥ) prṣṭhāny āruhan (°hat), 964
 divaḥ saṁsprṣas (saṁprcas) pāhi, 195, 375
 divācarebhyo (°cāribhyo) bhūtebhyah, 488, 690
 divi jyotir ajaram (uttamam) ārabhetām (°thām), 91
 divi mūrdhānaṁ dadhiṣe svarṣam (suvarṣam), 780
 divi ṣaṇ (ṣaṇ, saṇ) chakra ātataḥ, 937, 987
 divi sad (ṣad) bhūmy ā dade, 987
 dive jyotir uttamam ārabhetām, 91
 divo antebhyas (°nte°) pari, 907
 divo jyote (jyotir) vivasva āditya te no devā . . ., 337, 686, 720, 818
 divo dhārām bhindhi, 324
 divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe, 156, 170, 220
 divo vā viṣṇav (viṣṇa, divo viṣṇa) uta vā prthivyāḥ, 887
 divo viśvasmāt sim aghāyata uruṣyaḥ, 379
 divo vṛṣṭim varṣayatā puriṣiṇaḥ, 90
 divyaḥ koṣaḥ samukṣitaḥ, 196, 686, 699, 707
 divyaṁ superṇaṁ vāyasam (payasam, vayasam, °sā) bṛhantam, 200, 490
 divyaṁ chadmāsi . . ., 324
 divyā āpo nannamyadhvam . . ., 413, 686
 divye dhāmān (°many) upahūtaḥ (°tā), 928
 divyo gandharvaḥ ketapūḥ (°pāḥ) . . ., 619

diśāṃ devy (tevy) avatu no ghṛtāci, 21, 66
 diśāṃ patir abhavad vājinivān, 869
 diśo abhy abhūd ayam, 910
 diśo 'bhy ayaṃ rājābhūt, 910
 diśo yajñasya dakṣiṇāḥ, 161, 579
 diśo viśvā anu prabhuh, 381, 869
 diṣṭāya rajjusaṛjam (°sargam), 132
 dīkṣayedam (dīkṣāy°) havir āgachataṃ naḥ, 507
 dīkṣāyai tapase 'gnaye (agnaye) svāhā, 910
 dīkṣito 'yam aśā āmuṣyāyaṇaḥ, 888
 dīrgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajāni, 575
 dīrgham anu prasitim (prasṛtim, samṛtim) āyuṣe dhām (tvā; saṃsprṣe-thām), 78, 292, 637
 durāś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ, 64, 578, 826
 duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma, 808
 duritā yāni cakṛma, 808
 durmitrās (°triyās, °tryās) tasmai santu (bhūyāsur) yo 'smān (asmān) dveṣṭi . . ., 315, 787, 910
 duvasyave (duvasvate) tvā vātāya svāhā, 248
 duścakṣās te māvakśat (°kṣat, °khyat), 190
 duścayavanaḥ pṛtanāṣād (°ṣāl) ayudhyaḥ (ayo°), 713
 duṣvapnahan (duṣṣva°, duḥsva°) duruṣyaha (duruṣṣaha, duruṣvahā), 255, 408, 980, 986
 duṣvapnyam duritam niḥ (ni) śvāsmat, 980
 dūredrśam gr̥hapatim atharyum (athavyum), 267
 dūrepaśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni, 820
 dūrehetir indriyāvān (°yavān) patatṛi (°triḥ), dūrehetih patatṛi vājinivān, 467, 529a
 dūrvā rohatu puṣpiṇi (rohantu puṣpiṇiḥ), 381
 dūṣikābhīr hrādunim (hra°), 488, 528, 543
 dṛṇhantām daivir viśaḥ kalpantām manuṣyāḥ, 316, 490

dṛṇhasva vīḍayasva (vīra°) su, 272
 dṛḍhā cid yamayisṇavaḥ, 857
 dṛvāsi (dṛbāsi), 219, 679
 dṛśā ca bhāsā br̥hatā suśikmanā, 240, 283, 624
 dṛśāno rukma urvyā (urviyā, uruyā) vy adyaat (vi bhāti), 743, 791
 dṛśe ca bhāsā br̥hatā suśukvabhiḥ (°vaniḥ), 240, 283, 624
 devakośaḥ samubjitah, 196, 686, 699, 707
 deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā, 713
 devajūte vivasvann āditya . . ., 337, 686, 720, 818
 devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (oh°, ohire), 722
 deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (raṇva, raṇa, raṇe), 225, 366
 deva puraścara saghyāsam (devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam) tvā, 147, 634, 817, 838, 861
 devabarhiḥ (deva barhiś) śatavalśam vi roha, 817
 devaṃ manaḥ kuto (kr̥to) adhi prajātam, 642
 devayuvam (devā°) viśvavārām (°vāre), 478
 devayor dharme (°mā, dhāmann) as-thiran, 350
 deva viṣṇa (viṣṇav) urv . . ., 887
 devaśrīḥ śrīmanāḥ (°maṇāḥ) śatapayāḥ (°pāt), 953
 deva saṃsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe (sahasrā°), 466
 deva savitah susāvitram (suṣā°) adyāmin . . ., 986
 devas te savitā hastam gr̥hṇātu, 116
 devas tvā savitā punātu vasoḥ . . . supvā (supuvā), 789
 devas tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvot-punāmi, 789
 devasya (°syāham) savituh . . . ruheyam (roheyam), 715
 devā akr̥ṇvann usījo amartyave, 152, 643, 650
 devā etasyām avadanta pūrve, 810
 devāḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt (nir̥thāt), 650

devāṅśo yasmai tvede tat satyam
 upariprutā (apariprutā) bhaṅgena
 (bhaṅgyena), 261, 315, 616
 devā gātuvido (°vido gātum vittvā,
 gātum itvā) gātum yajñāya vindata
 (gātum ita), 360
 devāñ jigāti sumnayuḥ, 936
 devā devebhyo adhvaryanto (adhvari-
 yanto) asthuḥ, 786
 devānām viṣṭhām anu yo vitasthe,
 156, 170, 220
 devānām tvā patnīr devīr viśvadevy-
 āvatīḥ (°devya°) prthivyāḥ sa-
 dhasthe aṅgirasvad (°ṅgi°) . . ., 467,
 910
 devānām devatamāśaviṣṭhā (śaciṣṭhā),
 866
 devānām niṣṭhām anu yo vitasthe, 156,
 170, 220
 devānām agneyāny asi, 357, 692, 818
 devānām patnībhyāḥ pulikāḥ, 149
 devānām patnīr (patnyo, patnayo)
 diśaḥ (viśaḥ), 869
 devānām bhāgadā asat, 105
 devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (ṛjudhā)
 nayantu, 75, 157
 devāñ jigāti sumnayuḥ, 936
 devāñ devayate (devā°) yaja (yaja-
 mānāya svāhā), 478
 devāñ mā bhayād iti, 707
 devāñ yajñiyan iha yāñ yajāmahai
 (havāmahe), 710
 devāñ sendrāñ upa te huve savāham
 (°sā aham), 362
 devā brahmāṇa āgachata āgachata
 (āgachataāgachataāgachata), 995
 devā bhavata vājinaḥ, 90
 devāyuvam . . ., *see* deva°
 devā vā etasyām avadanta pūrve, 810
 devī uśāsāv (°sā) āśvinā, 888
 devī dvārau mā mā sañ tāptam, 357,
 732
 devīñ nāvañ svaritrām anāgasam,
 707
 devīm ahañ nirṛtiñ vandamānaḥ (bā-
 dhamānaḥ), 207
 devīr āpo agreguvaḥ . . . (agreguvo
 . . . devayuvam [devā°]), 478, 910

devīr āpo apām napād . . . dhatta
 (datta, dāta), 104
 devīr āpo 'greguvo . . ., 910
 devīr āpo (āpo apām napād) yo va
 ūrmīḥ pratūrīḥ kakumñāñ vājasās
 tenāyañ vājañ set, 178, 239
 devīr devīr (devair) abhi mā nivar-
 tadhvam, 701
 devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtāḥ (°bhṛtāḥ), 118,
 639
 devīr dvāro mā mā samāptam, 357, 732
 devīḥ ṣaḍ urvīr (ṣaḍurvīr) uru naḥ
 (ṇaḥ) kṛṇota, 707, 817, 950, 964
 devebhir aktam (yuktam) aditiḥ sajo-
 śāḥ, 339, 617
 devebhyas tanūbhyas svāhā, 695, 707
 devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (devāyvañ)
 prācmi (prājmi) . . ., 55, 805
 devebhyas tvā devāyvañ (devāyuvam)
 grhṇāmi . . ., 805
 devebhyo bhavata (°tha) supṛāyañāḥ,
 90
 devebhyo bhāgadā (°dā) asat, 105
 devebhyo havyaṇ vāhata prajāñan,
 849
 devebhyo havyaṇ vāha (vāha naḥ)
 prajāñan, 849
 devebhyo havyavāhana (°naḥ), 380
 devebhyo havyā vāhata prajāñan, 849
 deveṣu havyavāhanāḥ, 380
 devair uktā (nyuptā, nuttā) vyasarpō
 mahitvam (°tvā), 139, 152, 180
 devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ (°hṛtāḥ), 118,
 639
 devair nuttā (nyuptā) . . ., *see* devair
 uktā . . .
 devo narāśaṅso 'gnau (°gnā) vasuvane
 . . ., 910
 devo vaḥ savitā hiranyapāñiḥ prati-
 grbhṇāt (savitā pratigrbhṇātu . . .)
 . . ., 116
 devo vaḥ savitā hirañyapāñiḥ prati
 (°pāñir upa) grhṇātu, 116
 devya āpo nannamyadhvam . . . (nañ-
 namyadhvam . . .), 413, 686
 devyo vamryo (vamriyo) bhūtasya . . .,
 791
 daivañ mānuṣā yujā, 132, 317

- daivān mā bhayāt pāhi, 707
 daivā hotāra ūrdhvam adhvarān naḥ, 317
 daivā hotāraḥ saniṣan na etat, 317, 411, 623, 825
 daivīm nāvaṁ svaritrām anāgasam (°saḥ), 707
 daivibhyas tanūbhyah svāhā, 695, 707
 daivīḥ ṣaḍ urvīr uru naḥ kṛpota, 707, 817, 950, 964
 daivo yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ, 317
 daivyaḥ koṣaḥ samubjitah, 196, 686, 699, 707
 daivyaṁ mānuṣā yugā, 132, 317
 daivyā adhvaryū ā gatam, 888
 daivyā mimānā manuṣaḥ (manasā) purutrā, 293, 609
 daivyāya dhartre joṣtre (dhātre deṣtre), 159, 350
 daivyāv adhvaryū ā gatam, 888
 daivyā hotārāgnā (°gna, hotārā agna) ājyasya vitām, 888, 992
 daivyā hotārā (°rāv) ūrdhvam (hotār-ordhvam) . . ., 317, 886
 daivyā hotārā (°ro) vanuṣanta (vanīṣanta, vaniṣan na) pūrve (etat), 317, 411, 623, 825
 daivyo yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ, 317
 dyām varṣayatho (°to) asurasya māyayā, 91
 dyām stabhāna, 137
 dyāvāprthivī uro (urv) antarikṣa (°kṣam), 912
 dyutadyubhir namasyair iyānā, 953
 dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ (hitah), 256, 579
 dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ (°tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ), 189, 716, 840
 dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śuciḥ (śuci), 381
 dyumantaṁ śuṣmam ā bharā (bhara) svarvidam, 446
 dyumnaṁ sudatra (dyumnā suksatra) maṇhaya, 857
 dyumni śloki (śukli) sa somyaḥ (sau°), 714, 728
 dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā, 724, 833
 dyauḥ pitāḥ prthivi mātāḥ adhruk, 967
 dyauḥ pitā prthivi mātā prajāpatīr bandhuḥ, 967
 dyauḥ prṣṭham . . ., 967
 dyaus naḥ pitā pitryāc (pitryāc) chaṁ bhavāti (°si), 674
 dyaus yataḥ cyutad agnāv eva tat, 336
 dyaus tvā pitā prthivi mātā, 958
 dyaus pitāḥ prthivi mātāḥ adhruk, 967
 dyaus pitā prthivi mātā, 967
 dyaus prṣṭham . . ., 967
 dyaus te pitā prthivi mātā, 958
 dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadrasṭā . . ., 724, 833
 drapsaś caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (prathamān anu dyūn), 235, 619, 665
 drāghīya āyuh prataram (°rām, prati-ram) . . ., 506, 575
 druṇā sadhastham aśnuṣe, 713
 druṇā sadhastham āsadat, 713
 drubāsi, 219, 679
 druhaḥ pāśān (pāśam) prati sa (ṣū) mucīṣṭa (prati muñcatām saḥ), 621, 987
 droṇe sadhastham aśnuṣe, 713
 droṇe sadhastham āsadat, 713
 dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuḥ (tathartuḥ, tathā ṛtuḥ), 918
 dvārapāya . . ., dvārapopa . . ., dvā-rapy . . ., dvārapyai . . . (dvārā° . . .), 466
 dvipac catuṣpad (dvipāc catuṣpād) arjuni, 499
 dvipac catuṣpad (dvipāc catuṣpād) asmākam, 499
 dviṣate saṁnayāmasi, 878
 dviṣato badho (vadho) 'si, 209
 dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam (pāpam), 857
 dviṣantaṁ apa bādhasva, 201
 dviṣantaṁ me 'vabādhasva, 201
 dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase, 244, 272a, 651, 838
 dviṣas taradhyā (°yai) ṛṇayā na iyase (irase), 244, 272a, 651, 838
 dve srutī (srṭī) aśṛṇavaṁ pitṛṇām, 682
 dvyuṣaṁ jāgriyād aham, 674

dhattam ratnāni dāśuṣe, 849
 dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu,
 177, 268, 381, 857
 dhanam me śaṅsyājugupaḥ, 548
 dhanasātāv (°tā) ihāvatu, 888
 dhanasṛtaṁ śūśuvāṅsaṁ sudakṣam,
 609
 dhanāni śakro dhanyaḥ (dhanīḥ)
 surādhāḥ, 734
 dhanus tanvanti (dhanuṣ ṭa°) pauṇ-
 syam, 956
 dhanusṛtaṁ śūśuvāṅsaṁ sudakṣam,
 609
 dhamanti bākuraṁ (vā°) ḍṛtim, 216
 dhartāras te (te subhage) mekhale
 mā riṣāma, 176
 dhartā vidhartā paramota samḍṛk,
 350, 835, 869, 871
 dhātā āyantu sarvadā (sarvataḥ
 svāhā), 68
 dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) dāśuṣe, 106
 dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe vasūni, 106
 dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) no rayim,
 105
 dhātā dadhātu (dadātu) sumanasy-
 amānaḥ, 105
 dhātā vidhātā paramota samḍṛk (par-
 amo na samvṛk), 350, 835, 869, 871
 dhātā viśvā vāryā dadhātu, 106
 dhātā samudro apa (°va) hantu pāpam,
 201, 907
 dhātā samudro abhayaṁ kṛnotu, 907
 dhātuḥ katakaḥ (kakkataḥ), 139
 dhānāsomaṁ manthina indra (indrah)
 śukrāt, 380
 dhāman (°maṇ) te viśvaṁ bhuvanam
 adhiśritam, 932
 dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu, 107
 dhāmno-dhāmno rājan, 107
 dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasah
 (dhṛṣṇvojasah), 777
 dhik tvā jāraṁ (jālmi puñścali, °li)
 . . ., 260
 dhipsyaṁ vā samcakara janebhyaḥ,
 45, 56, 107, 180, 446, 480
 dhiya invāno dhiya in no avyāt, 386
 dhiyā na (no) vājān upa māsi (māhi)
 śasvataḥ, 298

dhiyā manotā prathamō manīṣī (pra-
 thamaṁ manīṣā), 598
 dhiyā martaḥ śasamate (martasya
 śamataḥ), 189, 840
 dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāḥ
 (avyāt), 386
 dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyavatī . . .
 aṅgirasvad abhīnddhām (abhīndhā-
 tām) ukhe, 467
 dhiṣaṇāsi parvatī (pār°, parvatyā),
 316, 490
 dhiṣaṇas tvā devīr viśvadevyavatīḥ
 . . . sadhasthe aṅgirasvad (°ṅgi°)
 abhīndhatām ukhe, 467, 910
 dhiṣaṇe īdite īdethām, 169, 360
 dhiṣaṇe vidū (vidvī, vīte) . . . vīḍa-
 yethām (vil°), 169, 360, 743
 dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah, 696
 dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (sū°, sumna-
 yau), 563
 dhuḥśimahi prajāṁ iṣam, 176, 618
 dhuñkṣāgneyī (dhuñkṣyā°, dhuñkṣvā°),
 255, 311, 335, 370, 568
 dhūmrā babhrunkāśāḥ pitṛṇām soma-
 vatām, 628, 742
 dhūrta (°te) namas te astu (°stu),
 910
 dhūrte namante astu, 910
 dhūrva taṁ yo 'smān dhūrvati, 910
 dhenām antaḥ sabardughām, 696
 dhenus cānaḍvāṅś ca, 930
 dhruvaṁ yonim ā sida sādhyā (sā-
 dhyā), 505
 dhruvam ayā (ayo) dhruvam utāśam-
 iṣṭhāḥ (utā śaviṣṭha), 86, 234, 835
 dhruvam asi dhruvata (°taḥ) sthitam,
 977
 dhruvas tiṣṭhāvicācaliḥ (°lat), 592
 dhruvām yonim āsīda sādhyā, 505
 dhruvāya bhūmāya (bhaumāya) svāhā,
 725
 dhruvāsaḥ (dhruvā ha) parvatā ime,
 298, 824
 dhruvā strī patikule iyam (°kuleyam),
 989
 dhvaṅsaso vi vṛhāmi te, 176, 222
 dhvara dhvarantaṁ yo asmān dhvarāt,
 910

dhvāntaṃ vātāgram anusamcarantau
(abhisam°), 864
dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye sam
caranti, 864
na kir (ki) devā minīmasi (ini°), 311,
357
nakih sa dabhyate janaḥ, 126, 621
naktaṃcarebhyah (°cāribhyo bhūte-
bhyah), 488, 690
nakṣatrāṇām sakāśān mā yausaṃ, 306
nakṣatrāṇām mā samkāśas . . ., 306
nagnahur dhīras (vīras) tasaraṃ na
vema, 857
na ced avedī (°di, °dir, °dīn) mahatī
vinastih, 525, 530
na jyotiṃśi cakāśati, 278
na tato vijugupsate, 45, 56, 68, 180
na tadā vicikitsati (vijugupsate), 45,
56, 68, 180
na tad rakṣāṃsi na piśācās caranti
(°cās taranti), 155
na tā arvā reṇukakāto āsnute (°snute),
907
nadayor vivratayoḥ śūra indrah, 665,
828
nadibhyah pauñjīṣṭham (°ṣṭam), 86
na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indrah, 665, 828
na dhvasmānas tanvī (tanuvī) repa ā
dhuḥ, 793
na pāpatvāya rāsīya (raṇsiṣam), 301
nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv
(°kā) rtū, 888
nama ākṣinaḥkebhyaḥ, 540
nama ākḥidate ca prakḥidate (ākḥi-
date ca prakḥidate) ca, 401, 405
nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasṛte
(°smṛte), 205
nama ānirhatebhyaḥ (ānrha°), 653
na ma idam upadambhiṣag (udam
bhiṣag) ṛṣir brahmā yad dade, 272a,
831, 832
nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś
(°vibhyaś) ca vo namaḥ, 247
nama Idhriyāya cātapyāya ca, 360, 787
nama ūrvyāya ca sūrvyāya (ūrmyāya
ca sūrmīyāya) ca, 228
namaḥ kātyāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya
(°ṣṭhyāya) ca, 321

namaḥ kiṇṣilāya ca kṣayaṇāya (kṣeṇ-
āya) ca, 42, 744
namaḥ kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś
ca vo namaḥ, 45, 185
namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā (°yatāya, kṛtsam-
vītāya, kṛtsnavītāya), 311, 507
namaḥ pathyāya ca srutyāya ca, 682
namaḥ parṇāya (parṇyāya) ca parṇ-
asādāya (°sādāya, °sadyāya) ca, 325,
486
namaḥ puñjīṣṭebhyo (°ṣṭebhyo) niṣā-
debhyaś ca vo namaḥ, 86
namaḥ śamigave (śamgāya) ca paśupa-
taye ca, 250, 808
namaḥ śaspiñjarāya (śiṣ°) tviṣimate
278, 294, 580
namaḥ śighryāya (śighriyāya) ca śi-
bhyāya ca, 315, 787
namaḥ śibhāya ca śighrāya ca, 315, 787
namaḥ śuṣkyāya (śuṣyāya) ca hari-
tyāya ca, 420
namaḥ śvanibhyo (śvani°) mṛgayu-
bhyaś ca vo namaḥ, 528
namas te astu, 910
namas te astu rudrarūpebhyaḥ, 817
namas te rathamtarāya (rātham°)
. . ., 491
namas te rudra rūpebhyaḥ namaḥ, 817
namas te 'stu, 910
namaḥ samudrasya cakṣase (cakṣuṣe),
608
namaḥ saspiñjarāya tviṣimate, 278,
294, 580
namaḥ sūtāyāhantyai (°hantīyāya,
°hantvāya), 248
namas sūrmīyāya cormyāya ca, 228
namaḥ sūryāya divikṣite lokasṛte,
205
namaḥ sṛkāyibhyo (°vibhyo, sṛgāy-
ibhyo) jighāṇsadbhyaḥ, 48, 247
namaḥ sṛtyāya ca pathyāya ca, 682
namaḥ senābhyah senānibhyaś (°nī-
bhyaś) ca vo namaḥ, 527
namaḥ sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya
(°sarāya) ca, 325
namaḥ srutyāya ca pathyāya ca, 682
na mānsam asi nodalam (no dalam),
835

na mññseṣu na snāvasu, 826
 namucāv (°cā) āsure sacā, 888
 na me tad upadambhiṣar dhṛṣir brahmā
 yad dadau, 142, 272a, 831, 832
 namo agnaya upadraṣṭre, 910
 namo agriyāya ('gryāya, 'griyāya) ca
 prathamāya ca, 541, 787, 910
 namo agrevadhāya ('gre°) ca dūreva-
 dhāya ca, 910
 namo aparasadbhyaḥ, 910
 namo āśvebhyo ('śve°) 'śvapātibhyaś ca
 vo namaḥ, 910
 namo astu nīlagrivāya, 908
 namo astu parāyate, 907
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye anta-
 rikṣe ('ntar°) . . ., 910
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye divi
 . . ., 910
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye pṛthi-
 vyām . . ., 910
 namo astu ('stu) sarpebhyaḥ, 907
 namo girikebhyo devānām hṛdaye-
 bhyaḥ, 49
 namo giriśayāya (giriśāya) . . . 810
 namo gṛtsebhyo gṛtsapatibhyaś ca vo
 namaḥ, 45, 185
 namo 'gnaya upadraṣṭre, 910
 namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite lokasṛte
 (pṛthivikṣite lokakṣite, °vikṣite lok-
 asmṛte), 205, 524
 namo 'griyāya . . ., 'grevadhāya . . .,
 'gryāya . . ., see namo ag°
 namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya
 ('niyāya) ca, 787
 namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya
 (dundubhaye cāhananiyāya) ca, 325,
 786
 namo niśādebhyaḥ puñjīṣṭhebhyaś
 ('ṣṭhebhyaś) ca vo namaḥ, 86
 namo niveṣyāya (ni°) ca hṛdyāya ca,
 248, 315, 516, 658
 namo 'parasadbhyaḥ, 910
 namo babhluśāya vyādhine (vivyā-
 dhine), 810
 namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca, 787
 namo mahadbhyo (bṛhadbhyo) ar-
 bhakebhyaś ('rbha°) ca vo namaḥ,
 910

namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanibhyaś ca vo
 namaḥ, 528
 namo mauñjyāyormyāya (°yaur-
 myāya) . . ., 728
 namo yuvabhya āśinebhyaś (āśi°) ca
 vo . . . 542
 namo yuvabhyo nama āśinebhyaḥ, 542
 namo rathibhyo arathebhyaś ('rath°)
 . . ., 910
 namo rudrāyātātāyine (°vine), 247
 namo lopyāya colapyāya (colapāya)
 ca, 325
 namo vaḥ kirikebhyo . . ., 49
 namo vaḥ pitarah śuśmāya (śośāya,
 śūśāya), 569, 713, 720
 namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (reṣ-
 miyāya) . . ., 787
 namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite lokasṛte
 ('smṛte, lokakṣite), 205
 namo vikṣīnatkebhyaḥ (vikṣīnake-
 bhyaḥ), 540
 namo vidhryāya (vidhriyāya) cāta-
 pyāya ca, 360, 787
 namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (sam-
 vṛdhvane, savṛdhvane, suvṛdhvane)
 ca, 306, 612
 namo vo astu ('stu), 910
 namo 'śvebhyo . . ., see namo āś°
 namo 'stu nīla°, 908
 namo 'stu parāyate, 907
 namo 'stu . . ., see namo astu . . .
 namo hṛdayyāya ca niveṣyāya ca, 248,
 315, 516, 658
 namo hradayyāya (hradavyāya) ca
 niveṣyāya (°śyāya) ca, 248, 315,
 516, 658
 na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (alipsata),
 583
 na yajñasya manvate martyāsaḥ (mar-
 tāsah), 315
 nayantaṁ gīrbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ,
 600
 nayanto garbhaṁ vanāṁ dhiyaṁ dhuḥ,
 600
 na yonā (yonāv) uśāsānaktā, 886
 narāśaṁsa stavīṣyate, 490
 narāśaṁse somapītham ya āśuḥ (ān-
 āśuḥ), 490

na vā u (uv) etan mriyase na riṣyasi, 774
 na vai gāvo maṅgīrasya (maṇḍīrasya), 144
 na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (śvetasācābhy-
 āgāre, śvetasyābhyācāreṇa, śvetas-
 yābhyācāre), 128, 172, 188, 824
 na sīm adeva āpat (āpa tat), 810
 na śīsaridataḥ (°rīdata), 384, 525
 nahi te nāma jagrāha, 116
 nahy anyam badākaram (balā°), 271
 nahy asyā (asyai) nāma gr̥bhñāmi, 116
 nākam gr̥bhñānāḥ (gr̥h°) sukṛtasya
 loke, 116
 nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas (kulīkayas,
 pulīkayas, pulīrayas) te 'kūpārasya
 (kūvarasya), 149, 198, 489, 802
 nāgo rayir ā ciketa, 244, 837
 nātārīd (°rīr) asya samṛtiṁ vadhānām
 (ba°), 209, 272a
 nādyā śatruṁ nanu (na nu) purā
 vivitse (yuyutse), 255, 627, 805
 nādhr̥ṣa ā dadhr̥ṣate (dadhar̥ṣa, da-
 dhar̥ṣayā), 648
 nānā hi vām devahitam sadas (sadaḥ)
 kṛtam, 964
 nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam, 198, 201
 nābhā saṁdāyi navyasī (saṁdāya
 navyase), 584, 695
 nābhīmṛṣe (nābhīdhṛṣe) tanvā (tanuvā)
 jarbhurāṇaḥ (jarhṛṣāṇaḥ), 121, 292,
 654
 nārāśaṁsa stavīṣyate, 490
 nārāśansena stomena (somena), 419
 nārāśaṁse somapītham ya āśuḥ, 490
 nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam, 198, 201
 nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ, 170, 254,
 741
 nāvo viyanti susico na vāñīḥ, 170, 254,
 741
 nāsatyā (nā°) bhīṣajāśvinā, 952
 nāsām āmitro vyathir ā dadhar̥ṣati, 491
 nāsikavate (°kāvate) svāhā, 475
 niḥ kravyādām nudāmasi (nudasva),
 967
 nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam (tu-
 bhyam madhye), 47, 76, 255
 ni galgalīti dhārakā, 133, 595, 617, 861

nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ (tubhyam madh-
 vah), 47, 176, 255
 nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (nicañkuṇa,
 nicuñkuṇaḥ), 150, 380, 605
 ni jalgalīti (jalgal°) dhānikā, 133, 595,
 617, 861
 ni dūraśravase vaha (vahaḥ, mahah),
 224, 379
 nidhanavata āgrayaṇaḥ (āgrā°), 492
 nidhedhāsi . . . puruṣaspārham (pur-
 uspārham) . . ., 811
 ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda
 (nandabala), 273, 605, 862
 ni no rayim subhojasam yuvasva
 (yuveha), 842
 nindād yo asmān dipsāc (dhipsāc) ca,
 107
 nimṛdo (nimrado) 'si, 658
 ni yan niyanty uparasya niṣkṛtim, 587,
 778, 830
 niyutvān vāyav (vāya) ā gahi, 889
 niyudbhīr vāyav (vāya) iṣṭaye duroṇe,
 889
 niyudbhīr vāyav (vāya) iha tā vi
 muñca (muñcaḥ), 145, 379, 889
 nir amuṁ bhaja yo 'mitro asya, 907
 nir araṇiṁ savitā sāviṣat (°ṣak) padoh,
 142
 nir aṣṭaviṣam (aṣṭha°) asṛtam, 86
 nirastaḥ śaṇḍaḥ (śaṇḍaḥ), 289
 nirasto aghaśaṁsaḥ ('gha°), 910
 nirṛtiṁ nirjarjalpena (nirjālmakena,
 nirjalpena) śīrṣṇā (nirjālmākāśīrṣṇā)
 496, 810
 nirṛto yaś ca nisvanaḥ, 93, 861
 nirṛtyai svāhā, 699
 nirṛtho yaś ca nisvaraḥ (nisvanaḥ), 93,
 861
 niroho 'si, 516
 nirdevam nirvīram (°vīryam) kṛtvā
 . . ., 323
 nirbādhyena haviṣā, 699
 nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt, 325
 nir mā yamasya padbīṣāt (śaḍvīṣāt),
 217, 302, 872
 nir mā varuṇād uta (adhi), 325
 nivarto yo ny avīṛḍhaḥ (avīṛṣtat),
 97

ni vīraṁ (vīravat) gavyam aśvyam
(aśviyam) ca rādhah, 784
nivr̥taḥ (nivr̥ttah) puruṣād dṛtiḥ, 401
niṣkartā vibrutaṁ (vihṛtaṁ) punaḥ,
650, 683
niṣkṛtā vihṛtaṁ punaḥ, 650, 683
niṣkṛtāhavam avataṁ, 164
niṣ kravyādaṁ sedha (°dam anīśaṣat),
967
ni ṣṭānihi duritā bādhamānaḥ, 582
niṣ ṭaṁ bhaja yo amitro asya, 907
niṣṭahamāṇo (niṣṣa°) yamate nāyate,
971
nihāram in ni me hara (harā[h]), 431,
446
nīroho 'si, 516
nīlagalamālah . . . , 512, 870
nīlaṁgoḥ (°gave) kṛmiḥ (krimiḥ), 668
nīlāgalasālā, 512, 870
nū cit sa dabhyate janaḥ, 126, 621
nṛcakṣasaṁ tvā . . . khyeṣam (kṣeṣam)
190
nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (śuśrug)
astu, 145, 283, 612
nṛbhīr dhūtāḥ (dhau°) suto aśvaiḥ, 726
nṛbhīr dhūto (dhauto) vicakṣaṇaḥ,
726
nṛbhīr yad yukto vive rapāṁsi (viver
ap°), 837
nṛvat kṛṇuhi vītaye (°hy ūtaye), 743,
805
nṛvadbbhyo 'kṣā paprathānebhīr evaiḥ,
684, 840, 861, 875
nṛṣadmā sīdad apām vivarte (°vā
sīdad apām upasthe), 240
nṛñh (nṛñs) pāhi śṛṇudhī (°hi) girah,
122, 965
nediya it sṛṇyaḥ pakvam ā yavan
(yuvan), 603
ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat, 924
nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ, 180, 181,
545, 694, 919
nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam (sudruvam),
793
nemis cakram ivābhavat (°bhuvat), 602
nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān ipsamānaḥ, 180,
181, 545, 694, 919
neva māṁse na pibasi, 211, 709, 826

nainam rakṣāṁsi na piśācāḥ sahante,
155
nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat
(arṣat), 31, 288
nainā amito vyathir ā dadharṣati, 491
nairṛtyai svāhā, 699
nairbādhyena haviṣā, 699
naiva māṁsena pīvari, 211, 709, 826
nyag vāto 'va vāti (vāto vāti), 808
nyaṁ ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam, 587,
778, 830
ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā (kāmān) ayaṇ-
sata (araṇsata), 244
ny aham taṁ mṛdyāsam yo 'smān
(asmān) dveṣṭi . . . , 910
paktā sasyam, 93, 857
pakṣmāṇi godhūmaiḥ kuvalair (kva-
lair) utāni, 782
pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ, 559
pañca padāni ruṇo anv aroham, 569
pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv (dadhā)
idam . . . , 888
paḍbhiḥ caturbhīr akramīt, 166
patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoḥ
(bāhuvoḥ), 792
patha ānakti madhvā ghṛtena, 509
pathā madhumatā bharan (madhumad
ābharan), 61, 840
patho anaktu (°ti) madhvā ghṛtena,
509
padā paṇīr (paṇīn) arādhasaḥ, 927
padbhiḥ caturbhīr akramīt, 166
panasyuvaḥ saṁvasaneṣv (saṁvara-
neṣv) akramuḥ, 857
panthām anūṛggbhyām (anu°), 550
panthā sasyam, 93, 857
payasvatīḥ kṛṇuthāpa (°tāpa) oṣadhīḥ
. . . , 90
payasvad vīrudhām payah, 200
payasvan māmakaṁ vacaḥ (payah),
200
payasvān (°vān) agna āgamam, 925
payo gr̥heṣu payo aghnyāyām (aghni-
yāsu, 'stu tan naḥ), 784, 907
payo me dāḥ (mayi dhehi), 102
payo vateṣu payo astu tan mayi, 907
paramachado vara (paramachad ava-
rān) ā viveṣa. 840

- paramajyā rciṣamaḥ (°ma), 380
 paramaṁ padam ava bhāti (bhāri)
 bhūri (°reh), 853
 paramāṁ taṁ (tvā) parāvatam, 365
 paramēṇa paśunā kriyase (kriyasva),
 162
 parameṣṭhi tvā sādayatu divas (divaḥ)
 prṣṭhe . . . raśmivatīm (raśmi°), 520,
 964
 paraśur vedih paraśur naḥ svasti,
 381, 755
 paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi, 382, 820
 parā duṣvapnyam (°niyam) suva, 784
 parā dehi śāmulyam (śābalyam), 240,
 607
 parāpuro nipuro ye bharanti (haranti),
 117
 parārciṣā mūradevāñ (°vāñ) chr̥ṇiḥi,
 937
 parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ, 382, 820
 pari kroṣatu sarvadā (°taḥ), 68
 pari ghraṇsam omanā vām (pari-
 ghraṇsa vām manā vām) vayo gāt
 (gām), 804, 821, 828
 parijmā cit kramate (cid ramate) asya
 dharmaṇi, 420
 pari naḥ śarmayantyā, 950
 pari no āsvam āsvavit, 950
 pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu, 950
 pari no hetir rudrasya vṛjyāḥ (°yāt),
 170, 950
 pari doṣād udarpithaḥ, 63, 96, 384, 516,
 821
 paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai (°dhāsyē yaśo
 dhāsyē), 705
 pari naḥ śarmayantyā, 950
 pari no āsvam āsvavit, 950
 pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu, 950
 pari no hēdo varuṇasya vṛjyāḥ, 170, 950
 pari pūṣā parastāt (pur°), 615
 pari bhrātuḥ pari śvasuḥ, 988
 pari mātuḥ pari svasuḥ, 988
 parimīdhaḥ kva gamiṣyasi, 67
 parimīdho 'sy ūlena, 568
 pari lokān pari diśaḥ pari svaḥ (suvaḥ),
 780
 parivādam parikṣavam (°chavam), 183,
 200, 516
 parivṛndhi (°vṛṇgdhi) . . . , 418
 pariṣitaḥ kveṣyasi, 67, 829
 pariṣito 'sy ūlena, 568
 pariṣidaḥ kleṣyasi, 67, 829
 pari śya suvāno akṣāḥ, 794, 987
 pari śvajate (°tai) libujeva vṛkṣam, 710
 pari satyasya dharmaṇā (sakhyasya
 dharmaṇaḥ), 143
 pari suvānaś (svānaś) cakṣase deva-
 mādanaḥ, 794
 pari suvānāsa (svānāsa) indavaḥ, 794
 pari suvāno (svāno) giriṣṭhāḥ, 794
 pari śya suvāno avyayam (svāno
 akṣarat), 794, 987
 pari svā°, see pari suvā°
 paritoṣāt tad arpitha, 63, 96, 384, 516,
 821
 paridam vājy ajinaṁ (°dam vājinaṁ)
 . . . , 808
 paridam vāso adhithāḥ (adhidhāḥ, adhi
 dhā) svastaye, 77, 705
 parime 'gnim arṣata, 387, 648
 parivādam parikṣapam, 200, 516
 paruṣaḥ-paruṣas (°ṣaḥ; paruṣas-paru-
 ṣas) pari, 961
 pareyivāṇsam (pareyu°) pravato mahir
 anu (iti), 622
 parainān (°ṇān) devaḥ savitā dadātu,
 950
 paro martaḥ paraḥ (para) śvā, 980
 parṇasadaḥ (°sado jaritaḥ, °sado jar-
 itaḥ), 278
 parṇe vo vasatiṣ (°tiḥ) kṛtā, 967
 pary agnim ahrṣata (arṣata, aharṣata),
 387, 648
 pary āgāraṁ (ākāraṁ) punaḥ-punaḥ,
 46
 pary āvarte duṣvapnyāt (duḥṣva°), 980
 pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (°vā) vājasātaye,
 436, 445
 parvata ivāvicācalih (°lat), 592
 parśur vedih paraśur naḥ svastiḥ, 381,
 755
 pavamāna (°nā) vidharmaṇi, 512
 pavamānaḥ (°na) saṁtanīm eṣi kṛṇvan,
 380
 pavamānaḥ svarjanaḥ (suvar°, so adya
 naḥ), 159

pavamāno daśasyati (diś°), 577
 pavasva devāyusaḥ (deva āyusaḥ), 992
 pavitravantah pari vācam (vājam)
 āsate, 51
 paśūnām tvā himkāreṇā° (humkā-
 reṇā°) . . ., 625
 paśūn (paśūns) tāns cakre vāavyān,
 932
 paśūn nah śaṅsyājūgupah, 548
 paśūn me śaṅsyājūgupah (°jūg°), 548
 paścādośāya (paścāddo°) glāvinam
 (glāvam), 403
 paśyañ (°yañ) janmāni sūrya, 936
 paṣṭhavāt (°vāc) ca . . ., 167
 paṣṭhavād gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 631
 paṣṭhavād (°vād) vayah, 167
 pāṅktrah (pāṅktaḥ, pāṅtra-) kaśo
 mānthlilavas (man°) te pitṛnām
 (pitṛ°), 77, 418, 489, 597
 pātaṁ mā dyāvāpṛthivi adyāhnaḥ
 (aghān nah), 840, 868
 pāti priyaṁ ripo (rupo) agraṁ padaṁ
 veh, 267, 627
 pāty agnir vipo agraṁ padaṁ veh,
 267, 627
 pāpāt swapnyād (pāpaḥ swapnād)
 abhūtyāḥ (°yai), 315
 pāpmānam uta vāgham (vā agham),
 992
 pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ ('vāriye-
 bhyaḥ) pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā, 325, 786
 pārāya mārḡāram, 325
 pārāvatagnīm (pārāvadagnīm) av-
 ase suvṛktibhiḥ, 59
 pāryāṇi pakṣmāny avāryā ikṣavaḥ, 325
 pāryāya kaivartam, 41, 325, 708
 pāvaka ā citayantyā kṛpā, 343
 pāvakayā yaś citayantyā kṛpā, 343
 pāvamānāḥ, °nyāḥ, °nyah, 319
 pāsaṁ grīvāsv avicṛtyam (°cartyam),
 649
 pāhi gāyāndhaso (gā an°) made, 343
 pāhi no agna enase (edhase) svāhā,
 857
 pāhi mām yajñanyam (°niyam), 789
 pāhi mā didyoh (mādyā divah), 738
 pikaḥ (pigah) kṣviṅkā . . ., 21, 48
 pitaraś ca upāsate (copāsate), 995

pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasuḥ
 (vibhāv°), 619
 pitā no bodhi (bodha), 584
 pitāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (°vi-
 bhyaḥ) svadhā namaḥ, 247
 pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayiṇām, 236, 359
 pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (°bhaiṣam),
 700
 pitṛbhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (°vibhyaḥ)
 svadhā namaḥ, 247
 pitṛbhyaḥ svadhāstu (°dhā astu), 992
 pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān
 babhrvanūkāśān, 628, 742
 pitṛñ (pitṛñ) jinva, 936
 piteva putraṁ jarase ma emam (naye-
 mam), 181, 343, 835
 pitevaiddhi sūnava ā (°ve yah) suśevah,
 339
 pitvo (pidvo) nyaṅkuḥ kakkaṭas (kak-
 uṭhas, kaṣas) te 'numatyai, 67, 69,
 88, 401, 607
 pinva (°vañ) gā jinvārvataḥ, pinva-
 taṁ gā jinvatam arvato nah, 852
 pibantu madantu (°tām) vyantu (vi-
 yantu somam), 796
 pibāt somaṁ mamadad (somam am-
 adann) enam iṣṭe (iṣṭayah), 381, 746
 pitā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā (pitābhā syāt
 tanūpamā), 170, 254, 408, 838
 pitvi (pitvā) śipre avepayah, 598a
 pibarim (piv°) ca prapharvyam, 211
 pibaspṛhākam udārathim (pivo vṛkka
 udārathiḥ), 211
 puṇsavanam puṇsavanam (puṇsuva-
 nam asi), 604
 puṇse putrāya vettavai (vittaye, kart-
 avai, °ve), 248, 686, 705
 puñjikasthalā (puñjiga°) kṛtasthalā
 (kratu°) cāpsarasau, 48, 609, 664
 putrah pitarāv (°ram) avṛṇita pūṣā, 237
 putrah pitre (pitrye) lokakṛj jāta-
 vedah, 321
 putram iva pitarāv (°rā) aśvinobhā, 888
 putriyantaḥ (putriyanti) sudānavah,
 534
 punantu ṛṣayah, 992
 punantu viśvā bhūtāni (bhūtā mā),
 849

- punar āgāḥ punarnava (°ṇava, °ṇavaḥ) 380, 952
 punar ūrjā ni vartasva (ūrjā vavṛtsva), 648
 punar dattāv (dātām) asum adyeha bhadram, 225
 punar brahmāṇo (brahmā) vasunītha (°nītir, °dhītam, °dhītim, °dhīte) yajñaiḥ (agne), 93, 134, 339, 587, 706, 857
 punar mām aitv (maitv) indriyam, 812
 pumān enaṁ tanuta ut kṛṇatti, 48, 925
 pumāṁsam vardhatām mayi, 97, 840, 938
 pumāṁsam u (ā) dadhad (dadhād) iha, 620
 pumān enad vayaty udgṛṇatti, 48, 925
 pumān garbhas tavodare, 97, 840
 pumān samvartatām mayi, 97, 840, 938
 purāṁdaro gotrabhid (°bhṛd) vajrabāhuḥ, 39, 636
 purāṁdaro maghavān vajrabāhuḥ, 39, 636
 purastāt (purā tvā) sarve kurmahe, 365, 826
 purā grḍhrād araruṣaḥ pibāthaḥ (°taḥ), 91
 purā cakṛbhyā ātṛda, 57, 138, 353, 384, 681
 purā jatrubhya (jartṛbhya) ātṛdaḥ, 57, 138, 353, 384, 681
 purukṣu tvaṣṭā (°ṭaḥ) suvīryam (suvīram), 323
 purutrā te manutām (vanvatām, vanutām) viṣṭhitām jagat, 227, 742
 puru tvā dāśvān (dāśivān) voce, 764, 944
 purudasmo (°smavad) viṣurūpa (viśvarūpam) induḥ, 291, 421, 742
 purumedhaś (°dhāś) cit takave naraṁ dāt (dhāt), 105
 pururāvṇo deva riṣas pāhi, 371a, 716, 821
 pururūpaṁ suretasaṁ maghonam (°nim), 588
 puru viśvāni jūrvan, 717, 809
 puruṣṭutasya dhāmabhiḥ (nāma°), 855
 purū reto dadhire sūryaśvitaḥ (°śritah), 267
 puroḍāśān (°śān) alamkuru, 924
 puro rakṣāṁsi nijūrvan, 717, 809
 purovāta (°to) jinva rāvat (rāvaṭ) svāhā, 168, 837
 purovāto varṣaṁ jinvar āvṛt svāhā, 168, 837
 puṣṭapate (puṣṭi°, puṣṭipataye) . . .
 punar dehy asmai (dehi *or* dhehi svāhā), 104, 587
 puṣpavatiḥ (puṣpā°) prasūvarīḥ (°sūmatīḥ, °sūvatīḥ), 239, 467
 puṣpavatiḥ (puṣpā°) supippalāḥ, 467
 pūtanānāṁ tvā patmann ādhūnomi, 151, 720, 810
 pūrṇān parisrutaḥ kumbhān, 682
 pūrvo ha (hi) jātaḥ (jajñe) sa u garbhe antaḥ, 578
 pūlyāny āvapantikā, 151, 568, 800, 867
 pūṣan (pūṣaṁs) tava vrate vayam, 932
 pūṣā jātivin (jñāti°, jñātimān) . . . 239
 pūṣādhvanas (°naḥ) pātu, 964
 pūṣā viṣpandamāne, 725
 pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye svāhā, 35, 300
 pūṣṇe 'nghṛṇaye svāhā, 35, 300, 473
 pūṣṇe śarase (°si) svāhā, 691
 prkṣasya vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ, 658, 870
 prṇakṣi rodasī ubhe, 718
 prtanāśāhyāya (°śāhyāya) ca, 984
 prtsutūrṣu śravassu (śravaḥsu) ca, 971
 prthivi bhūvari (vibhūvari) sinivāly urandhra (uraṁdha) ācette . . . , 353, 808
 prthiviśadam (prṛthivi°, °sadam) tvāntarikṣasadam . . . , 524, 986
 prthivisprṇ (prṛthivi°) mā . . . , 524
 prthivi darvir akṣitāparimitānupadastā (akṣatā) . . . 576
 prthiviśadam, *see* prṛthivi°
 prthivisamantasya te 'gnir upadraṣṭā, 833
 prthivi samā tasyāgnir upadraṣṭā . . . , 833
 prthivi suvarcā . . . , *see* prṛthivi . . .

prthivīsprñ, *see* prthivi°
 prthivyām avacūscotaitat, 336
 prthivyā (°vyāh) sambhava, 381
 prthivyāh samprcas (°cah, samsprcas)
 pāhi, 195, 375, 964
 prthivī (prthivī) suvarcā yuvatīh sajo-
 śāh, 764
 prstīm divah pari srava, 200
 prstibhyaḥ (prstī°) svāhā, 529
 prsthavād gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 631
 prsvābhyaḥ svāhā, 680
 peruṁ tuñjānā patyeva jāyā, 159, 421
 peśasvatī tantunā samvayanti (°vy-
 ayanti), 346
 peśo na śuklām (śuklām) asitam (aś°)
 vasāte, 262, 277
 potrāgnīdhro (potā°) nihitam pādam
 ekam, 353
 pauruṣeyād daivyūt (°yān na daivāt),
 317
 pauṣo viṣpandamāne, 725
 pra ketunā bhṛatā yāty (bhāty) agnih,
 853
 prakṣasya vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū mahah,
 658, 870
 pragāyāmasy agrataḥ (pragāyāmy
 asyāgrataḥ), 134, 840
 pra candramās tirate (tirati, °mas
 tirase) dirgham āyuh, 507
 pracyutīm jaghanacyutīm, 874
 prajananaṁ vai pratiṣṭhā loke sādhu
 prajāyās (sādhuprajāyāns) . . ., 250
 prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāḥ, 936
 prajāṁ suvirām (°ryām) kṛtvā, 323
 prajāṁ no naryājūgupaḥ, 548
 prajāpatir dikṣito . . . dikṣayatu (dik-
 ṣeta) . . ., 745
 prajāpatis tvā (°tiṣṭvā) sādāyatu . . .,
 958
 prajāpate viśvasṛj (°sṛg) jīvadhanyaḥ,
 132
 prajāpates tvā (°teṣṭvā) prāṇen° . . .,
 958
 prajāṁ me naryājūgupaḥ (°jūg°), 548
 prajāyāmasy agrataḥ, 134, 840
 prajāyai kam (kim) amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇta,
 578
 prajāyai mṛtyave tvat (tat), 365

prajāvatī virasūr devṛkāmā, 633
 prajāvatīh sūyavasam (°se) ruśantiḥ
 (riś°) 627
 prajā vikṛvañ (vikurvañ) janayan
 virūpam (°pāh), 936
 prajāḥ sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ
 (°vyāh), 490, 701
 pra (prā) ṇa āyur jīvase soma tāriḥ, 439
 pra ṇa āyūṇṣi tāriṣaḥ (tāriṣat, tāṛṣat),
 753, 950
 pra ṇa indo mahe tane, 616, 830, 950
 pra ṇaḥ pinva vidyud abhreve rodasi,
 950
 pra ṇāmāni prayajyavas tiradhvam,
 952
 pra ṇu vocam cikituṣe janāya, 719, 950
 pra ṇo jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśaḥ,
 950
 pra ṇo jīvātave suva, 950
 pra ṇo naya vasyo acha, 950
 pra ṇo navyebhis tirataṁ deṣṇaiḥ, 950
 pra ṇo brūtād bhāgadhān (°dhām)
 devatāsu, 105
 pra ṇo yachatv aryamā, 950
 pra ṇo yacha bhuvās (viśām) pate, 950
 pra ṇo vocam cikituṣe janāya, 719, 950
 pra tad viṣṇu (°nuḥ, °nus) stavate
 vīryeṇa (°ryāni, °ryāya), 977
 pra tad voced amṛtasya (amṛtaṁ nu,
 voce amṛtaṁ nu) vidvān, 849
 pratikramaṇam kuṣṭhābhyām (gu°), 49
 pratikṣiyantaṁ (°kṣyantaṁ) bhuvā-
 nāni viśvā, 795
 prati grhṇāmi (grbhṇāmi) mahate
 vīryāya (mahata indriyāya), 116
 prati te te ajarāśas tapīṣṭhāḥ, 345
 prati tye te ajarāśas tapīṣṭhāḥ 345
 prati tvādityās tvag vettu (vetu), 392
 prati tvā diva (divah) skambhanir
 vettu (vetu), 392, 977
 prati tvā parvatī (°tir, pārvatī) vettu,
 490, 528
 prati na im surabhīni vyantu (viyantu),
 796
 prati bhāgaṁ na dīdhima (°maḥ), 379
 pratimā asi (°māsi), 993
 pratiravebhyaḥ (pratirebhyaḥ) svāhā,
 747

- pratilāṃṭi (°ṇṭi) te pitā, 181, 853
 prati vāstor aha (ahar) dyubhiḥ, 353
 pratiśrutkāyā artanam (rtulam), 618, 651, 878
 prati śma deva riṣataḥ, 535, 987
 prati śma rakṣaso daha, 159, 987
 prati sma deva riṣataḥ, 535, 987
 prati sma rakṣaso jahi, 159, 987
 pratikam me vicakṣanam, 857
 pratitām devebhyo juṣṭam ha vyavasthāt (havyam asthāt), 225
 pratīpam prātisutvanam (°satvanam), 618
 prasnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ (ās-āśānāḥ), 292, 617
 pratno hi (pratnoṣi) kam idyo adhvar-
 eṣu, 299, 827
 pratyak somo atisrutah, 275
 pratyag enam śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāḥ (sṛṣṭāḥ), 854
 pratyāṅk somo, *see* pratyāṅ . . .
 pratyāṅ janān samcukośāntakāle, 195
 pratyāṅ janās tiṣṭhati samcukocāntakāle, 195
 pratyāṅ (°yaṅk) somo atidrutah (°hrutah, °sirutah, °śrutah), 275, 298, 939
 praty ajātān (°tān, °tān) jātavedo nudasva, 936
 pratyāṅcam arkam anayaṅ (°yaṅ) chacibhiḥ, 937
 praty asya vaha dyubhiḥ, 353
 pratyādāyāpara iṣvā, 105
 praty u (uv) adarśy (adṛśy) āyatī, 648, 774
 praty ūhatām aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt, 510, 727
 praty etā vāmā . . . yajamāno 'grabhid (agrabhid) uta pratiṣṭhotopavaktar (°kta) uta . . ., 357, 910, 991
 praty etā sunvan . . . uta pratiṣṭhotopavaktar uta . . ., 357, 991
 praty eva ṛbhāyata, 254, 836
 praty auhatām aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt (asmāt), 510, 727
 pra tveva ṛbhāyata, 254, 836
 prathamachad avarāṇ ā viveśa, 840
 prathamam artim yuyotu naḥ, 383, 650, 825, 840
 prathamāya januse bhūma neṣṭhāḥ (bhūmanesṭhāḥ, bhuvanesṭhāḥ), 240, 568, 832
 pradakṣiṇin (°ṇam) marutām stomarḍhyām (āśyām), 596
 pra dhārā yantu madhunah (dhārayantu madhuno ghr̥tasya), 833
 pra na āyūṇṣi tāriṣat, 753, 950
 pra na indo mahe tu naḥ, 616, 830, 950
 pra naḥ pinva vidyud abhrevā rodasi, 950
 pranākāphā na ābhara, 79, 151
 pra nāmāni prayajyavas tiradhvam, 952
 pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasaḥ, 719
 pra nu vocam cikituṣe janāya, 719, 950
 pra nūnam pūrṇavandhura (°bandhura), 213
 pra no jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśaḥ, 950
 pra no jīvātave suva, 950
 pra no naya prataram vasyo aha, 950
 pra no navyebhis tiratām deṣṇaiḥ, 950
 pra no yachatv aryamā, 950
 pra no yacha (rāsva) viśas pate (sahas-rajit), 950
 pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase, 719
 prapitāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (°vibhyaḥ) svadhā namaḥ, 247
 prapīnam (°tam) agne sarirasya (salilasya) madhye, 264, 734, 871
 prapunvanta upaspr̥ṣata prapunvadbhya svāhā, 867
 prapyātam agne sarirasya madhye, 264, 734, 871
 pra-pra yajñapatim tira (tirah), 379
 prapharvyam ca pivarim, 211
 pra budhnyā va irate (budhniyā irate vo) mahāṅsi, 784
 pra bravāma (bruvāma) śaradaḥ śatam, 602
 pra bhānavah sisrate (sas°) nākam aha, 581
 prabhāyā agnyedham (āgnendham), 314, 491

prabhos te (prabhoṣ te) sataḥ pari
yanti ketavaḥ, 958
pramade kumārīputram, 617
pramā asi, 993
pra mā brūtād bhāgadām (dhavirdā)
devatāsu (°tābhyah), 105
pramāsi, 993
pramude kumārīputram, 617
prayatiś ca me prasitiś (°sṛtiś) ca me,
637
prayapsyann iva sakthyau (sakthau),
347
pra yaḥ satrācā (sa vācā) manasā
yajāte (°tai), 710, 828, 876
prayāsāya svāhā, 465
prayugbhya (°yudbhya) unmattam,
145
prayunvanta upaspr̥sata prayunvad-
bhyah svāhā, 867
pra yo jajñe vidvān (vidvān) asya
bandhum (°dhuḥ), 925
pravaṇena sajoṣasaḥ, 465, 491
pravayāhnāhar jinva, 493
pra vartaya divo aśmānam (°śmānam)
indra, 907
pra vaḥ (va) spaḍ akran suvitāya
dāvane (pra vaḥ sphal akran), 977
pra vā etindur indrasya niṣkṛtim, 587
pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati, 1, 51
pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān
(caratu payasvān), 352
pravāyāhne 'har jinva, 493
pra viṣṭiminam āviṣuḥ, 876
pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya (medhy-
āya), 109, 230
pra vo mahe mahivṛdhe (mahevṛdhe)
bharadvam, 691
praśāstaḥ pra suhi (sūhi, suva, suva
pra suhi), 559
pra śmaśru (°śrubhir) dodhuvad ūrdh-
vathā bhūt (ūrdhvadhā bhuvat), 74
pra saṁhr̥ṣṭinam ājiṣuḥ, 876
pra sa mṛtyuṁ yuyotana, 383, 612, 650,
817, 825, 840
pra samrājo (°jam) asurasya praśastim
(°tam), 586
pra sumartyam (su mṛtyuṁ) yuyotana,
383, 612, 650, 817, 825, 840

pra sulāmīti te pitā, 181, 853
pra suvānāso bhaddiveṣu harayaḥ,
686, 794
prastotar vārṣāharam sāma gāya, 512
pra stomā yanty (yantv) agnaye, 251
prasthāyendragñibhyām somam vocato
yo (vocatopo) asmān . . ., 835, 867
prasthitā vo madhuścutaḥ (°ścyutaḥ,
°cyutaḥ), 336
pra smā mināty ajarah, 439, 512
pra svānāso bhaddaveṣu harayaḥ, 686,
794
pra haṁsāsas tṛpalam manyum (°lā
vagnum) acha, 235
praharṣiṇam (°ṇo) madirasya made
mṛṣāsā astv . . . (mṛṣāsāv astu),
888
prāk (prāñ, prāñk) somo atidrutaḥ,
939
prācīm jīvātum akṣitām (°tim), 599
prācīs cojjagāhire, 387, 540, 581
prāñco agāma (prāñjo 'gāmā) nṛtaye
hasāya, 2, 55, 443, 907
prā ṇa āyur, see pra . . .
prāṇam dehi (dhehi), 103
prāṇasya tvā paraspāyai (°pāya) cak-
ṣusas tanuvaḥ (tanvas) pāhi, 964
prāṇasya vidvān samare na dhīraḥ, 244
prāṇaḥ sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat,
152
prāṇaḥ (prāṇa) sthaḥ, 977
prāṇān saṁkrośaiḥ, 46, 292
prāṇāpānābhyām balam āharanti (ā-
bharanti, etc.), 117
prāṇā śīsur mahinām, 152
prāṇā sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat,
152
prāṇo agniḥ (°gniḥ) . . ., 910
prāṇo dātra edhi vayo (mayo) mahyam
pratigrahītre (°gr̥hṇate), 232, 657
prātaḥ prātaḥsavasya (°sāvasya)
śukravato . . ., 486
prātaḥ prātaḥsavasyendrāya (°sāv-
asyen°) . . ., 486
prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīr (prāntarikṣāt
sthāvīris te) asṛṣata, 640, 833
prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā, 138
prāyūsāya svāhā, 465

prāvaṇebhiḥ sajoṣasaḥ, 465, 491
 prāvartam indraḥ śacyā dhamantam,
 826, 873
 prāvo yudhyantaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ daś-
 adyum, 873
 prāsmā āsā aśṛṇvan, 873
 prāsmān ava prtanāsu pra vikṣu
 (yutsu), 140, 805
 prāsmā minoty ajaraḥ, 439, 512
 prāhaṁ tam atibhūyāsaṁ (abhibhū°)
 yo asmān ('smān) dveṣti . . ., 910
 priyāny aṅgāni svadhitaṁ parūṇṣi (aṅgā
 suktā purūṇi), 618, 741
 priyā ta ā barhis (°hiḥ) sīda, 152, 825,
 971
 priyeṇa dhāmnā (nāmnā, nāma) pri-
 yaṁ sada āsīda (etc.), 855
 priyo me hṛdo (hito, huto) 'si (bhava),
 63, 627, 640, 643
 prustābhyas svāhā, 680
 prusvā aśrubhiḥ, 40, 680
 prusvābhyah svāhā, 680
 pretā jayatā naraḥ, 441
 pred u harivaḥ śrutasya (sutasya),
 278, 355
 preman vājān vājasāte avantu, 51
 premān vācam viśvām avantu viśve, 51
 prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrveyebhiḥ
 (pūryānaiḥ), 368
 praitu brahmaṇas (°ṇaḥ) patni, 964
 praiśān sāmidenir āghārāv (°rā)
 ājyabhūgāv (°gā) āśrutam . . ., 888
 pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam, 587
 pro ārata maruto durmadā iva, 361
 prokṣitā (°tāḥ) stha, 977
 prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (avi°),
 907
 pro 'vārata maruto durmadā iva, 361
 plāśir (°śir) vyaktaḥ . . ., 529
 phalāya, 79, 401
 phalgunibhyām vy ūhyate, 560
 phalguniṣu vy uhyate, 560
 phalgūr (°gur) lohitorṇi balakṣi (°kṣis,
 palakṣi) tāḥ sārvasvatyaḥ, 69, 554
 phallāya, 79, 401
 bajābojopakāśini, 21, 69, 151, 381
 balaṁ dehi (dhatta), 103
 balaṁ mayi dhehi (me dāḥ svāhā), 103

balavijñāya (°yas, °yaḥ) sthaviṛaḥ
 praviraḥ, 977
 balim ichanto vitudasya (vi tu tasya,
 vidurasya) preṣyāḥ (preṣṭhāḥ), 65,
 272a, 832
 balivardāya (°vandāya) svāhā, 862
 basto vayah, 216
 bahiṣ te, see bahis te . . .
 bahiṣṭhebhīr viharan yāsi tantum, 214
 bahis te (bahiṣ te) astu bāl iti, 958
 bahu bāhvor balam, 792
 bahu ha vā ayam avarṣid iti śruta
 rāvaṭ svāhā, 598, 648
 bahu hāyam avṛṣād (°ṣad) iti śrutar
 āvṛt (śruta rāvat) svāhā, 598, 648
 bāhuvor (bāhvor) balam, 792
 bāhuvos (bāhvōs) tava hetayaḥ, 792
 bidvo nyaṅkuḥ kaśas te 'numatyāḥ,
 67, 69, 88, 607
 bibheda valaṁ (balaṁ) bhṛgur na
 sasāhe (sasāhe), 210, 480
 bṛhatā tvā rathamtareṇa traistubhyā
 (tristubhā) vartanyā . . ., 325, 699
 bṛhaty uṣṇihā kakup (kakut), 178
 bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam
 (°vṛṣṇam, °ṇim, °ṇiyam), 315, 784
 bṛhat sūro (sūryo) arocata, 318
 bṛhat somo vāvṛdhe suvāna induh
 (svāno adriḥ), 794
 bṛhad ṛṣabhaṁ gām vayo dadhat, 359
 bṛhadbhīr vājai (vājaiḥ, vājais) sthav-
 irebhīr asme, 977
 bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭ-
 ubho vartanyā . . ., 325, 699
 bṛhad vṛṣabhaṁ gām vayo dadhat, 359
 bṛhanto daivāḥ (divyāḥ), 316, 699
 bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (bṛhadgrāvā,
 bṛhadrāyāḥ, °rāyaḥ), 255, 420
 bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (mahi ṣad) dyu-
 man namaḥ, 392, 826
 bṛhaspataye śitpuṭaḥ (śimyuṭaḥ), 867
 bṛhaspatinā rāyā svagākṛtaḥ, 466
 bṛhaspatir devānām (daivo) brahmā-
 haṁ manuṣyānām (mānuṣaḥ), 316,
 490, 707
 bṛhaspatir brahmāhaṁ mānuṣaḥ, 316
 bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (°tis tvā) niyunaktu
 mahyam, 958

- brhaspatiṣ tvā (°tis tvā) viśvair devair
upariṣṭād . . . , 958
- brhaspatiṣ tvā (°tis tvā) sādāyatu
prthivyaḥ . . . , 958
- brhaspatiṣ tvā (°tis tvā) sumne ram-
nātu (raṇvatu), 225, 958
- brhaspatiṣ tvopasīdatu (°tis tvopa°),
958
- brhaspatīsutasya (. . .) ta indor (indo,
inda) indriyāvataḥ . . . , 357, 890
- brhaspati (°tiḥ) stotram, 977
- brhaspate abhiśaster amuñcaḥ, 907
- brhaspate pari diyā (dīya) rathena,
446
- brhaspate 'bhiśaster amuñcaḥ, 907
- brhaspate mahiṣa dyuman namaḥ, 826
- brhaspate yāmyān (°yā) yuñgdhi
(yuñdhi) vācam, 418
- brhaspateṣ tvā (°tes tvā) sāmrajyen-
ābhi . . . , 958
- bodhanmanā id astu naḥ, 594
- bodha pratibodhās vapnānavadrāṇa
. . . , 516
- bodhaś ca tvā (mā) pratibodhaś
(prati°) ca . . . , 516
- bodhinmanā id astu naḥ, 594
- bradhnaś cid atra (yasya) vāto na
jūtaḥ (jūtim), 586
- brahmañ stoṣyāmaḥ praśāstāḥ, 938
- brahmañs (brahmāñs) tvañ . . . , 932
- brahmaṇaspate suyamasya (sū°) viś-
vāhā, 552
- brahma tvam asi viśvasṛt (°sṛk), 142
- brahma devakṛtam upahūtam, 460
- brahma devānām prathamajā ṛtasya,
460
- brahmañ (°man) tvam asi viśvasṛt
(°sṛk), 142, 932
- brahmañ stoṣyāmaḥ praśāstāḥ, 938
- brahmavarcaśāya pipihī (pipihī), 545
- brahmāñ(s) tvañ, *see* brahmañs . . . ,
brahmāñ . . .
- brahmā devakṛtopahūtā, 460
- brahmā devānām prathamajā ṛtasya,
460
- brahmādhiguptaḥ (brahmābhi°) svārā
kṣārāṇi (surakṣitāḥ syām) svāhā,
172, 569, 742, 802, 840
- brahmāñ (°māñ) tvañ rājan brah-
māsi, 932
- brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣāṇaḥ (svar-
ākṣ°), 172, 569, 742, 802, 840
- brahmāham antaram kṛṇve (karave),
710
- brahmaitad upāsvaitat (upāsvaitat)
tapaḥ, 251
- brāhmaṇam adya ṛdhyāsam (adyardh°)
. . . , 919
- brāhmaṇān ṛtvijo devān yajñasya
tapasā te savāham (°sā aham) ā
huve, 362
- brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanuñātā (hy
anu°), 121, 828
- bhañsaso vi vṛhāmi te, 176, 222
- bhakṣimahi prajāṃ iṣam, 176, 618
- bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ (bhakṣa°), 332
- bhaga eva bhagavāñ astu devāḥ
(devaḥ), 507
- bhagas te hastam agrabhīt (°hīt), 116
- bhagemāñ dhiyam ud avā (ava) dadan
naḥ, 446
- bhadrād abhi (adhi) śreyaḥ prehi, 172
- bhayañ śitimabhyām (°madbhyām),
420
- bharatam uddharem anuñiṇca (ud-
dharema vanuṣanti), 236, 813
- bhartam agniñ puriṣyam, 648
- bhartāras te mekhale mā riṣāma, 176
- bhalāya (bhallāya) svāhā, 79, 401
- bhavā kṛṣṭīnām (gr°) abhiśastipāvā
(°pā u), 46, 740, 824
- bhavā no dūto ajaraḥ suvīraḥ, 826
- bhindhīdam (bhindhy ado) divyañ
nabhaḥ, 324
- bhiṣajam na (naḥ) sarasvatim, 384
- bhīma ā vāvṛdhe (vāvṛte) śavaḥ, 97
- bhujī (bhujyuh) suparṇo yajño gan-
dharvaḥ, 738
- bhuvad viśvam abhy ādevam ojasā, 470
- bhuvanam asi sahasrapoṣapuṣi (°poṣam
puṣa), 491, 820
- bhuvanam asi sahasram (sahasrapoṣam,
sāhasram), 491
- bhuvas te dadāmi (tvayi dadhāmi),
104
- bhuvo viśvam abhy ādevam ojasā, 470

bhūtānām brahmā prathamaha (°mota)
jajñe, 460
bhūmidṛgham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu, 177,
268, 381, 857
bhūmidṛgho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ, 177,
268, 381, 857
bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janāḥ,
869
bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇa upahūtaḥ (°tā),
962
bhūyiṣṭhadāvne sumatim āvṛṇānaḥ,
60, 355, 854
bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhati (rājā
arhati), 992
bhūri śastaṁ (śastram) pṛthuh svaruh,
357
bhūrṇim devāsa iha suśriyam dadhuḥ,
177
bhūr bhuvah svas te dadāmi, 104
bhūr bhuvah svaḥ sarvaṁ tvayi
dadhāmi, 104
bhūs te dadāmi (tvayi dadhāmi), 104
bhrjās chandaḥ, 658
bhr̥tam agniṁ puriṣyam, 648
bhr̥mim (bhrumim) dhamanto apa gā
avṛnata, 40, 679
bheṣajam gave 'śvāya (aśvāya, 'śvāya
puruṣāya), 909
bhrajaś (bhrājaś) chandaḥ, 486, 658
bhrātāntarikṣam abhiśastyā naḥ
(°śasta enaḥ), 840
bhrumim dhamanto . . ., see bhr̥mim
...
makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyāsam . . .,
659
magham indrāya jabhrire, 868
maghavañ (°vañ) chagdhī tava tan na
ūtibhiḥ (ūtaye), 937
maghavan mandīśimahi (vand°), 229
maṇḍākako ha vaḥ pitā, 165
maṇḍūkāṁ jambhyebhiḥ (jambhaiḥ),
315
maṇḍūko mūṣikā tittiris (°ras) te
sarpāṇām, 589
maṇḍūky apsu śam bhuvah, 280, 839
maṇḍūkyā su sam gamah (gamaya),
280, 839
matyai śrutāya cakṣase, 357, 713

matsarābhiḥ . . ., see atsa°
matsarāśaḥ prasupaḥ (prasutaḥ)
sākam irate, 180
matsvā suśipra (°prin) harivas tad
(tam) imahe, 594
mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha, 78
madanti devīr amṛtā ṛtāvṛtaḥ
(°vṛdhaḥ), 97
madughānām tvā patmann ādhūnomi,
739
madenendram yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ, 181
made-made hi no dadīḥ (daduḥ, dadṛk),
622, 640, 642
mademendram yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ, 181
made suśipram (madeṣu śipram) an-
dhasaḥ, 293, 839
madyam indrāya jabhrire, 868
madhavyau stokāv (°kā) apa tau
rarādha, 78, 888
madhuntamānām (madhvant°) tvā pat-
mann ādhūnomi, 739
madhu reto (madhur ato) mādhaveḥ
pātva asmān, 716, 837
madhu vañśiṣya (vañs°), 277
madhu śaṣpair (madhuśa°) na teja
indriyam, 817
madhuś ca mādhaveś ca vāsantikāv
(°kā) ṛtū, 888
madhu havir (madhuhavir) asi, 817
madhu hutam indratame agnau
(°gnau), 910
madhoḥ pavanta ūrmayaḥ (pavasva
dhārāyā), 804a
madhoḥ pibatam aśvinā, 804a
madhoḥ pibanti gauryaḥ, 804a
madhor ato mādhaveḥ pātva asmān,
716, 837
madho rasam sadhamāde, 368
madhoś cakānaś cārur madāya, 804a
madhye divo (divyo) nihitaḥ pṛśnir
aśmā, 324
madhye poṣasya tṛmpatām (puṣyatām,
poṣasva tiṣṭhantīm), 251
madhvaḥ pavasva dhārāyā (pavanta
ūrmayaḥ), 804a
madhvaḥ pibatam aśvinā, 804a
madhvaḥ pibanti gauryaḥ, 804a
madhvaś cakānaś cārur madāya, 804a

madhva (°vah) ścotanty abhito virap-
śam, 972, 977
madhvā yajñam nakṣati (nakṣase)
prīṇāṇaḥ (prai°), 702
madhvā rajāṇśindriyam, 421
madhv ity ākarṣaiḥ kuśair yathā, 290
madhvo rasam sadhamāde, 368
manasaspata imam deva yajñam (deva-
yajñam svāhā vāci) svāhā . . ., 816
manas tanūṣu bibhrataḥ (piprataḥ),
112
manāsi (manā asi), 994
manuṣvad deva dhīmahi pracetasam,
227
manai nu babhrūṇām aham, 366, 710
mano gāyatriyai (°triyai), 791
mano jagāma dūrakam (dūragāḥ), 46
mano jinva, 852
mano jyotir (jūtir) juṣatām ājyasya
(ājyam, ājyam me), 337, 720
mano nv ā huvāmahe (°hi, hvāmahe),
798
mano me jinva (pinva), 852
mano yad asya guspitam (gulphitam),
111
manuṣ tvā (manos tvā) grāmanyō
. . ., 958
mantram vadaty ukthyam (uktham),
322
manthākako ha vaḥ pitā, 165
mandadvīrāyendave, 229
mandāna id vṛṣāyase (ud vṛṣāyate), 627
mandrābhībhitūḥ ketur yajñānām . . .,
220, 321
mandrā vibhūtiḥ ketur yajñiyā . . .,
220, 321
manmā dīdhyānā utā naḥ sakhāyā, 236,
832
manyāsai śam ca nas (naḥ) kṛdhi, 964
manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau,
251
manyoh krodhasya nāśanī, 407, 593
manyor mṛddhasya (mṛddhasya) nāś-
inī, 407, 593
manve nu babhrūṇām aham, 366, 710
manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī, 251
mama ca nāma tava ca (tava) jāta-
vedah, 809

mama padyāya vi rāja, 820
mama snuṣā śvaśurasya praviṣṭau, 857
mayamdam (mayamtam) chandaḥ, 67
mayā so annam (°nnam) atti yo vipa-
śyati, 907
mayi tad indriyam vīryam, 345
mayi tyad indriyam bṛhat (mahat),
345
mayi dakṣakratū (dakṣo mayi kratuḥ),
272a
mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājah (°jah
kalpatām), 820
mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ, 820
mayi puṣṭim (°tam) puṣṭipatir (puṣṭa°)
dadhātu (dadātu), 101, 587
mayi rāyo mayi rakṣaḥ (dakṣaḥ), 272a
mayi rucam dhāḥ (dhehi), 101
mayuṁ te śug ṛchatu (te kṣut), 145, 297
mayobhūḥ śamtamā yad dhruvo
(dhṛdo) 'si, 684
marutām pitar uta tad grṇimāḥ, 849
marutām pitas tad aham grṇāmi
(grṇe te), 849
marutvantaḥ sakhyāya havāmahe
(huvemahi), 602
marutvān astu gaṇavān sajātavān
(sujātaiḥ), 612
marudbhīr ugrā ahṇīyamāṇāḥ, 144
marudbhī rudrāḥ samajānatābhi, 144
marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (°medhe-
bhyo) 'nubrūhi, 690
marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (°medhe-
bhyo) baṣkihān (vaṣ°, bāṣkān), 219,
387, 489, 690
marṭeṣv (marṭyeṣv) agnir amṛto ni
dhāyi, 315
malmalābhavantīm tvā (°bhavantītyā)
sādayāmi, 255
mahah pituṁ papivān (°vān) cārv
annā, 930
mahas cid yasya mīdhuṣo (mīlh°)
yavyā, 386
mahas te sato mahimā panasyate
(paniṣṭama), 870
mahān indrah paraś ca nu (puraś ca
naḥ), 614
mahāns te mahato mahimā, 870
mahākaṣṭikam (°kim), 590

mahādevam antaḥpārśvena (°parśavy-
ena), 326
mahāntaṁ gahvareṣṭhām, 368, 861
mahāntāv (°tā) indrāvaruṇā mahā-
vasū, 888
mahūn mahī astabhāyad (aska°) vi
jātaḥ, 137
mahī varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ (dad-
atīḥ), 106
mahīṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ (subhuvas, su-
bhavas) tasthivāṁsam, 119, 384, 604,
789
mahī cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā, 386
mahināṁ (mahī°) payo 'si, 528
mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau, 360,
579, 831
mahīva dyaur adha (vadha) tmanā,
360
mahī viśpatnī sadane (°nī) ṛtasya, 695
mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā, 386
mahe śrotrāya cakṣase, 357, 713
maho vā viṣṇa (maho viṣṇa) uror
antarikṣāt (viṣṇav uta vāntarikṣāt),
887
mahnā jinoṣi (hi°) mahini, 196
mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatāṁ (°te) kāme
asmin (kāmayāsmāi), 342
mahyaṁ dattvā vrajata (prajātum)
brahmalokam, 200
mā asi, 993
māgadhaḥ puṁścalī kitavaḥ klībo
'śūdrā abrahmaṇās (puṁścalī klīvaḥ
kitavo 'śūdrābrahmaṇās) . . . 219,
819, 990
mā chetthā . . . , 853
mā jāmiriṁ moṣir amuyā śayānām, 57,
181, 512, 824
mā tad bhūmyām ā śriṣan (śliṣan) mā
tṛṇeṣu, 261
mā tamo (tapo) mā yajñas tamat
(tapat), 204
mātā yad viraṁ dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā
(viraṁ jajanaḥ janiṣṭham), 160
mātur anyo 'va padyata, 201
mātrk kva cana vidyate, 66
mā te mano viṣvadyag (°driyag) vi
cārit, 784
mā te yuyoma saṁdrśaḥ, 805

māteva putraṁ bibhṛtāpsv enat
(bibhṛtā sv enat, °enam), 420, 826
mā te vyoma saṁdrśi (°śaḥ, °še), 805
mā tvaṁ hārṣīḥ śrutam mayi, 353
mā tvaṁ kṣetrāṇi araṇāni (araṇyāni)
ganma, 325
mā tvā ke cin ni (cid vi) yaman vim
(cin ni yemur in, cin nyemur in) na
pāśinaḥ, 360, 770
mā tvāgnir dhvanayid (dhana°; °yid,
°yed) dhūmagandhiḥ, 370, 533, 697
mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito (°cittā,
°cittau) nikāriṇaḥ, 399, 732
mā tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ, 832, 868
mā tvā samudra ud vadhin (ba°) mā
suparṇaḥ, 209
mā tvā sūryo 'bhi (sūryaḥ pari, pari)
tāpsin māgnir (mo agnir) . . . , 516
mādrk kva cana vidyate, 66
mā devānāṁ tantuś chedi mā manu-
ṣyāṇām, 707
mā daivyas tantuś chedi mā manuṣyaḥ,
707
mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhiśocīḥ (°śūsucaḥ,
°sucāḥ), 715
mā dhenur atyāsāriṇī (atisā°), 736
mādhyaṁdinasya savanasya . . . man-
thivato (manthivato) . . . , 520
mā na āyuh param avaraṁ mānado-
naiḥ, 159, 836, 861
mā naḥ kaścit praghān (prakhān) mā
prameṣmahi, 22, 70
mā naḥ param adharaṁ mā rajo
'naiḥ (param adhanam mā rajo
naiḥ), 159, 836, 861
mā na (nas) stena īsata māghaśaṁsaḥ,
977
mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā, 189, 596,
840
mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā, 189,
596, 840
mānuṣād daivyaṁ (daivam) upaimi,
317
mā no agnir nirṛtir mā no āṣṭān
(āṣṭhām), 87, 170
mā no agne 'va (vi) srjo aghāya, 578
mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt
(ādāt), 105

mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yuṅgdhvam, 302
 mā no nu gād aparo ardham etam, 77
 mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (nuḥ),
 172, 209, 260, 321, 821, 824
 mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā, 87, 170
 mā no vadhiḥ pitaram mota mātaram,
 580
 mā no vidad (vadhId) abhibhā mo
 āsastiḥ, 579
 mā no vidad (vṛdhad) vṛjinā (vṛjanā)
 dvesyā yā, 108, 593, 640
 mā no vidhiḥ . . . , see mā no vadhiḥ
 mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno vadhiḥ,
 209, 871
 mā no hārdi tviṣā vadhiḥ, 60
 mā no hiṁsiḥ (hiṁsi) sthaviṛam mā
 kumāram, 975, 977
 mānta (māntaḥ) sthur no arātayaḥ, 977
 mā brāhmaṇasya rājanya, 870
 mā bheḥ, 712
 mā bhetthā . . . , 853
 mā bher mā roṇ (mo roṇ, māro) mo ca
 naḥ (mo eṣām) kiṁ canāmamat, 712,
 715, 729
 mā bhair, 712
 mā bhair mā ruṇ mo ca (mā rauṇ mā)
 naḥ kiṁ canāmamat, 712, 715, 729
 mām agne bhāginam kuru, 486
 mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (yono vām hāra-
 siḥ), 307, 354, 723, 823
 mā mā (mām) hiṁsiṣṭam svarī (yat
 svarī) yonim āviśantau (āviśāthaḥ),
 505
 mā mā hiṁsiḥ svām (svamī) yonim
 āviśanti (āviśan), 505
 mām indra bhāginam kṛnu, 486
 māmīśām karī canoc chiṣaḥ, 578, 688
 mā me dīkṣām mā tapo nir vadhiṣṭa
 (ba°), 209
 mā me hārdi tviṣā- (hārdim dviṣā)
 vadhiḥ, 60
 mā yajñapatis tapat (yajamānas
 tamat), 204
 māyādevā avataran, 401, 840
 māyām māyāvattaraḥ, 475
 māyobhavyāya catuṣpadī, 319, 421
 mā rāyaspoṣeṇa viyauṣma, 729
 mā riṣāmā vayan tava, 224

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ (gur
 vṛdhānaḥ), 172, 209, 260, 321, 821, 824
 māre asman maghavaṇ (°vaṇ) jyok
 kaḥ, 936
 mā va eno anyakṛtām bhujema, 909
 mā vayan rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma, 729
 mā vayan eno 'nyakṛtām bhujema, 909
 mā va (vaḥ) stena īsata māghaśaṇsaḥ,
 977
 mā vo 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata, 302
 māsā āchyanu śamyantaḥ, 572
 māsāś chyanu śimiyantaḥ, 572
 māsi, 993
 mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt, 924
 mā sv asmāns tamasy antarādhāḥ, 105
 māham rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yoṣam, 729
 māham pautram (putryam) agham
 rudam (niyām, nigām, riṣam), 314,
 724
 mā hiṁsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam
 (ūhyamānām), 560
 mitajñavo (°jmavo) varimann (°vann)
 ā prthivyāḥ, 240
 mitajñubhir namasyair iyanā, 953
 mitajmavo, see mitajñavo . . .
 miteva sadma paśumānti (°manti)
 hotā, 501a
 mitraḥ pānty adruhaḥ, 964
 mitraṇ na īrī śimiyā goṣu gavyavat, 735
 mitraṇ na yaṇ śimiyā goṣu gavyavaḥ,
 735
 mitra satyānām pate (°nām adhipate),
 380
 mitrasyāsi kanīnikā, 235, 595, 640
 mitraḥ saṁsrjya (°yā) prthivīm, 457
 mitraḥ satyānām (satyaḥ), 380
 mitrāya kulpayān (pulikayān), 149,
 802
 mitrāvaruṇanetrebhyo . . . uttarāsad-
 bhyāḥ (uttara°) . . . , 476
 mitrāvaruṇayos tvā praśāstroḥ praśiṣā
 yunajmī (yunagmi), 131
 mitrāvaruṇābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām
 (°ṣṭubhyābhyām) . . . , 319
 mitrāvaruṇāv (°ṇā) algābhyām, 888
 mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (°hnā) cik-
 itnū (cikittam, jigatnū, cikitvam),
 45, 56, 371, 410, 579

- mitrāvaruṇau praśāstārau praśāstrāt
(prā°), 490
mitrāvaruṇau śronībhyaṁ (śroni°), 529
mitrāvaruṇau sa . . . diśo 'bhīdāsati,
910
mitrās pāntya adruhaḥ, 964
mitrāḥ suvānā (svānā) arepasah, 794
mitro na ehi sumitradhaḥ (°dhāḥ), 493
mitro no atra varuṇo yuyamānaḥ, 341,
617
mitro babhūva saprathāḥ, 180, 235
mitro yatra varuṇo ajyamānaḥ, 341, 617
mithucarantam (mithū°, mithuyā ca°,
mithuś ca°) upayāti (abhiyāti) dūṣ-
ayan, 551, 818
miśravāsasaḥ kauberakāḥ, 235, 267
miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma, 360,
579, 831
mukhaṁ sad asya śira it satena
(sadena), 60
muñcantu mā śapathyāt, 325
mudah pramuda āsate, 713
mudgās ca me khalvās (kharvās) ca me,
265
muṣūyaś cakram avive rapūnsi (°ver
apānsi), 837
muṣkāv id (°kā id, °kau yad) asyā
ejataḥ, 735, 888
mṛgasya śṛtam (śṛtam, śrutam) akṣṇ-
ayā, 278, 682
mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣibhir arcinaḥ
(taviṣebhir ūrmibhiḥ), 695
mṛjanti vahnīm sadaneṣv aha, 634
mṛjyase pavase matī, 195, 337
mṛjyase soma sātaye, 195
mṛtāya jivām pariṇyamānām, 402
mṛttike hana (hara) me pāpam, 861
mṛtyoḥ padaṁ (padāni) yopayanto
yad aita (aima, yopayanta eta,
lopayante yad eta), 245, 711
mṛtyoḥ (°yoṣ) pāhi, 967
mṛśase pavase matī, 195, 337
mekṣyāmy ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan, 332
meghyā vidyuto vācaḥ, 316, 707
medasaḥ kulyā (kūlyā) upa tām (upai-
nām, abhi tām) sravantu (kṣarantu),
565
medasaḥ (°sa) svāhā, 980
medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhiniḥsra-
vantu, 565
medhām sapta ṛṣayo (saptarṣayo)
daduḥ, 919
medhām ta indro dadātu, 106
medhām dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) me,
106
medhām agnir dadātu me (dadhātu
te), 106
medhām āśāsata śriye, 230, 508
medhūyai manase 'gnaye (agnaye)
svāhā, 910
meṣam te śuḡ ṛchatu (te kṣut), 145
maighīr vidyuto vācaḥ, 316, 707
maitrāvaruṇasya camasādhvaryav
(°ya) ādrava (ehi), 889
mainam hiṁsiṣṭam svām yonim āviś-
antau, 505
mainā arvā reṇukakāṭaḥ pṛṇak (pra-
ṇak), 664
maīśām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ, 578, 688
maīśām nu gād aparo artham (ardham)
etam, 77
maīśām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana, 578, 688
maiṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt, 924
modaḥ pramoda ānandaḥ, 713
mo śvatvam asmāntarādhāt, 105
mo śv asmāns tamasy antarādhāḥ, 105
ya ājagma (°muḥ) savanemā (°nedam,
°nam idam, ya ājagmedam sava-
nam) juṣāṇāḥ, 835
ya ātrṇatty (ātrṇoty) avitathena (avi-
dathena) karnau, 60, 392
ya āntarikṣāḥ, 314, 490
ya ābabbhūva bhuvanāni viśvā, 215, 381
ya āvabbhūva bhuvanāni viśvāḥ, 215,
381
ya āviveśośadhīr (°sauśadhīr) yo vana-
spatin, 731
ya āvrṇoty avitathena karnau, 60
ya āste yaś ca carati (yaś carati),
808
ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante
(bhajante), 159, 741
ya ime dyāvapṛthivi tastabhāne, 137
ya īśavo yātudhānānam, 505, 990
ya im vahanta āsubhiḥ, 307
ya īśe asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ, 907

ya usriyā apyā (api yā) antar aśmanah
(°ni), 785, 824
ya r̥te cid abhiśriṣaḥ, 193, 353, 676, 802
ya etasmiñ loke stha . . . bhūyāsta, 90
ya eṣa svapnanaḥśanaḥ (°nāśanaḥ), 300
yaḥ pauruṣeṇa kraviṣā samañkte
(samañte), 418
yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣato (nime°) mahitvā
(°ṣataś ca rājā), 688
yaḥ prāṇiti (prāṇati) ya im śṛṇoty
uktam, 582
yaṁsad viśvaṁ ny atrīṇam, 302
yaṁ sam id anya indhate, 169, 302
yaṁ sīm id anya īdāte, 169, 302
yakṣate cid abhiśriṣaḥ, 193, 353, 676,
802
yakṣmaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ (śroṇi°) bhāś-
adāt, 319, 490, 529
yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ
bhāśadam, 319, 490, 529
yaṁ krandasī avataś caskabhāne
(avasā tastabhāne), 137
yac ca paḍbīśam (°viśam) arvataḥ, 217
yac ca prāṇati (prāṇiti) yac ca na,
582
yac chikṣasi stuvate māvate vasu, 140
yachā naḥ (yachāśmai) śarma sapra-
thaḥ (°thāḥ), 502
yajamānāya jāgr̥ta, 90, 662
yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai,
833
yajā no (yajāno) devo (devān) ajaraḥ
suviraḥ, 826
yajur yuktaṁ (yajuryuktaṁ) sāmabhir
āktakhaṁ tvā (r̥ktakhaṁ tā), 365,
632, 817
yaje samrādhaniṁ (samardham im)
aham, 617, 806
yajñaḥ pratyāṣṭhāt (praty u ṣṭhāt
sumatau matinām), 380, 613, 736, 832
yajñaṁ-yajñaṁ prati devayadbhyaḥ
(°yadbhyaḥ), 170, 321
yajñaṁ devebhir invitam (anvitam),
577
yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsaṁskarase
(°pataye vāryam ā svas kaḥ), 833
yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ,
380, 736, 832

yajñaṁ praṇaya (pra suva) devāvyam
(devāyuvam), 805
yajñasya ghoṣad asi, 83
yajñasya pakṣāv (°ṣā) ṛṣayo bhavanti,
888
yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (°yāv) abhū-
thām (°tām), 91, 888
yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīraḥ, 244
yajñasya hi stha r̥tvijā (r̥tviyau), 192
yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti (tarantu),
155
yajñād eta sann (yajñā ned asann,
netar asann) apurogavāsaḥ, 62, 192
yajñāyate vā paśuṣo na (nu) vājān, 614
yajñāyur anu samcarān, 155
yajñiyā yajñaṁ prati devayadbhyaḥ,
170, 321
yajño bhūtvā . . . svām (svaṁ) yoniṁ
. . . sakṣaya (svak°) chi, 364, 505
yaṁ jivam āśnavāmahai (°he), 710
yata āttas (ārttas) tad agan punaḥ,
353
yataḥ prajā akhidrā . . ., 129
yata ścutad agnāv eva tat, 336
yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu,
336
yataś codeti sūryaḥ, 843
yataḥ sūrya udeti, 843
yato bhayam abhayaṁ tan (abhayat-
vaṁ) no astu, 826
yat kiṁ cāṇṭam odima (ūd°), 722
yat kusidam apratittaṁ (°titaṁ, apra-
dattaṁ) mayi (mayeha), 404
yat kṣureṇa marciyatā (vartayatā)
sutejaś (supēśasā), 156, 180, 195, 234
yat ta āsthitaṁ śam u tat te astu, 280
yat tatraino apa tat suvāmi, 201
yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi, 935,
936
yat te ditsu (dikṣu) prarādhyam, 140
yat te 'nādhṛṣṭaṁ nāma yajñiyam
(nāmānādhṛṣyam, dhāmānādhṛṣ-
yam) tena tvādadhe, 855
yat te mahe, see yat tvemahe . . .
yat te rājañ (rājañ) chṛtaṁ haviḥ, 937
yat te viriṣṭaṁ sam u tat ta etat, 280
yat tvemahe (te mahe) prati tan no
(prati nas taj) juṣasva, 365, 835

- yat paśur māyūm akṛta, 198, 662
yat pṛthivyām yad urāv (urā) anta-
rikṣe, 888
yatra ṛṣayaḥ (yatrarṣ°) prathamajā
... 919
yatra (yatrā) ṛṣayo (yatrarṣ°) jagmuḥ
... 916, 919
yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma
(nāmā), 460
yatra cābhimṛśāmasi, 866
yatra cuścutad (ścutad) agnāv evaitat,
336, 885b
yatra devā iti bravan, 452, 602
yatra devaiḥ sadhamādām madanti
(madema), 341
yatra naḥ pūrve pitarāḥ paretāḥ, 452
yatra bānāḥ sampatanti, 29, 218
yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha
(°bhūva), 207
yatra-yatra vibhrto (bibhrato, etc.)
jātavedaḥ, 207, 662
yatra yanti srotiyās (sṛavatyas) taj
jitām te, 749
yatrarṣayaḥ, °yo, see yatra ṛṣ°
yatra vānāḥ sampatanti, 29, 218
yatra vābhimṛśāmasi, 866
yatra saptarṣin para ekam āhuḥ, 452,
919
yatra suhārdaḥ sukrto madante, 452
yatrā ṛṣayo, see yatra ...
yatrā devā iti bruvan, 452, 602
yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (uditau
vyeti), 63, 732, 743
yatrā naḥ pūrve pitarāḥ paretāḥ
(pareyuh), 452
yatrā naś cakrā (cakra) jarasaṁ
tanūnām, 443
yatrāmṛtāsa āsate (āsata), 282
yatrā vṛkṣas tanvai yatra vāsaḥ, 198,
375, 831, 835
yatrāsate sukrto yatra te yayuh (ta
iyuh), 734
yatrā sapta ṛṣin para ekam āhuḥ, 452,
919
yatrā suhārdaḥ sukrto madanti, 452
yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ
(tanuvam yatra vāsaḥ), 198, 375, 831,
835
yatrainān (yatraitān) vettha nihitān
parāke (parācaḥ), 126
yat sāsahat (sāsāhā, sāsāhat) sadane
kaṁ cid atrinaṁ, 480
yat some-soma ābhavaḥ (ābhuvah), 602
yat somyasyāndhaso (sau°) bubodhati,
728
yatha ṛṇaṁ samnayāmasi, 918
yatha ṛtava ṛtubhir yanti sādhu, 918
yatharṇaṁ samnayanti, 918
yathartava ṛtubhir yanti sākam
(kṛptāḥ), 918
yathākṣitim akṣitayaḥ pibanti (°yo
madanti), 586
yathāgnir akṣito ... 576
yathā devaiḥ sadhamādām madema,
341
yathādhuraṁ (°dhūran) dhuro (dhūro)
dhūrbhīḥ kalpantām, 557
yathā na indraḥ kevaliḥ (indra id
viśaḥ), 341
yathā naḥ śreyasas (°saḥ) karat, 964
yathā no vasyasas (°saḥ, vasiyasas)
karat, 786, 964
yathāpāḥ pravatā yanti, 60, 200
yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhīḥ kalpan-
tām, 557
yathāyatham nau tanvau (tanvā, tan
nau) jātavedaḥ, 410
yathā yanti prapadaḥ, 60, 200
yathā yamāya harmyam (hār°), 491
yathā ha tyad (tad) vasavo gauryam
cit, 345
yathāham bharata ṛṣabha (bharatarṣ°),
919
yathedaṁ stripautram aganma rudri-
yāya, 83, 719, 801, 816, 827
yatheyaṁ stri pautram aghaṁ na
rodāt, 83, 719, 801, 816, 827
yathaika ṛṣir (°karṣir) vijānate, 919,
990
yathainam jarase nayāt, 341, 952
yad agne kavyavāhana, 353, 380
yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtaṁ (prahi-
taṁ, nihitaṁ) padaṁ hi te, 118, 639
yad aghriyata (°yathās) tad ghṛtaṁ,
147
yad atraino ava tat suvāmi, 201

- yad adīvyann ṛṇam ahaṁ babhūva (kṛṇomi), 702
- yad adya te ghora āsan juhomī, 936
- yad adya dugdhaṁ prthivīm asṛpta (asakta, abhakta), 152, 634, 874
- yad adya hotṛvarye (°vūrye), 621
- yad adyārādhyam vadantaḥ, 59, 70, 272a, 836
- yad adhriyata tad ghṛtam abhavat, 147
- yad anena haviśśāste tad aśyāt (asyām), 287
- yad annam agnir (admi) bahudhā virāddham (virājam, viruddham, virūpam), 144, 569, 619
- yad annenātirohati, 408
- yad anyenābhavat saha, 408
- yad apāmṛkṣac chakuniḥ, 201
- yad apsaradrūr uparasya (apsararū-parasya) khādati, 188, 808, 826
- yad avāmṛkṣac chakuniḥ, 201
- yad asya guṣṭitaṁ (gulphitaṁ) hṛdi, 111
- yad asyā anhubhedyāḥ (aṇuhodbhyāḥ), 765
- yad asraṇa paśava udyamānam, 278
- yadā carīṣṇū mithunāv (°nā) abhūtām, 888
- yad āpo aghnyā (°niyā) iti, 784
- yad āmayati niṣ kṛtha (kṛta), 90
- yadā rūghaṭi varadaḥ (yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ), 59, 70, 272a, 836
- yad āhur aghnyā iti, 784
- yadi cin nu tvā dhanā jayantam, 68, 735
- yadi tvam atra (tvam tatra) manasā jagantha, 735
- yad id dyāvāprthivī aprathetām, 341
- yad indra citra mehanā (ma iha na), 477, 832, 991
- yadi varuṇasyāsi . . . , yadi vāruṇy asi . . . , 491
- yadi somasyāsi (saumy asi) . . . , 728
- yadin ṛṇam saṅgaro devatāsu, 309
- yadi vahanty āśavaḥ, 307
- yad uttaradrāv uparāś ca khādantaḥ, 188, 826
- yad u devī sarasvatī, 740
- yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (tiṣṭhād) draviṇeha dhattāt, 392
- yad rte cid abhiśriṣaḥ, 193, 353, 676, 802
- yad ejati jagati . . . nāmno (nānyo, mānyo) bhāgo yan (°yam) nāmne (bhāgo yatnān me) svāhā, 411, 801, 871
- yaded antā adadṛhanta (adadṛṇh°) pūrve, 341, 835
- yad eva kiṁ ca pratijagrahāham (°jagrāham), 808
- yad ośadhīśv apsv ā (apsu vā) yajatra, 778
- yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat (paryā°), 508
- yad ditsasi stuvate māvate vasu, 140
- yad didayac chavasa (°sā) ṛtaprajāta (chavasarta°), 916, 918
- yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ (°bhuvah), 602
- yad devā devaheḍanam (°lanam), 271
- yad daivyaṁ ṛṇam ahaṁ babhūva, 702
- yad dha sā te panīyāsi, 345
- yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (cakara) kilbiṣāṇi (kilv°), 216
- yad dha syā te panīyāsi, 345
- yad baṇhiṣṭham nātividhe (°de) sudānū, 107
- yad bhūtām yac ca (yad vā) bhavyam (bhā°), 487
- yad-yat tvam atra manasānu vettha, 735
- yady asi vāruṇī . . . , 491
- yady asi saumī . . . , 728
- yad yāmaṁ (yady āmaṁ) cakrur nikhananto agre, 837
- yady ṛṇam saṅgaro devatāsu, 309
- yad rātriyāt kurute pāpam, 791
- yad rātriyā (rātryā) pāpam akārṣan. (akārīṣam), 758, 791
- yad vaśā māyumu akrata, 198, 662
- yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, 868
- yad vācāṇṛtam odima (ūd°), 722
- yad vāto apo (°po) aganīgan (agamat), 909
- yad vādāsyan saṁjagārā janebhyah, 45, 446, 480
- yad vā devī sarasvatī, 740

- yad vādyā satyam uta yan na vidma, 868
- yad vā me api ('pi, apa) gachati, 578, 907
- yad vīḍāv (vīlāv) indra yat sthire, 271
- yad vo devā atipādayāni (°pātayāni), 63
- yam te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayah, 107
- yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhen-avaḥ, 107
- yan me mātā pralulubhe (pramamāda, pralulobha), 715
- yam akṣitam (°tim) akṣitayah pibanti, 586
- yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti, 586
- yamaṁ gāya bhaṅgyaśravaḥ (bhaṅga°), 315
- yamaṁ bhaṅgyaśravo (bhaṅga°) gāya, 315
- yamaśya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati (dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi), 145, 198, 830
- yamasya pātūrah (pātorah), 720
- yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (āya, loke nidhir ajarāya), 401, 618, 840
- yam ichāmi manasā so 'yam āgāt, 700
- yamīr yamasya bibhryād (vivṛhād) ajāmi, 222, 256
- yam eva vidyāḥ śucim (sucim) apra-mattam, 278
- yameṣṭam asi, 339
- yam aichāma manasā so 'yam āgāt, 700
- yamo rājābhitiṣṭhati (rājādhi°), 172
- yamyai pātūrah, yamyāḥ pātorah, 720
- yayā kṛṇoti muhu kā (muhukā) cid ṛṣvaḥ, 824
- yayā gā ākarāmahe (°hai), 710
- yayo rathaḥ satyavartmarjuraśmiḥ, 918
- yayor vām devau deveṣv anīṣitam (°ṣitam) ojaḥ, 292
- yavaya dveṣo asmat, 479
- yavayārātiḥ (°tim), 479
- yavayāsmad aghā dveṣāṁsi, 479
- yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ, 479
- yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (āyavā ūmā evā abdas) sagaraḥ sumekaḥ, 376, 471, 485
- yavānām bhāgo 'si, 485
- yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan, 485
- yaśasendrābṛhaspati, 840, 870
- yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (riṣat, riṣak), 142, 189, 840
- yaśo bhagasya vindatu, 189, 840
- yaśo mendrābṛhaspati, 840, 870
- yaśo yajñasya dakṣiṇām, 161, 579
- yas tad veda vedituḥ (sa pituḥ) pitāsat, 198, 829, 967
- yas tāni veda sa pituḥ (pituḥ) pitāsat, 198, 829, 967
- yas tā vijānāt sa pituḥ (savituḥ) pitāsat, 198, 829, 967
- yas te agne sumatiṁ marto akṣat (a-khyat), 191
- yas te drapsa (°saḥ) skandati yas te aṁśuḥ, 974, 977
- yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so aham, 840
- yas te stanaḥ śaśayo (°yur) yo mayo-bhūḥ, 719
- ya strīṇām jivabhojanaḥ, 977
- yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kiṁ canāsa (jātaṁ na purā kiṁ canaiva), 615
- yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (anyo) asti, 615, 907
- yasmāt paraṁ nāparam asti kiṁcit, 615
- yasmān na paraṁ kiṁ canāsti, 615
- yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ, 615, 907
- yasmād bhīṣā nyaśadaḥ (°sadaḥ), 983
- yasmād yoner udārithā (°tha) yaje (yajā) tam, 446
- yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti (°sti), 615, 907
- yasminn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti, 63, 743
- yasminn ātasthur bhuvanāni viśvā, 386
- yasmin sūryā ārpitāḥ (arp°) sapta sākam, 509
- yasya te viśvamānuṣaḥ (viśvam ānu-ṣak), 832
- yasya te sakhye vayam, 340
- yasya dvārā manuṣ (manuḥ) pitā, 967

yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (prati
reto grbhāya), 116, 341, 354, 363, 819
yasyā udvataḥ pravataḥ samam bahu
(mahat), 241
yasyām devā abhi samviśantaḥ, 172,
281, 340
yasyā bahvyas tanvo vītaprsthāḥ, 793
yasyām idam viśvam bhuvanam āvi-
veśa, 341, 386
yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā, 63, 743
yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsaṇ juhomi, 936
yasyās te ghora āsaṇ juhomi, 936
yasyedam ā rajo yujah (°dam ā rajah,
°dam oja ārujah), 244, 800, 808
yasyai bahviś tanuvo vītaprsthāḥ, 793
yah strīnām jivabhojanaḥ, 977
yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata
(yās ca tatnire, akṛntan yā atanvan),
850
yā antarikṣa uta pārthivir yāḥ, 321, 850
yā antarikṣyā uta pārthivāsaḥ (pār-
thivir yāḥ), 321, 850
yā ātmanvad bibhṛto (°tho) yau ca
rakṣataḥ (°thah), 91, 207, 634, 888
yā ādroghnīḥ pari tasthuṣīḥ, 854
yā īṣavo yātudhānānām, 505, 990
yāḥ kṛtyās (kṛcehrās) tripañcāśīḥ, 28,
185, 192, 353
yān āvaha uśato deva devān, 924
yāns (yās) te soma prāñāns tān (tān,
tān) juhomi, 936
yā grtsyas tripañcāśīḥ, 28, 185, 192, 353
yā coditā yā ca noditā (yā cānuditā)
tasyai . . ., 719
yācchreṣṭhābhir maghavañ chūra
jinva, 937
yā tām rātrīm upāśmahe, 365
yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakikārim (kaṇṭ-
akakāram), 600
yā te agne 'yaḥśayā ('yāśayā) tanūr
. . ., 395
yā te agne 'yāśayā rajāśayā harāśayā
tanūr . . ., 395
yā te agne rajahśayā (rajāśayā) tanūr
. . ., 395
yā te agne hariśayā (hari°, harā°)
tanūr . . . 521, 597
vā te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhyai, 705

yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣīḥ, 854
yādase śābalyām (śābulyām), 607
yā devir antān abhito 'dadanta, 63, 92,
924
yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāḥ . . . caksur-
dāḥ śrotradāḥ . . ., 980
yā devy asīṣṭake . . . caksurdās (°dā)
śrotradā . . . dyaurdās (°dā) swardāḥ
. . . prapharvidāḥ (°vidāḥ) . . . 524,
980
yā daivīś catasraḥ pradiśaḥ, 707
yā na ūrū uśati viśrayāte (°ti, vis-
rayātai), 278, 710
yān agnayo anvatapyanta ('nv°) dhiṣ-
nyāḥ, 909
yān āvaha uśato deva devān, 924
yāni kāni ca cakṛma, 808
yām tvā jano bhūmiriti pramandate, 869
yām tvā rātry upāśmahe (upāśate,
rātri yajāmahe), 365
yāny apāmityāny apratittāny (apratit-
tāny) asmi, 404, 465
yā prathamā saṁskṛtir yajñe asmin,
374
yābhir indro vāvṛdhe vīryāya (vīr-
yāvān), 250
yābhir yāsi dūtyām sūryasya, 494
yābhyām svar (suvar) ajanann (aja-
yann, yābhyām ajayan svar) agra
eva, 853
yām apitā upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ, 472, 871
yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpaḥ, 472,
871
yām indreṇa saṁdhām samadhatthāḥ
(indreṇa samadadhvam, °dhadhvam)
104
yā medhāpsarāsu (medhā ap°, °raḥsu,
°rassu), 395, 995
yām airayañś (°yañ) candramasi sva-
dhābhiḥ, 930
yā rājanye dundhubhāv (°bhā) āya-
tāyām, 888
yā rājānām (°nā) saratham yātha
(yāta) ugrā, 91
yāvacehreṣṭhābhir maghavañ chūra
jinva, 937
yāvayārātim, 479
yāvayāsmad dveṣam, 479

yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ sagarah
sumekah, 376, 471, 485
yāv ātmanvad viśatho (bibhr̥to) yau ca
rakṣathah (°taḥ), 91, 207, 634, 888
yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āst
485
yāvānām bhāgo 'si, 485
yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatan-
anta (tatantha), 63, 908, 924
yās ca devir antān abhito 'dadanta,
63, 92, 924
yās ca devīs tantūn (devyo antān)
abhito tatantha ('ta°), 63, 92, 908,
924
yā saṁjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase,
287, 339, 618, 840
yāsad viśvaṁ ny atrinam, 302
yā sarasvatī viśobhaginā (veśa°, veś-
abhaginī) . . ., 542, 686
yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā (°balyā,
°phalyā) . . ., 79, 114
yāsām agnir iṣṭyā (niṣṭyā) nāmāni
veda, 421
yās te soma prajā vatso 'bhi so aham,
840
yās te soma prāpāns . . ., *see* yāns *etc.*
yāsyā apuṭryā (°triyā) tanūs . . ., 787
yiyapsyata (yī°) iva te manah (mu-
kham), 519
yuktās tisro vimṛjah (vibhr°) sūry-
asya, 57, 156, 189, 205, 234, 242
yuktā (yuktvā) harī vṛṣaṇā yāny
arvāṇ (arvāk), 367
yuje samardham im aham, 617, 806
yuñjanti suprajasam pañca janāḥ, 192,
339, 617
yunajmi tisro vipreḥ sūryasya te
(vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save, *or* savah),
57, 156, 189, 198, 205, 234, 242, 840
yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhaḥ, 808
yuvam hi sthaḥ svarpatī (svaḥpatī),
968
yuvalam chandah, 805
yuvā kavīḥ puruniṣṭha (°sthā) ṛtāvā,
493
yūpāyocchriyamāṇyānubruhi (°chri-
ya°), 536
yūyam vṛṣṭim varṣayathā puriṣiṇah, 90

yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhaḥ, 808
ye agnayah pāñcajanyaḥ (puriṣiṇah),
907
ye agnayah ('gnayah) samanasaḥ (°saḥ
sacetasaḥ), 907
ye agnayo divo ye pṛthivyāḥ, 907
ye agnidagdḥā ye anagnidagdḥāḥ
(°nagni°), 907
ye agniṣvātā ye 'agniṣvātāḥ (anag-
ni°), 907
ye aneṣu vividhyanti, 907
ye apsu śadānsi ('psu sadānsi) cakrire,
908, 988
ye amī rocane divaḥ, 907
ye asmin ('smin) mahaty arṇave, 909
ye ke cobhayādataḥ (caubha°), 732
ye 'gnayah puriṣyāḥ (puriṣiṇah), 737,
907
ye 'gnayah samanasaḥ, *see* ye agnayah
. . .
ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt, 907
ye ca ke cobhayādataḥ, 732
ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (jāgrtha), 662
ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpaḥ (°sātāḥ), 180
ye cid dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan, 180
ye tāṭṭsur (tāṭṭpur) devatrā jehamā-
nāḥ, 872
ye te agna indavo yā u nābhayah (yā
urṇunābhayah), 810
ye te agne meḍayo (meḍavo) ya in-
davaḥ, 248
ye te aryaman, *see* ye te 'ryaman . . .
ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāḥ, 511
ye te 'ryaman (arya°) bahavo deva-
yānāḥ, 511, 908
ye 'tra pitarah . . . bhūyāstha, 90
ye trisaptāḥ (trisaptāḥ) pariyanti, 986
ye tvā rātry (rātrīm) upāsate, 365
ye devā agninetrāḥ puraḥśadas . . .,
615
ye devā upariṣado (upariṣadas) . . .,
986
ye devāḥ puraḥśado (paraḥ°) agninetrā
(°gni°) . . ., 615, 910
ye devā divibhāgā . . . ye antarik-
ṣabhāgā ('ntari°) . . . pṛthivibhāgās
(pṛthivi°) . . ., 524, 910
ye devā devasuva (°vaḥ) stha . . ., 977

ye devā manojātā (manu°) manoyujāḥ
(manu°, manojuṣaḥ) . . . , dakṣapit-
aras (°tāras) . . . , 500, 719
ye devā mitrāvaruṇanetrā . . . vot-
tarāsadas (vottara°) . . . , 476
ye devāḥ somanetrā uparisado (°śado)
. . . , 986
ye 'do rocane divaḥ, 907
yena (yenā) ṛṣayas (yenarṣa°) tapasā
satram (sattram) āsate (āyan), 390,
916, 919
yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye
'pavathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva,
802, 910
yena prajā achidrā . . . , 129
yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (carāty ayam,
caraty ayam), 61, 244, 254, 354, 738,
840
yena bhūriś carā divam, 61, 244, 254,
354, 738, 840
yena mahānaghnā (°nagnyā) jagha-
nam, 83
yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye 'vapathās
tena mahyaṁ pavasva, 802, 910
yenarṣayaḥ . . . , see yena ṛṣ°
yena vahasi sahasram, 458
yena śriyam akṛṇutām, 237, 287, 420
yena sahasram vahasi, 458
yena striyam akṛṇutam (striyāv akur-
utam), 237, 287, 420
yenā ṛṣayas . . . , see yena ṛṣ°
yenākṣā (yenā kṣām, yenākṣān, yen-
ākṣyāv) abhyaṣicyanta (abhyaṣiñ-
catam, °tām), 309, 330, 332, 835
yenā te pūrve pitarah paretāḥ, 452
yenāpāmṛsatām (°mṛsatām) surām,
201, 289
yenāvamṛsatām surām, 201, 289
yenā samatsu sāśaḥ (°hih, °hi), 381,
584
yenā sahasram vahasi, 458
yenendro abhivāvṛte (°dhe), 97
yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī (kṛtī), 367
ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva, 222,
802
ye 'nneṣu vividhyanti, 907
ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (ye aparāsa)
Iyuh, 617

ye 'psu sadāṁsi, see ye apsu ṣa°
ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuḥ
(ānṛhuḥ, ānaśuḥ), 122, 634
yebhir viśvam (vy āśvam) airayaḥ,
738
yebhyo na ṛte (narte) pavate dhāma
kim cana, 919
yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (pradhāv
adhi), 98, 832
ye rātrim (°īm) anutiṣṭhanti (°ṣṭhatha),
528
ye 'vateṣu śerate, 808
ye vanaspatinām, 808
ye vaneṣu śaṣpiñjarāḥ, 32, 278, 294
ye vā nūnam suvṛjanāsu vikṣu (dikṣu),
869
ye vāvateṣu śerate, 808
ye vā vanaspatināṁ anu (°patinām), 808
ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣpiñjarāḥ (saṣpi°), 32,
278, 294
ye śākvarā ṛṣabhā ye svarājāḥ, 359
ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣtau (gai-
ṣtau), 889
yeśām apsu sadas (sadaḥ) kṛtam, 964
yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ, 990
ye sajātāḥ samanasaḥ (su°), 612
ye samānāḥ samanasaḥ, 612
ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā ye
divyā . . . , 314, 490
ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti, 909, 924
ye 'smin mahaty . . . , see ye asmin . . .
yo agniḥ kravavāhanah (kavya°),
353, 380
yo agniḥ hotāram avṛthāḥ, 908
yo agnau rudro yo apav antah, 909
yo adya senyo (saumyo) vadhaḥ, 907
yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt (an-
uṣyāt), 360
yo asmān abhyaghāyati, 909, 924
yo asmān dveṣti, see yo 'smān . . .
yo asmi so asmi, 910
yo asya kauṣṭhya jagataḥ, 315, 907
yo asyāḥ prthivyās tvaci, 907
yo gā udājad apa (api) hi valam
(balaṁ) vah, 210, 578
yo gopā api (gopāyati) tam huve, 180,
342
yo 'gniḥ hotāram avṛthāḥ, 908

yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psv antaḥ, 909
 yo devānām nāmadhā (°dha) eka eva
 (eko asti), 493
 yo 'dya saumyo vadhaḥ, 907
 yo naḥ kadā cid abhidāsati druhā, 620
 yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā (vi-
 dhartā), 350
 yo naḥ svo (svo yo) araṇaḥ ('raṇaḥ),
 907
 yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo . . ., 808
 yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam, 910
 yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva (dveṣṭy
 anu tam ravasva), 222, 802
 yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsāt sapatnaḥ
 (°varuṇāv abhidāsati), 888
 yo mā kadā cid abhidāsati druhuh, 620
 yo me 'nti dūre 'rāṭiyati tam etena
 jeṣam, 910
 yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsāt (°sād,
 °sān) . . ., 910
 yo rayivo (rayim vo) rayintamaḥ, 307,
 824
 yo rudro agnau yo apsu (rudro 'psu yo
 'gnau) . . ., 909
 yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmiḥ satyadharmā,
 918
 yo vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah (vaiś-
 vadevyah), 699
 yo 'sāv ('sā) āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv
 ('sā) aham . . . 888
 yo 'smān (asmān) dveṣṭi yaṁ . . ., 910
 yo 'smi sa san yaje, 910
 yo 'sya kauṣṭhya (kauṣṭha) jagataḥ,
 315, 907
 yo 'syāḥ pṛthivyā adhi tvaci, 907
 yo 'syēśe dvipado yaś catuṣpadaḥ,
 907
 yo 'ham asmi sa san yaje, 910
 yau te pakṣāv ajarau patatṛṇau, 732,
 888
 yau viśvasya paribhū (viśvasyādhipā)
 babhūvathuh (°tuh), 91
 yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 323, 849,
 866
 rakṣoḥaṇau (°ṇau vām) valagahanā
 ('nāv) upadadhāmi . . ., 886
 rakṣoḥāmitrān (°trān) apabādhamā-
 naḥ, 924

rakṣoḥāmivacātanaḥ, 386
 rajani granther dhānām (dānam), 107,
 401, 618
 rajobhūmis tvam mām (tvam ām)
 rodayasva . . ., 307
 rajjuni granther dānam, 107, 401, 618
 ratham sahasrabandhuram (°vandhu-
 ram, hiraṇyavan°), 213
 rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (akṣeṣu vṛṣa°)
 vāje, 267, 359
 ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ, 267, 359
 ratho na vājaṁ saniṣyann (saniṣann)
 ayāsīt, 334
 radantaṁ śuddham (sudam, śunam)
 uddharet, 286
 ramadhvaṁ mā bibhīta mat (bi-
 bhīta), 827
 ramayata (°tā) marutaḥ śyenam āyi-
 nam (marutaḥ pretaṁ vājinam), 193,
 360, 442
 rayim yena vanāmahai (°he), 710
 rayim devī dadhātu me, 105
 rayim no dehi jivase (dhehi yajñiyam),
 106
 rayim me dāḥ (dhehi), 103
 rayisthāno (°ṣṭhāno) rayim asmāsu
 dhehi, 986
 rayyā mā paśyata, 396
 rayyā vaḥ paśyāmi, 396
 rasena sam asṛkṣmahi (agasmahi, agan-
 mahi, aprkṣmahi), 634, 853, 874
 rājanye dundhubhāv āyatāyām, 888
 rājānaḥ satyaṁ kṛṇvānāḥ (gṛṇvānāḥ),
 46
 rājānaḥ samitāv (°tā) iva, 888
 rājā me prāṇo 'mr̥tam (amṛtam), 907
 rātriṁ-rātrim aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ,
 117, 528
 rātrim jinva, 528
 rātrim dhenum . . ., 528
 rātrim pīvasā, 528
 rātriyai . . ., see rātriyai . . .
 rātri stomaṁ na jigyuṣe (°ṣṭi), 525, 695
 rātriṁ-rātrim aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ,
 117, 528
 rātrim jinva, 528
 rātrim dhenum . . ., 528
 rātrim pīvasā, 528

rātri stomam na jigyuṣi, 525, 695
 rātryai (rātriyai) kṛṣṇam piṅgākṣam,
 791
 rātryai (rātriyai) tvā, 791
 rātryai (rātriyai) mā pāhi, 791
 rātryai (rātriyai) svāhā, 791
 rādhaṅsīt (°si) saṃpr̥cānāv (°nā)
 asaṃ° . . ., 545, 888
 rāyas poṣam yajamāne dadhātu, 105
 rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (°ṣi) dadhātu
 (dadātu), 105, 695
 rāyas poṣam audbhidam (°dyam), 319
 rāyas poṣeṇa mā paśyata, 396
 rāyas poṣeṇa vah paśyāmi, 396
 rāyas poṣo ni śīdatu, 720
 rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ (viv-
 asvataḥ), 255, 579
 rāyo devī dadātu naḥ, 105
 rāṣṭram duhāthām iha revatībhīḥ, 91
 riśyapadīm vṛṣadatīm, 666
 riśyasyeva parīśāsam, 666
 rucito gharmaḥ, 713
 rudra yat te krayi (krivi, kravi, giri°)
 param nāma . . ., 47, 244, 255, 267,
 573, 819
 rudras tanticarō vṛṣā, 144
 rudrasya maryā adhā (athā) svaśvāḥ,
 73
 rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ūrmyāyām) svā-
 dityā aditaye . . ., 228, 355, 564, 719
 rudrāṇām omyāyām svādityā . . ., 228,
 355, 564, 719
 rudrāḥ saṃsr̥jya (°yā, °bhr̥tya)
 pr̥thivīm, 457
 rudro 'gnīt (agnīt), 910
 rudro 'dhipatīḥ (adhi°), 910
 ruvad dhokṣā paprathānebhīr evaiḥ,
 684, 840, 861, 875
 revatī predhā . . ., revatī yajamāne pri-
 yam dhā . . ., 747, 820
 revatī ramadhvam (°tīr amedhyam),
 255, 837
 revatīr yajñapatīm priyadhāviśata,
 747, 820
 reśīnām tvā patmann ādhūnomi, 363
 reśīṣu, 363
 reṣmāṇam stupena (stū°), 563
 rocasva devavītamah, 398, 853

rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv asi,
 713
 rocito gharma ruciya, 713
 lājān āvapantikā, 151
 lālilāya (lāle°) dhīmahi, 696
 lekah salekah sulekas te . . . viyantu,
 49, 686, 796
 lokam asmai yajamānāya dehi (dhehi),
 105
 lokam u (id) dve upa jāmi iyatuḥ, 392,
 627
 vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi, 866
 vakṣaḥsu (vakṣassu) rukmā upaśiś-
 riyaṇāḥ, 971
 vagnunendraṃ hvayata, 256, 346, 800
 vaṅkrīr aśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti, 545
 vajriṇ (vajriṇ) citrābhīr ūtibhīḥ, 930
 vatso jarāyu pratidhuk pīyūṣah, 381
 vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām, 236,
 359
 vadhūr jajāna (jigāya, mimāya) nava-
 gaj (navakrj) janitri, 46, 634
 vanakrakṣam (°prakṣam) udaprutam,
 151
 vanarṣade vaṭ, 353, 632, 650
 vanasade veṭ (vaṭ), 353, 632, 650
 vanaspatibhyaḥ pary ābhṛtaṃ (āvṛ-
 taṃ) sahaḥ, 221
 vanaspatīr oṣadhi rāya eṣe (rāye
 aśyāḥ), 292, 803
 vanaspate raśanayā niyūyā (°ya), 457
 vanaspate 'va sr̥jā (sr̥ja), 431, 446
 vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (°dā, dhṛṣadā)
 rujantaḥ, 60, 110
 vaniṣṭum (°ṣṭhum) asya mā rāviṣṭa,
 86
 vaniṣṭhor hr̥dayād (udarād) adhi, 244,
 386, 643
 vanuṣvad deva dhīmahi pracetasam,
 227
 vanṛṣade veṭ, 353, 632, 650
 vaneṣu citraṃ vibhvaṃ (vibhuvam)
 viṣe-viṣe, 789
 vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu, 371,
 833
 vandadvīrāyendave, 229
 vande dāruṃ vandamāno vivakmi, 371,
 833

vapayā dyāvāprthivī proruṇvāthām,
91, 797
vaptā (vaprā, vaptar) vapasi (°ti)
keśaśmaśru (keśān), 357
vayaṁ rāstre jāgryāma (°mā, jāgri-
yāma) purohitāḥ, 446, 674
vayaṁ hi vām purutamāso (°damāso)
asvinā, 60
vayaṁ ghā te api śmasi (smasi), 987
vayo ye bhūtvī (°tvā) patayanti
naktabhiḥ, 598a
varaṇo vārayātai (°yiṣyate), 606
varivas (°vaḥ) kṛṇvan vṛjanasya rājā,
964
varivasya mahāmaha (°syā mahonām),
442
varuṇa dharmāṇām pate (dharmāṇām
adhipate), 494
varuṇasya ṛtasadanam (°syarta°) asi,
919
varuṇasya ṛtasadany (°syarta°) asi,
919
varuṇāya rājñe trayo lohitalalāmāḥ
(rohita°), 262
varuṇāya riśādase (vidase) . . . 267
varuṇeti śapāmahe (°hai, śayāmahe),
289, 710, 867
varuṇo vārayāt, 606
varutṛi tvā . . . , see varūtrī tvā . . .
varutṛir avayan (varūtrayas tvāva-
yan), 562
varutṛis tvā . . . , see varūtris tvā . . .
varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr viśva-
devyāvatiḥ prthivyāḥ sadhashte
'ṅgirasvat . . . , 467, 562, 910
varūtrīm (varutṛīm, varūtrīm) tvaṣṭur
varuṇasya nābhim, 528, 562
varūtri (varu°) tvā devī viśvadevyā-
vati prthivyāḥ sadhashte aṅgirasvat
. . . , 467, 562, 910
varūtris tvā (varutṛis tvā) devīr viś-
vadevyāvatiḥ prthivyāḥ sadhashte
aṅgirasvac . . . , 467, 562, 910, 958
vareṇyakratūr (°tur) aham, 272, 360,
383, 554, 600
varebhir varān abhi śu prasīdataḥ
(°ta), 379
varco asmāsu dhatta (dhehi), 103

varcodā agne 'si (°dā asi), 100
varcodā varivodāḥ (°vodā draviṇodāḥ)
104
varcodhā agne 'si (°dhā asi), 100
varcodhā varivodhāḥ, 104
varco mayi dhehi, 100, 103
varco me dāḥ (dehi, dhāḥ, dhehi), 100,
103
vardhanam puruniṣṣidhe (°niḥṣidhe),
971
varma (°mā) sivyadhvam bahulā
prthūni, 460
varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi, 328
varṣābhyas tittirīn (°rān), 598
varṣāś cākṣuṣyāḥ, 328
varṣimā . . . , see varṣmā . . .
varṣiṣthe adhi (°dhi) nāke, 907
varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhiḥ (°bhi,
kakubbiḥ) śíśriyāṇaḥ (śrayasva),
381, 400
varṣmā (varṣimā) ca me drāghimā
(drāghuyā, drāghvā, drāghmā) ca
me, 240, 764, 805
varṣmā rathasya nī jihīṣate (jihīdate,
jihilate) divaḥ, 853
vaśāḥ stha, 489
vaṣaṭkāraḥ, 489
vaṣaṭ te viṣṇav (viṣṇa) āsa ā kṛṇomi,
889
vasantena ṛtunā (°tenartunā) devāḥ,
919
vasanto asyāsīd (°syāsīd) ājyam, 909
vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca,
828
vasavas tvā pra bṛhantu (vṛh°) gāya-
treṇa chandasā, 212
vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām,
293, 347, 618, 804, 816
vasuṁ gharman divam ā rohatānu
(tiṣṭhatānu), 360
vasudeyāya (°dheyāya) vidhate vi
bhāti, 105
vasupate vi ramaya, 479
vasuraṇvo (°raṇyo) vibhūr asi, 248
vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (vi-
yantu), 796
vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca, 828
vasuḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā, 716

vasūni cārur (cārye, cāryo, cāyyo) vi
 bhajāsi (bhrjāsi, bhajā sa) jivan,
 244, 579, 632, 825
 vasoḥ kuvid vanāti naḥ, 804a
 vaso vasvoḥ (vasor vaso) purusprhaḥ,
 368
 vasosṣpate ni ramaya (rām°), 479
 vasoḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā, 716
 vasto vayah, 216
 vasneva (vasna iva) vikrīṇāvahai, 991
 vasvaḥ kuvid vanāti naḥ, 804a
 vaha devatrā didhiṣo havīṇsi, 437,
 440, 581
 vahad divyābhir ūtibhiḥ . . ., 165, 272,
 272a, 324, 360
 vahāṇsi sā sukrām yatra lokāḥ, 303a,
 870
 vahā devatrā dadhiṣo (didhiṣo) havīṇsi,
 437, 440, 581
 vahāsi mā sukrām yatra lokāḥ, 303a,
 870
 vahiṣṭhebbhir viharan yāsi (pāhi) tan-
 tum, 214, 867
 vahniḥ samtaraṇo (sāmpāraṇo) bhava,
 180, 486
 vān ma āsan (āsyān, āsyē), 328
 vānmanaścakṣuḥśrotrajihvāghrāṇare-
 tobuddhyākūtisaṃkalpā (°kūtiḥ
 saṃkalpā) me śudhyantām, 383, 818
 vācam viṣṇuṃ sarasvatīm, 156
 vācam dhehi, 103
 vācam asme niyacha devāyuvam, 51
 vācam me jinva, 852
 vācam me dāḥ, 103
 vācam me pinva, 852
 vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu, 51
 vācaspatir vācam (vājam) naḥ svadatu
 (vācam adya svadāti naḥ, °te, °svad-
 ātu naḥ), 51
 vācasṣpate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā
 juhvā divi devāvṛdham (devā
 vṛdhan) hotrām airayat (°yant,
 erayasva, airayasva) svāhā, 711, 816
 vācasṣpate vāco vīryeṇa sāmhbhṛtata-
 menāyakṣase (°yakṣyase, °yachase),
 184, 332
 vācasṣpate hr̥dvidhe nāman (hinvidhe),
 640

vācā cit prayataṃ (ca prayutl) deva-
 heḍanam, 578, 617
 vācā tvā hotrā . . . pañcabhir daivyaṛ
 (devair) . . ., 324, 707
 vācā mendriyāviṣa (vācām indr°), 693
 vācā somam avanayāmi, 383, 830
 vāce krauñcaḥ (kruñcaḥ), 724
 vāco vidhṛtim (°tam) agniṃ prayujam
 svāhā, 587
 vājajityāyai (°jityai) tvā, 813
 vājam tvāgne . . ., 594
 vājam arvatsu payo aghniyāsu (aghny-
 āsu), 784
 vājam asmin nidhehi devāyuvam, 51
 vājaś ca prasavaś . . . vasuś (suvaś)
 ca . . ., 802
 vājasya hi prasavo (°ve) namnamīti
 (nanna°), 413
 vāji tvā sapatnasāham saṃ mārjmi
 (mārṣti), 594
 vājinam śepena, 872
 vājinam tvā vājin vājayatyāyai saṃ
 mārjmi, 131, 594
 vājinam tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatna-
 sāham) saṃ mārjmi (mārgmi), 131,
 594
 vājinām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān, 908
 vājinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān, 908
 vājinām tvā vājini vājayatyāyai saṃ
 mārjmi, 131
 vājinām tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatna-
 sāhīm) saṃ mārjmi (mārgmi), 131
 vājino vājaito vājam sasvāṇso (jigi-
 vāṇso, sasvāṇso vājam jigivāṇso)
 . . ., 537
 vājo devān (devān) ṛtubhiḥ kalpayāti
 924
 vājy aham vājinasyopahūta upahū-
 tasya bhakṣayāmi, 594
 vātām viṣṇuṃ sarasvatīm, 156
 vātajavair balavadbhir manojavaiḥ,
 268, 511, 579
 vātavān varṣan bhīma rāvaṣ svāhā, 467
 vātājirair balavadbhir manojavaiḥ,
 268, 511, 579
 vātāpe pīva id bhava, 627
 vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛt svāhā,
 467

vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā, 467
vāmaṁ pitṛbhyo ya idaṁ samerire
(°irire), 698
vāmī te saṁdṛśi viśvaṁ reto dheṣīya
(dhi°) . . . , 688
vāyava ārohaṇavāhāv (°hā) anaḍvā-
hau, 888
vāyava (°vaḥ, °vas) stha, 977
vāyur dikṣito 'ntarikṣaṁ dikṣā sā . . .
dikṣayatu (dikṣeta) . . . , 745
vāyur na idita . . . antarikṣyaiḥ (ānta-
rikṣaiḥ) pātu, 314, 490
vāyus tān (tān, vāyus tān) agre pra-
mumoktu devaḥ, 924, 958
vāyus te (vāyus te) 'dhipatiḥ, 958
vāyus te (vāyus te) vājin yuñ, 958
vāyus tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ,
314
vāyus tvābhipātu (vāyus tvā°) mahyā
svastyā . . . , 958
vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyām pay-
aḥ, 162, 244, 491, 617, 716
vāyus t-, see vāyus t-
vāyo ve (vīhi) stokānām (°nām juṣ-
ṇaḥ, ṣto°), 988
vāyosāvitṛ āgomugbhyām caruḥ, 162,
244, 491, 617, 716
vārṣāharaṁ sāma gāya, 512
vāśā stha, 489
vāṣat, 489
vāsantikāv (°kā) ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ,
888
vikirida (°dra, °ḍa) vilohita, 168, 353,
675, 734
vikhyāya (vikṣāya) cakṣuṣā tvam, 190
vigā (vi gā) indra vicaran spāśayasva,
831
vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayaḥ, 826
viciṭi svāhā, 866
vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayaḥ, 826
vierṭāya (vierṭtāya) svāhā, 401
vi jihīṣva lokaṁ kṛṇu (jihīṣva lokān
kṛdhi), 353
vijye vivye vikṣipet, 244
vijre vikṣipe vidhame, 244
viḍvīr yāman vavardhayan (yāmann
avar°), 360, 544
vi te krodhaṁ nayāmasi, 98

vi te bhinadmi takarīm (°rim, tagarim,
mehanam), 49, 529
vidad gavyaṁ saramā dṛdham ūrvam
(ūrvyam), 347
vidad yadī (yatī, yadi) saramā ruṇam
(saramāruṇam) adreḥ, 63, 516
vidma te dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat,
436, 440, 855
vidma (°mā) te svapna janitram, 436,
440
vidmā te nāma paramaṁ guhā yat,
436, 440, 855
vidyām yām u ca (uta) vidmasi, 156,
831
vidyutaṁ kanīnakābhyām (kanīni°),
595, 597
vidyutām iva sūryaḥ, 743
vidyutau kanānakābhyām, 595, 597
vidyun me asya devāḥ, 862
vidyur me asya devāḥ, 862
vidyullekheva bhāsvārā (bhāsurā), 739
vi dhūmam agne aruṣaṁ miyedhya
(medhya), 747
vidhe krodhaṁ nayāmasi, 98
vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena, 139,
618
vi pāśaṁ madhyamaṁ cṛta (vrta),
866
vipṛca (°caḥ, °cas) stha, 977
viprasya dhārayā kavīḥ, 189, 824
vipraḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ, 189, 824
viprāso mānuṣā yugā, 132
vipro babhūva saprathāḥ, 180, 235
vibhave svāhā, 604, 789
vi bhānuṁ viśvadhātānat (viśvathā°),
73
vibhur asi pravāhaṇaḥ, 554
vibhur mātṛā prabhūḥ pitṛā, 554
vibhur vibhāvā suśakhā (sakhā ā)
sakhīyate, 995
vibhve svāhā, 604, 789
vibhūr asi pravāhaṇaḥ, 554
vibhūr mātṛā prabhūḥ pitṛā, 554
vibhrājaṇ (°jaṇ) jyotiṣā svaḥ, 936
vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya (salilasya)
madhye (°yāt), 264
vibhve svāhā, 604, 789
vimā asi (vimāsi), 993

vi mucyadhvam aghnyā (aghniyā) devayānāḥ, 784
 viyantu devā haviṣo me asya, 796
 viyantu devīr ya ṛtur janinām, 796
 viyantu ājyasya, 796
 viyugbhir vāya iha tā vi muñca, 145, 379, 889
 viratāḥ smaḥ (sma bhoh), 379
 virājah śruṣṭiḥ (śnu°) sabharā asan naḥ, 57, 383, 865
 vilipti yā (viliptyā) brhaspate, 791a
 vivadhaś chandah, 516
 vivarto 'stācatvārināḥ, 516, 910
 vivalam chandah, 805
 vivasvān aditir devajūtis . . . viyantu, 337, 686, 720, 818
 vivasvān no abhayaṁ kṛnotu, 699
 viviktyai kṣattāram, 139
 viviṭi (viviṭṭyā) svāhā, 401, 866
 vivityai (vivittiyai) kṣattāram, 139
 viviṣṭyāi svāhā, 401, 866
 vivṛttacakra āsināḥ, 139, 235, 643, 861
 viśa ādevīr abhy aśnavāma, 470
 viśantu tvām (tvā . . .), see viśvantu . . .
 viśalyo vāṇavān (°vān, bāṇavān, °vān) uta, 218, 925
 viśām vavarjuṣiṇām, 360
 viśām agnim atithim suprayasam (°yāsam), 502
 viśām avarjuṣiṇām, 360
 viśām patir abhavad vājinivān, 869
 viśo ādevīr abhy ācarantiḥ, 470
 viśo yantre (°tri) nudamāne arātim, 695
 viśo-viśaḥ praviśivānsam imahe, 808
 viśo viśvā anu prabhuh (prabhu), 381, 869
 viśrutayo yathā pathah, 30, 275
 vi śloka etu (eti, ślokā yanti) pathyeva (patheva) sūreḥ (sūriḥ, sūrah, sūrāḥ), 328, 596, 691
 viśloka viśvadāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā, 151, 835
 viśva ādityā vasavaś ca devāḥ (sarve), 989
 viśvaṁ satyaṁ kṛnuhi viṣṭam astu, 291
 viśvaṁ hi (ha) ripraṁ pravahanti (°tu) devīḥ, 578

viśvaṁ hy asyām bhuvanam āviveśa, 341, 386
 viśvakarma ṛṣiḥ, 918
 viśvakarman bhauvana mān didāsitḥa (manda āsitḥa), 511, 579, 840
 viśvakarmā ṛṣiḥ (°karmarṣiḥ), 918
 viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāḥ (vim-anā yo vyomā, vimame yo vihāyāḥ, manasā yad vihāyāḥ), 339
 viśvacarṣaṇiḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān (sahī-yān), 248, 598
 viśvatohasta uta viśvataspāt (°taḥ syāt), 867
 viśvantu (viśvaṁ tu) tvām āhutayaś (tvāhutayah) . . ., 371, 825
 viśvapsnyā (°sniyā) viśvatas pari, 791
 viśvam id dhītam (dhitam) ānaśuh (āśata), 545
 viśvarūpā śabalīr (śavaly) agniketuḥ, 219
 viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṁ juhomi, 151, 835
 viśvavidam (°do) vācam aviśvaminvām (aviśvavinnām), 236, 410
 viśvavyacā iṣayanti subhūtiḥ (°tā), 599
 viśvasmāt sim aghāyata uruṣya, 379
 viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt, 216, 818
 viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvāro 'si (°dhvāro astu devāḥ, bhūtāya dhruvo 'stu [astu] devāḥ), 802, 836, 908
 viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi dhiṣṭya, 688
 viśvasya devī mṛcayasya (mṛśa°) janmanah, 195
 viśvasyām viśi praviviśivānsam (pravi-viśānam) imahe, 808
 viśvā agne abhiyujō vihātā (°tya), 457
 viśvā amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣibhiḥ (°ṣebhyah), 357, 695, 783, 832
 viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyah, 357, 783, 832
 viśvā āśā dakṣiṇasat (°sāt, dakṣiṇataḥ, dakṣiṇadhak), 499
 viśvāḥ pinvataḥ (°tha) svasarasya dhenāḥ, 379
 viśvākṣam (viśvākhyam) viśvaśambhuvam, 191

viśvādityāḥ, 989
 viśvā deva pṛtanā abhiṣya, 380
 viśvā dveṣāṁsi tarati svayugvabhiḥ
 (sayug°), 364
 viśvādhiko (viśvā dhiyo) rudro mah-
 arṣiḥ (°rṣiḥ), 918
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanā jajāna, 862
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (°nā
 vicaṣṭe), 220, 808
 viśvāny aryo bhuvanā jajāna, 862
 viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe, 220, 808
 viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyāḥ (°bhyas,
 daṁṣṭrābhyas) pāhi (pāta, paripāhi
 . . .), 964
 viśvā mṛdho abhimātīr jayema, 205, 375
 viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir īde (īṭṭe),
 58
 viśvāvasur abhi tan no grṇātu, 172
 viśvāś ca deva (devaḥ) pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ
 (°ṣyak), 380
 viśvā sprdho abhimātīr jayema, 205,
 375
 viśve devā udīcyāṁ tu abhiṣiṁcantu
 śreyase, 512
 viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve (śūrāḥ,
 sūrāḥ), 278, 285
 viśve devā mama śṛṇvantu yajñiyāḥ
 (yajñam), 321
 viśvebhyas tvā devebhyāḥ pravṛhāmi
 jāgatena chandasā, 212
 viśve śumbhantu mainasaḥ, 173
 viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ priyaṁ pātho 'pīhi
 (apīhi), 910
 viśvair devai rātibhiḥ samraraṇaḥ
 (devai ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ), 627, 665
 viśāṇe vi śya guspitam (gulphitam),
 111
 viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ (aprāg api), 657,
 843
 viṣkandham enaṁ viṣṭam prajāsu, 986
 viṣṭhitāḥ (°tā) pṛthivīm anu, 381
 viṣṇa (viṣṇav) urukram° . . ., 887
 viṣṇuṁ vācam sarasvatīm, 156
 viṣṇur āpṛitapā āpyāyamaṇaḥ, 355,
 628
 viṣṇur upāvahriyamāṇaḥ, 117
 viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭa ūrāv (ūrā) āsannaḥ,
 888

viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa trīṇi lokān (trīṇi
 imāṇi lokān, trīṇi lokān) . . ., 943
 viṣṇuḥ sambhriyamāṇaḥ, 117
 viṣṇūvaruṇā (°ṇāv) abhiṣastipāvā (°pā
 vām), 826, 888
 viṣṇoḥ śipre sthaḥ, 337
 viṣṇoḥ śnaptre (śnyaptre) sthaḥ, 337
 viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos) stupo (stūpo)
 'si, 563, 977
 viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos) sthānam asi,
 977
 viśvak satyaṁ kṛṇuhi cittam eṣāṁ, 291
 vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (°hai, viṣṛjā-
 vahai), 710
 vi senābhir dayamāno (bhaya°) vi
 rādhasā, 177
 viṣkandham enaṁ vidhṛtaṁ prajāsu,
 986
 viṣrutayo (vi sru°) yathā pathaḥ, 30,
 275
 viḥāyaso 'dhi bhūmyām, 699
 viḍu (vīlu) cid ārujatnubhiḥ, 271
 viḍu chapathajambhaniḥ, 272, 381
 viḍvīr yāmann avardhayan, 360, 544
 viṇāgaṇakīṇaḥ pūrvaiḥ (°gaṇaginaḥ
 purāṇair) . . ., 48
 viṇāgaṇakino (°gaṇagino) devair . . .,
 48
 vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā (panīṣṭaye), 86,
 162
 vīraṁ hi vīravataḥ suśevā, 123
 vīraṁ janayiṣyathaḥ (°taḥ), 91
 vīraṁ dhatta (me datta, no datta)
 pitarāḥ, 103
 vīrasūr devakāmā syonā (°sūr devṛk-
 āmā, °sūr jīvasūr devakāmā syonā,
 °sūr jīvasūr jīvatatni), 633
 vīrān naḥ pitaro dhatta, 103
 vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (°mino)
 vadhiḥ (ba°), 209, 871
 vīrān me pitaro (tatāmahā, pratatā-
 mahā) datta, 103
 vīruc chapathayopanī, 272, 381
 vīreṇyāḥ kratur indraḥ suśastīḥ, 272,
 360, 383, 600
 vīrebhir adhi tan no grṇānaḥ, 172
 vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (bhava)
 naḥ, 448

virebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 323, 849, 866
 vīryam kuhābhyām (gu°), 49
 vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā (śaci°), 323, 849, 866
 vilu, *see* vīdu . . .
 vīvadam (°dhaś) chandaḥ, 516
 vīvarto 'ṣṭācatvārīṇsaḥ (aṣṭā°), 516, 910
 vīhi śūra (sūra) puroḍāśam (°lāśam), 271, 284
 vīhi svām āhutiṁ juṣāṇo manasā, 836
 vīhi svāhāhutiṁ juṣāṇaḥ, 836
 vījīte pari vīrñdhi naḥ, 360
 vīratūr no (no) abhayaṁ śarma yaṁsat, 949
 vīratūr no (no) yajñam ihopayāsāt, 949
 vītrasya kanīnikāsi (°nakāsi), 235, 595, 640
 vītrasyāsi kanīnikaḥ (kanīnikā), 235, 595, 640
 vītrāṇi vītrahañ (°hañ) jahi, 936
 vīśajūtīr no 'vītaḥ ('vitā), 640
 vīśaṇam pṛtsu (pṛkṣu) sāsahim, 140
 vīśaṇaḥ samidhīmahi, 501
 vīśabham naryāpasam, 359
 vīśabhāya gavayī, 359
 vīśabheṇa gāvah (gāḥ), 359
 vīśabheṇa tvaṣṭā, 359
 vīśabho gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 359
 vīśabho 'si svargaḥ, 359
 vīśāṇaḥ samidhīmahi, 501
 vīśā dharmāṇi dadhiṣe (dadhrīṣe), 350
 vīśā na kruddhaḥ patayad rajassv (rajaḥsv) ā, 971
 vīśā pavitre adhi sāno avye (avyaye), 810
 vīśā punāna āyusu (āyūñṣi), 304, 555
 vīśāyamāṇo 'vīñṭita (avīñ°) somam, 907
 vīśāva cakradad (°do) vane, 581
 vīśo acikradad vane, 581
 vīśṭidyāvānam amṛtaṁ svarvidam, 803, 820
 vīśṭīm divaḥ pari srava, 200
 vīśṭīm devānām amṛtaṁ svarvidam, 803, 820
 veṇubhāraṁ girāv (girā) iva, 888

vedhām aśāsata śriye, 230, 508
 veśantābhyo dāśam, 708
 veśāśrīr (°śrīr) asi, 528
 vairāji (°je) puruṣī, 695, 876
 vaivasvato no abhayaṁ kṛṇotu, 699
 vaiśantābhyo baidam, 708
 vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah, 699
 vaiśvānaraḥ pratnathā nākam āruhat (°ha), 401
 vaiśvānaram kṣaitrajityāya (kṣetra°) devāḥ, 707
 vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (ṛtāya) jātam agnim, 36, 342
 vaiśvānārāya matir navyasi (°se) śuciḥ, 695
 vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām ('ṅgirasām, aṅgi-robhyaḥ), 907
 vaiśvānaro adabdhās (no adabdhās, me 'dabdhās, 'dabdhās) tanūpāḥ, 907
 vaihāyaso 'dhi bhūmyām, 699
 vausaṭ (vausaḥ), 271
 vyakṛḍa vilohita, 168, 353, 675, 734
 vy akhyan (akśan) mahiṣo divam (mahīṣaḥ svaḥ, 'suvaḥ), 190
 vyacasvatīṣayantī subhūtiḥ, 599
 vyacyamānaṁ salilasya (sarirasya) madhye, 264
 vyantu devā haviṣo me asya, 796
 vyantu devīr ya ṛtur janīnām, 796
 vyantu vayo 'ktaṁ (ripto) rihāṇāḥ, 96, 796, 857
 vyantv ājyasya, 796
 vy amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām, 783, 832
 vy asau yo asmān ('smān) dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dvīśmaḥ, 910
 vy astabhnā (aska°, aṣka°, aṣṭa°, askabhnād, aṣṭabhnād) rodasi viṣnav (viṣṇa, viṣṇur) ete, 137, 889, 983
 vy asya yonim prati reto grhāṇa, 116, 341, 354, 363, 819
 vyāghraṁ maṅgīradāsa gauḥ, 49, 279, 824
 vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre, 907
 vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi ('dhi), 907
 vy ānad (ānal) indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ, 271
 vyānaśiḥ (°śi) pavase soma . . ., 529a

vyukṣat krūram ud acantv āpaḥ, 53
 vy uchā duhitar divaḥ, 724
 vy usridho asro adrir bibheda, 618
 vyrdhyā (vyrdhyā) apagalbham
 (apra°), 353
 vyomā (°ma) saptadaśaḥ, 460
 vy aucho duhitar divaḥ, 724
 vrajam gacha gosthānam (gosthānam),
 986
 vratam rakṣanti viśvāḥ, 477, 511
 vratānām vratapate (°patayo) vratam
 acāriṣam (acāriṣam), 754
 vratāni (vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā
 adabdhah (adābhyah), 487, 627, 823
 vratā rakṣante viśvāḥ, 511
 vrīhīnām medha (medhaḥ) sumana-
 syamānaḥ, 380
 vreśīnām tvā patmann ādhūnomi, 363
 śam yor abhi sravantu (śra°) naḥ, 275
 śam rātri (°ih, °ih) prati dhīyatām, 381,
 528
 śaṁsya paśūn me 'jugupas tām me pāhy
 eva, 548
 śakalyam, 319, 490
 śakma yat te goḥ, 47, 287
 śakrāya sunavai (°ve) tvā, 705
 śamgayī (°gavi, °gaye) jīradānū
 (jīva°), 255, 266, 695
 śacyā paśyanti sūrayaḥ, 158, 287
 śacyā harī dhanutarāv (°rā) ataṣṭa, 888
 śaṇḍāya tvā, 289
 śaṇderathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalah, 244,
 489, 544
 śataṁ yasya subhvaḥ (subhuvaḥ)
 sākam irate, 789
 śataṁ yo naḥ śarado ajitān (ajijāt,
 ajīyāt, jījān), 192
 śataṁ hemantān (°tān) chatam u
 vasantān, 937
 śataḥśaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena, 511,
 819
 śataṁ jīvema śaradaḥ sarvavīrāḥ (savī-
 rāḥ, su°), 612
 śatamūlā (°lāḥ) śatāṅkurā (°rāḥ), 381
 śataṁ pavitrā vitatā hy (vitatāny)
 āsu, 849
 śataṁ pūrbbhir yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasaḥ
 (yaviṣṭhya), 315

śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena, 511, 819
 śatāpāsthādyā viṣā (°sthā gha viṣā)
 pari ṇo vṛṇaktu, 86, 198, 838, 868
 śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varuṇainam
 (pāśair varuṇābhi dhehi), 845
 śatodaye 'bhīmātiśāhe (abhi°), 907
 śatruhaṇam amitrahaṇam ... tven-
 draṁ vajraṁ ... , 712
 śatruhaṇam asi ... tvaindraṁ vajraṁ
 ... , 712
 śam te pruvāva śīyatām, 680, 876
 śam te methī bhavatu śam yugasya
 tṛdma, 529, 650
 śam te santv anūpyāḥ, 151
 śam te hiraṇyam śam u santv (sam u
 śantv) āpaḥ, 277, 278, 802
 śam tokāya tanuve (tanvai) syonaḥ,
 705, 793
 śam naḥ (nas) karato aśvinā, 964
 śam naḥ santv anūpyāḥ, 151
 śam no bhavantv āpa oṣadhayaḥ (apa
 oṣadhiḥ) śivāḥ, 498
 śam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo (indro),
 353
 śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (śav-
 iṣṭhā vrajam) anugeṣam ... , 157, 866
 śam agni agnibhis (°bhiḥ) karat, 966
 śam adbhyah, 280
 śamibhiḥ śamyantu tvā, 528, 572
 śam u te santv anūpyāḥ, 151
 śam u prsthāva (prṣvāva) śīyatām, 680,
 876
 śam u santv anūpyāḥ, 151
 śam ūdho romaśam hathaḥ, 91, 276
 śam padaṁ maghaṁ rayiṣṇe na kāmam
 (rayiṣṇi na somaḥ), 545, 579
 śambhūr (°bhur) mayobhūr abhi mā
 vāhi svāḥ, 554
 śam methir bhavatu śam yugasya
 tardma, 529, 650
 śamyāḥ prataratām (°tā) iva (praca-
 ratām iha), 155
 śarad dhemantaḥ suvite dadhāta (°tu),
 775
 śarad varṣāḥ suvitaṁ (sukṛtaṁ) no
 astu (svite no dadhāta), 775
 śarabhaṁ te śug rchatu (te kṣut),
 145

śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ, 86, 198,
 838, 868
 śarīraṁ yajñaśamalaṁ (yajñaḥ śama-
 laṁ) kuśidam . . ., 383, 818
 śarīraṁ me vicarṣaṇam (vicakṣaṇam,
 °ṇa), 857
 śarau parṇam ivā dadhat, 278
 śardhāṁsy agne ajarāṇi (ajarasya)
 dhakṣataḥ (dhakṣyase), 332
 śarman (°maṇs) te syāma trivarūtha
 udbhau, 932
 śarma yachātha saprathaḥ (°thāḥ),
 460, 502
 śarma varmedam ā bhara (varmaitad ā
 hara), 117
 śarmā (°ma) saprathā āvr̥ṇe, 460, 502
 śālmalir vṛddhyā (ṛddhyā), 360
 śavasā hy asi śrutāḥ (śritāḥ), 626
 śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāḥ, 349
 śāsvatibhyaḥ samābhyaḥ, 491
 śāsvat parikupitena (°pilena), 878
 śāsvat viśaḥ (diśaḥ) savitur daivyasya,
 869
 śākalam, 319, 490
 śākvarā vṛṣabhā ye svarājāḥ, 359
 śāṇḍīkera ulūkhalāḥ, 244, 489, 544
 śāmā sarūpaṁkaraṇi, 337
 śāradena ṛtunā (°nartunā) devāḥ, 919
 śārgaḥ srjayaḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ,
 315, 489
 śāsvatibhyaḥ samābhyaḥ, 491
 śikṣā ṇo (no) asmin puruhūta yāmani,
 950
 śitibhravo (°bhruvo) vasūnām, 604
 śipiviṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānaḥ, 888
 śimāḥ (śimām) kṛṇvantu śimyantāḥ,
 278, 572
 śimibhiḥ (śimi°) śimyantū tvā, 528, 572
 śirahpāṇipādapāṛśvapṛṣṭhorūdara-jāṇ-
 ghaśīnopasthapāyavo (°pṛṣṭhodara-
 jāṅghā°) me śudhyantām, 475
 śirah-śirah prati sūri (śiro devī prati
 sūrir) vi caṣṭe, 529
 śilpā vaiśvadeviḥ (°vyah), 598
 śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ, 598
 śiva ṛtasya . . ., see śivā rutasya . . .
 śivam prajābhyo 'hiṁsantām (ahiṁs°)
 pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthād (°sthe) agniṁ
 ('gniṁ) . . ., 910

śivān agniṁ apsuṣado havāmahe, 285,
 849, 924, 927
 śivā no bhavata (°tha) jīvase, 90
 śivā rutasya (rudrasya, śiva ṛtasya)
 bheṣajī (°jā), 60, 355, 597, 684
 śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (viśvāhabheṣajī,
 °āhā bhe°, °āha bheṣajā), 477, 511,
 598, 817
 śivebhir arcibhiḥ tvam (°bhis tvam),
 958
 śivo asya niṣaṅgatiḥ, 77, 93, 98
 śivo me saptarṣiṇ (sapta ṛṣiṇ) upa
 tiṣṭhasva (tiṣṭha), 919
 śiśirāya vikakarān (vikarān, vikirān,
 vikikirān), 489, 573, 813
 śiṣṭe śṛṅge rakṣase (rakṣobhyo) vinikṣe
 (vinakṣe, vinikṣve), 370, 577
 śiśurṇ nadīnām harim adribudhnam
 (°buddham), 415
 śiśū kṛdāntau pari yāto adhvaram
 (arṇavam, 'rṇavam), 907
 śite vāte punann iva (punarniva), 833,
 862
 śukeṣu me harimāṇam, 30, 278
 śukraṁ vām anyad rajataṁ (yaj°)
 vām anyat, 244
 śukraṁ te anyad yajataṁ te anyat, 244
 śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānā
 (°nāḥ), 381
 śukraś ca ṛtapāś cātyanhāḥ, 919
 śukraś ca śuciś ca graiṣmāv (°mā)
 ṛtū, 888
 śukras te grahaḥ (grahyaḥ), 325
 śukrām vayanty asurāya nirṇijam, 579,
 828
 śukrāya svāhā, 262
 śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije, 579, 828
 śuklāya svāhā, 262
 śucanto agniṁ vavṛdhanta (vā°) in-
 dram, 468
 śucir āṅkte (āṅte) śucibhir gobhir
 agniḥ, 418
 śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (ahann
 ojasīne, śukro ahany ojasye, śukre
 'hany ojasīnām), 907, 928
 śutudri stomāṁ sacatā paruṣṇy ā
 (paruṣṇiy ā), 777
 śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (°tha, bhav-
 antu) yajñiyāsaḥ, 90

śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ (°ya), 380
 śunaṁ vāhāḥ śunaṁ naraḥ (nārāḥ), 491
 śunaṁ ma iṣṭaṁ śunaṁ śāntaṁ (śrāntaṁ) śunaṁ kṛtaṁ bhūyāt, 287, 353
 śunām agraṁ suvīraṇaḥ (subīraṇaḥ), 219, 593
 śunddhi (śundhi) śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ, 173, 389, 418
 śundhatām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ, 173
 śundhantām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ, 173
 śundhi śiro, *see* śunddhi . . .
 śundhyur (°yūr) asi mārjāliyaḥ, 554
 śumbhantām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ, 173
 śumbhaṁ mukhaṁ mā na āyuh pra moṣiḥ, 173
 śumbhānas tanvaṁ (°vām, tanuvaṁ) svām, 287, 420, 618
 śūdrāryāv (°ryā) asṛjyetām, 888
 śūrāso ye tanūtyajaḥ (tanu°), 554
 śūro na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu, 284
 śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś (śra°) cakānaḥ (ca kāme), 181, 349, 828
 śṛṇhi (śṛṇhi) viśvataḥ prati (°tas pari), 598, 964
 śṛṇvanty (°tv) āpo adha (°dhaḥ) kṣarantiḥ, 382, 907
 śṛṇvantv āpo dhiṣaṇāś ca devīḥ (°ṣaṇā ca devī), 381
 śṛtas tvam śṛto 'ham, 677
 śeṣo (śepo) vājīnena, 872
 śaiśirāv (°rā) ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ, 888
 śaiśireṇa ṛtunā (°nartunā) devāḥ, 919
 śokāt pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari, 126
 śocasva devavitamaḥ (°vittamaḥ), 398, 853
 śocāt pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari, 126
 śociṣkeśaṁ (socih°) purupriya, 962
 śauṇḍikeya ulūkhalāḥ, 244, 489, 544
 śaunakam (°kim), 590
 śyāmā sarūpaṁkaraṇī, 337
 śyenasya patraṁ (pattraṁ) na plihā śacibhiḥ, 390
 śyenasyeva dhrajato (dravato) añkasaṁ pari, 109
 śyene paritto (parito) acarac ca vāte, 404
 śyene vāta uta yo 'carat parittāḥ, 404
 śrad asmai naro vacase dadhātana, 704

śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (vicar°), 156
 śrameṇa lokāṁś tapasā piparti (bi-bharti), 112
 śravaś ca me śrutiś ca me, 486
 śraviṣṭhāḥ stha, 349
 śravo devasya sānasim (°si), 421
 śrāvaś ca me śrutiś ca me, 486
 śriyaṁ vasānaś carati svarociḥ (°cāḥ), 599
 śriye (śriyai) putrāya vedhavai (vet-tavai), 98, 705
 śriyo vasānaś carati svarociḥ, 599
 śriṇānā apsu mṛṇjata (vṛṇjate), 234
 śritas tvam śrito 'ham, 677
 śriś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāḥ (°nyā) [aho°], 888
 śruta ṛṣim (°tarṣim) ugram abhimātiś-āham, 919
 śrutakakṣo araṁ (°kakṣāraṁ) gave, 836
 śrutam me mā pra hāsiḥ, 353
 śrutkarṇāya kavaye vedyāya, 109, 230
 śrudhi śruta śraddhivaṁ (śraddheyaṁ) te vadāmi, 248, 692
 śruṣṭi (°ṭe) jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidāḥ, 695
 śreṣṭho ha (hi) vedas tapaso 'dhijātāḥ, 578
 śronibhyām (śroni°) svāhā, 529
 śrotraṁ dehi (dhehi), 103
 śrotrapāḥ (°pā) śrotraṁ me pāhi (pātu), 980
 śrotraṁ mayi (me) dhehi (dāḥ), 103
 śvātrāḥ pitā bhavata yūyam āpaḥ, 287, 352
 śvāvṛt tat, 277
 śvitra ādityānām, 195, 369
 śvitro rakṣitā, 195, 369
 śvetāya vaitahavyāya (vaidarvyāya, vaidarvāya, vaidārvāya) . . . 63, 315, 490
 śad id yamā (udyamā) ṛṣayo devajā iti, 627, 819
 śaṇḍāya tvā, 289
 śaṇ mōrvīr añhasas (°saḥ) pāntu . . ., 964
 śaṣṭim (śaṣṭhim) sahasrā navatim ca kaurama, 87

sa ācāryam tapasā piparti (bibharti), 112
 sa idhāno vasuṣ (vasuḥ) kaviḥ, 693, 967
 sa imām devaḥ pūṣā, 996
 sa imām devo aryamā (adhvarah), 996
 sa imām devo varuṇaḥ, 996
 sa imām no havyadātīm juṣāṇaḥ, 996
 sa Im pāhi ya rjīṣi tarutraḥ (tarudraḥ), 59
 sa Im (I) mandrā suprayasaḥ (mandrāsu prayasaḥ, mandrā suprayasā starīman), 307, 374, 830, 839
 sa u (uv) ekaviṁsavartaniḥ, 774
 sa ugraḥ sa hi (i) havyo babhūva, 386
 sa edhāno vasuṣ kaviḥ, 693, 967
 sa eva jātaḥ sa janiṣyamāṇaḥ, 829
 sam yajñapatir (yajamāna) āśiṣā, 306
 sam yāv apnastho (yā apnaṣtho) apaseva janān, 888
 samyopayanto duritāni viśvā, 113
 samlobhayanto duritā padāni, 113
 samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ (°bhiś cāk|pānaḥ, °bhiś cākupānaḥ), 39, 645
 samvatsarasya tejasā (dhāyasā), 98, 193
 samvatsarāya paryāyīṇm (°yāriṇīm), 244
 samvṛd asi, 306
 samvśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (°triyās) . . . °bhībūtaye (°bhūtyai, °bhṛtyai) svāhā, 644, 791
 samśitam kṣatram jiṣṇu (kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇuḥ, kṣatram me jiṣṇu), 381
 samśrṣtam ubhayaṁ kṛtam (abhayaṁ kratum), 609, 664
 samśrṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu, 612, 660, 826
 samstupa chandāḥ, 306, 984
 sam sravantu diśo mahiḥ (mayi), 256
 samśravabhāgā . . . , see samśrāva°
 samśraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena, 612, 660, 826
 samśrāvabhāgā (samśrava°; °bhāgāḥ, °gās) stheṣā (taviṣā) bṛhantaḥ, 96, 375, 486, 747, 977
 samhitāsi viśvarūpā (°pī, °pīḥ), 381, 597

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (°padā babhūva), 207
 sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ (variyaḥ) kṛnotu, 249, 541a
 sakhā saptapadi (°dā) bhava, 597
 sakhāsi gāyatram chandāḥ, 70
 sakhāsi (°si patvā) jagacchandāḥ, 70
 sakhā suśevo advayāḥ (°yuh), 620
 sa gāyatriā (°triyā) triṣṭubhā . . . , 791
 sagme te goḥ, 47, 287
 sa ghā no devaḥ savitā sahāvā (savāya), 250, 269, 868
 saghāsi jagatīchandāḥ, 70
 samkasuko vikasukaḥ, 605
 samkusuko vikusukaḥ, 605
 samkrośān prāṇaiḥ (°krośaiḥ prāṇān), 46, 292
 sam grbhāya purū (puru) śatā, 555
 sam grāvabhīr nasate (vas°) vīte adhva-re, 853
 samghośān (°gośān) prāṇaiḥ, 46, 292
 sacāvahe (°hai) yad avṛkaṁ purā cit, 710
 sacetasāv (°sā) arepasau, 180, 376, 888
 sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudethe, 156, 305, 371, 634, 684
 sacetasau saretasau, 180, 376
 sacyutiṁ jaghanacyutim, 874
 sajātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam, 612
 sajātānām madhye śraiṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā, 612
 sajūr abdo (abdā) ayavobhiḥ (°yāv-abhiḥ, āyavabhiḥ, āyavobhiḥ), 471, 485, 910
 sajūr devair vayonādhailḥ (vayu°), 719
 sajūḥ sūra (sūrya) etaśena, 318
 sajoṣasāv (°sā) aśvinā daṁsobhiḥ, 888
 sajoṣā indra (indraḥ) saganō marudbhiḥ, 380
 sajoṣā vṛṣabham patim, 376
 samjayan kṣetrāṇi sahasāham indra, 941
 samjñānam naḥ (na) svebhyāḥ (svebhiḥ, svaiḥ), 980
 satatam tu śirābhis tu, 263, 306
 satavasemaṁ yajñam divi deveṣu dhat-tām, 364

satām śikyaḥ (śak°) provācapaniṣat, 571
 satāsati prajāpatiḥ, 347
 sa tū (sato) dhanam kārīṇe na pra yaṇsat, 723, 831
 sato vaḥ pitaro deśma, 60
 sattvānām pataye namaḥ, 392, 494
 satyam vadanty anv icha (anu yacha) etat, 738
 satyam vṛṣan vṛṣed asi, 254, 830
 satyam it tan na tvāvān anyo asti ('sti), 909
 satyam pūrvair (°vebhir) ṛṣibhiḥ sam-vidānaḥ (°bhiḥ cāk|pānaḥ, °bhiḥ cāk-upānaḥ), 645
 satyaś ca ṛtapāś (cartapāś) cātyanḥāḥ, 919
 satyasati prajāpatiḥ, 347
 satyasya dharmaṇas pati (pate), 695
 satyā eṣām (etā) āśiṣaḥ (°ṣas) santu . . ., 971
 satyā tā (satyād ā) dharmāṇas pati (dharmaṇā, °ṇas pari), 65, 525, 837
 satyānṛte avapaśyañ (°yañ, °yan) janānām, 936
 satyaujaśā dṛṇhaṇā (durhṛṇā, dṛhaṇā) yaṁ nudethe, 156, 305, 371, 634, 654, 684
 satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutaṁ śavāñsi (śravāñsi bhūri), 349
 sa tvaṁ vṛṣan vṛṣed asi, 254, 830
 sa tvaṁ sanīm suvimucā vimuñca, 830, 871
 satvanām pataye namaḥ, 494
 sa tvam asy amo 'ham, 723, 907
 satvānām pataye namaḥ, 392, 494
 sa tvā manmanasām karotu (°sam kṛnotu), 494
 sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu (pipartu), 112, 175, 639
 sa dahan (sadanān) pradahan nv (v) agāḥ, 392, 829
 sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ, 158, 287
 sadā yācann ahaṁ girā (jyā), 134, 244
 sa dāśuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam, 306
 sa dundubhe sajur indreṇa devaiḥ, 306
 sado vaḥ pitaro deśma, 60
 sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe (dadhriṣe), 350

sadyahkriś chandasā saha, 491, 962
 sadyā no devaḥ savitā savāya, 250, 269, 868
 sa naḥ pito madhumān ā viśeḥa (viv-eṣa), 849
 sa naḥ pṛthu (pṛthuh) śravāyāy, 381
 sanīm gāyatraṁ navyāṇsam (navi-yāṇsam), 786
 sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (nahṛṣo) yahvo agniḥ, 642
 sa no jiveṣv ā yame, 394
 sa no dadātu taṁ (tām) rayim, 505
 sa no divā sa riṣaḥ (riṣas) pātu naktam, 964
 sa no deveṣv ā yamat, 394
 sa no dohatām suvīryam (suvīram), 323
 sa no bodhi śrudhī (°dhi) havam, 518
 sa no mayobdhī pito āviśasva (pitav āvi°, pitav āviśeḥa, pitur āviveśa, pitevāviśasva), 849, 890
 sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitām dadhātu, 175, 639
 sa no rucam dhehy ahṛṇīyamānaḥ, 387, 665
 sam takṣā hanti cakri vaḥ (cakriṇaḥ), 824
 samtataṁ śirābhis (śil°) tu, 263, 306
 sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghṛtena, 139, 618
 sam tvā ṛṇanti, 676, 992
 sam tvā tatakṣuḥ (tatakṣṇuḥ), 311
 sam tvā riṇanti, 676, 992
 sam tvā śiṣanti (śiṣ°, 292
 samdānam arvanam paḍbīsam (°viśam), 217
 sam dāśuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam, 306
 sam dundubhe sajur indreṇa devaiḥ, 306
 sam devi (devī) devyorvaśyā paśyasva (°vaśyākhyāta), 525
 sam devena (daivena, daivyena) savitrā, 317, 707
 samdhātā samdhiṁ (°dhir) maghavā purūvasuḥ (puro°, puru°), 551, 717, 721
 samdhvānā (°dhuvānā) vātā abhi no grṇantu, 783

sanvan sanim suvimucā vi muñca, 830, 871
 sapatnā vācam manasa (°sā) upāsātām, 991
 sapatnīr abhibhūvarī (°rīh), 381
 saputrikāyām jāgratha, 90, 662
 saptarṣayaḥ sapta dhāma priyāni, 919
 saptarṣayo 'srjyanta, 919
 saptarṣinām sukrātām yatra lokah, 919
 saptarṣin jinva, 919, 936
 sapta ca mānuṣīr imāḥ, 701
 sapta ca vāruṇīr (vāruṇair) imāḥ (imāḥ prajāḥ), 701
 sapta yonīr (yonīr) āprṇasva (°svā) ghr̥tena, 446
 sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ, 63
 saptarṣayaḥ sapta dhāma priyāni, 919
 saptarṣayo 'srjyanta, 919
 saptarṣin jinva, 919, 936
 saptarṣinām sukrātām yatra lokah, 919
 sa prathamah samkṛtīr viśvakarmā, 374
 sapratha (°thaḥ) sabhām me gopāya (pāhi, 'jugupaḥ), 381
 sa bibheda valām (balaṁ) magham (madyam), 210, 868
 sa budhnyā (°niyā) upamā asya vi-
 ṣṭhāḥ, 784
 sa budhnyād (°nād) āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy (°ābhy) agram, 325
 sa bhakṣamāṇo (bhikṣ°) amṛtasya cāruṇaḥ, 583
 sa bhūmim viśvato (sarvato) vṛtvā (sarvata sprtvā), 200, 375
 sam agnis tapasāgata, 379
 sam adbhyaḥ, 280
 sam arir (arir) vidām (vidaḥ), 529
 sam arvanto raghudruvaḥ (°drucaḥ), 866
 samavayantu sarvataḥ, 68
 samānam keto abhisamrabhadhvam (ceto abhisamviśadhvam), 126
 samānamūrdhnīr abhi (adhi) lokam ekam, 172
 samānā vā (va) ākūtāni, 598
 samāni va ākūtiḥ, 598
 sa mā mṛta (vṛtat), 98, 225
 samīṅgayati sarvataḥ, 536

sam it sravanti sarito (°tā) na dhenāḥ, 142, 735, 830
 samid diśām āśayā naḥ (āśayānaḥ) svarvit (suvar°), 826
 samiddhe agnāv (agnā) adhi māma-
 hānaḥ, 888
 samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇāratir (°ṇā rathī, °ṇā rayir) divaḥ, 93, 545, 877
 samidhaḥ-samidho 'gne-'gna (-samidho agna, °gnā) ājyasya vyantu, 910
 samidho agna ājyasya vyantu (vi-
 yantu), 796, 910
 samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu dharmā (prathamō nu dharmah), 835
 sam indra ṇo (no) manasā neṣi (neṣa) gobhiḥ, 584, 950
 sam Im rebhāso asvaran, 307, 628
 samīṅgayati sarvataḥ, 536
 samicnāsa āsate (āsata), 282
 samudra ivāsi gahmanā (gañh°), 305
 samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ, 384, 789
 samudraṁ na suhavaṁ (suhuvaṁ, subhuvas) tasthivānsam, 119, 384, 604, 789
 samudrasya tvāvakayā (tvāvā°), 496
 samudrād udajani vaḥ (udacann iva) srucā, 53, 383, 401, 840
 samudrāya śiśumārāḥ, 305, 551
 samudreṇa (samudre na) sindhavo yādamānāḥ, 826
 sam u rebhāso asvaran, 307, 628
 samuhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ, 560
 samūḍham (samūlham) asya pānsure (°le), 261
 sam ūdho romaśam hataḥ, 91, 276
 samūhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ, 560
 samūhyo 'si viśvavedā . . . , 560
 sam eta viśvā (°ve) vacasā (ojasā) patim divaḥ, 52, 804
 sa me mukham pra mārksyate (vek-
 syati), 235
 samokasāv (°sā) arepasau, 180, 888
 samokasau sacetasā arepasau, 180, 888
 sampaśyan pañktīr (pañtim) upat-
 iṣṭhamānaḥ, 418
 sam pūṣā (pūṣā sam dhātā) sam brhaspatīḥ (dhātā), 720

sampr̥ca (°caḥ, °cas) stha . . ., 977
 saṁ poṣā saṁ br̥haspatiḥ, 720
 saṁpriyaḥ paṣubhir bhava (bhuvat),
 602
 saṁpriyaṁ prajayā paṣubhir bhuvat,
 602
 saṁ bāhubhyaṁ dhamati (bharati,
 namati, namate, °bhyām adhamat)
 saṁ patatrainḥ (yajatrainḥ), 157, 176,
 853, 867
 saṁmā asi (saṁmāsi), 993
 saṁmiślo aruṣo bhava (bhuvah), 602
 samyak sravanti sarito na dhenāḥ,
 142, 735, 830
 samyat te goḥ, 47, 287
 samrājāv (°jā) asya bhuvanasya rāja-
 tḥaḥ, 888
 samrājñī śvaśrvām (śvaśruvām) bhava,
 791
 sa yajñapatir āśiṣā, 306
 sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham
 . . . ruciṣīya (rucyā rocasa evam
 aham rucyā rociṣīya), 715
 sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhiḥ (°ṇiyebhiḥ)
 samokāḥ, 784
 sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak
 (abhiṣṇāt), 142, 545
 sarasvatīm aśvināv (°nā) indram ag-
 nim, 888
 sarasvatī (°tīḥ) svapasah sadantu
 (sadantām), 381
 sarasvatyā adhi manāv (mānā, manā,
 vanāva) acarkṣuḥ (acark°, car-
 kṛdhi), 170, 225, 356
 sarasvatyām adhi maṇāv acarkṣuḥ,
 170, 225, 356
 sarasvatyā (°tyāḥ) supippalah, 381
 sarasvatyai pūṣṇe 'gnaye (agnaye)
 svāhā, 910
 sarasvatyai yaśobhaginyai (veśabha°)
 svāhā, 255
 sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye (vāco
 yan turye turyam) dadhāmi, 840
 sarāḥ patatrinīḥ sthana (stha), 381,
 600
 sarā patatrinī bhūtṛvā, 381, 600
 sarit sravanti sarito na dhenāḥ, 142,
 735, 830

sariraṁ chandaḥ, 264
 sarirāya tvā vātāya svāhā, 264
 sarirāya svāhā, 264
 sarire tvā sadane sādāyāmi, 264
 sarūpavarṣā ehi (sarūpa vṛṣann ā
 gahi), 650, 821
 sarau parṇam ivā dadhat, 278
 sarṇikāya tvā, 651
 sarpadevajanebhyah svāhā, 198
 sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyah (śarva sarv°,
 sarva sarv°), 285
 sarvadevajanebhyah svāhā, 198
 sarvaṁ tam bhasmasā (masmasā)
 kuru, 242, 294, 632
 sarvaṁ ni śvāpayā (°yāj) janam, 402
 sarvam uktam anuvitur vasiṣṭhāḥ, 139,
 627
 sarvaṁ maniṣāṇa, 829
 sarvalokaṁ ma iṣāṇa, 829
 sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt (°viṣāt, eva
 kilb°), 216, 402, 818
 sarvaḥ sarvā vi caratu prajānan, 354,
 831
 sarvāṇ agniṇr apuṣado huve (huve
 vah), 235, 849, 924, 927
 sarvāṇ apa yajāmasi, 201, 924
 sarvāṇ it tān anu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ, 139,
 627
 sarvāṇs tān mṛsmṛsā (maṣmaṣā) kuru,
 242, 294, 632
 sarvā dāmāni (dhā°) muñcatu, 107
 sarvān ava yajāmahe, 201, 924
 sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram, 242, 294, 632
 sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣiyema (kṣi°),
 536
 sarvān sa devāns tapasā piparti (bi-
 bharti), 112
 sarvābhyo abhayaṁ ('bhayaṁ) karat,
 909
 sarvā vinuḍya samtṛḍyah, 170
 sarvās ca rājabāndhaviḥ (°vaiḥ, °vyah),
 490, 701
 sarve rādhyāḥ stha (rādhyās tu)
 putrāḥ, 96, 616
 salilam chandaḥ, 264
 salilāḥ saligah sagaras te na ādityā
 haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā, 49, 686,
 796

- salilāya tvā (tvā vātāya svāhā),
salilāya svāhā, 264
salile tvā sadane sādāyāmi, salile sadane
sīda, 264
sa vaḥ sarvāḥ saṁ carati prajānan,
354, 831
sa vijāyamānaḥ sa janiṣyamānaḥ, 829
savitā jyotir ud ayān (ayān) ajasram,
926
savitā te hastam agrabhīt (agrabhīt
asau, agrahīt), 116
savitā bhṛtyām, 242, 634, 871
savitā manyām, 242, 634, 871
savitā hastam agrahīt (agrabhīt), 116
savitus tvā (°tuṣ ṭvā) prasava . . ., 958
savitrprasūtā bṛhaspataye (vṛh°)
stuta, 215
savitrā prasavitrā . . . indreṇāsme
(°smai) . . ., 704
savitre tva ṛbhumate (tvarbhu°,
tvarbhū°) vibhumate (vibhū°) . . .,
549, 554, 916, 918
sa viśvācīr (°cī) abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīh
(°cī), 357, 381
savṛtā savṛte savṛj jinva, 306
savṛd asi, 306
saṣṭup chandaḥ, 306, 984
sasavān san (saṁ) stūyase jātavedaḥ,
938
sa supraṇīte (°ti) nṛtamaḥ svarād
(°rāl) asi, 695
sa sūra ā (sūrye) janayaṁ jyotir indram
(indrah), 318
saha ojaḥ, 731, 990
sahamānā sahasvatī (saras°), 269
sahamūrān anu daha kravyādah, 355,
371
sahas ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv
(°kā) ṛtū, 888
sahasah sūnav (sūna-) āhuta, 889
sahasraṇīthaḥ (°nīthaḥ) padaviḥ kav-
īnām, 952
sahasradhāra eva te sam asvaran,
989
sahasradhāraṁ vṛṣabham divo duhuḥ
(divoduham), 821
sahasradhāre 'va te sam asvaran, 989
sahasraṇīthaḥ, *see* sahasraṇīthaḥ
sahasrapoṣaṁ subhage (°gā) rarāṇā,
466
sahasrapoṣasyeṣiṣe, 466
sahasravalśā (°valīśā) vi vayaṁ
ruhema, 760
sahasraśīrṣā (°śāḥ) puruṣaḥ, 381
sahasrasamaṁ prasutena yantaḥ, 233
sahasrasavaprasavena yantaḥ, 233
sahasrasā (°sām) medhasātāv (°sātā)
iva tmanā, 888
sahasrasthūṇa āsāte (āsāte), 282
sahasrasya pratimāsi (°mā asi), 993
sahasrasya pramāsi (°mā asi), 993
sahasrasyonmāsi (°mā asi), 993
sahasrākṣa medha ā (medhāya) cīya -
mānaḥ, 342
sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ (°ākṣāyāmartya),
380
sahasrākṣo medhāya cīyamānaḥ, 342
sahasrāpoṣaṁ subhage rarāṇā, 466
sahasrāpoṣasyeṣiṣe, 466
sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāṣāp (°ṣād) na yaj-
ñāḥ, 412
sahasriyo dyotatām (dīpyatām, °riyo
jyotatām) aprayuchan, 24, 159, 541
sa hi puru (puru) cid ojaś virukmatā,
555
sahojaḥ, 731, 990
saho mayi dhehi (me dāḥ svāhā), 103
sahaujaḥ, 731, 990
sā tvam asy amo 'ham (amo aham,
amūham, āpy amo 'ham), 723, 907
sā dikṣitā sanavo vājam asme (vācam
asmāt), 52
sādyaskriś chandasā saha, 491, 962
sādhah (sādhū) kṛpvantam avase, 609
sādhyebhyaḥ kuluṅgān (kulaṅgān), 607
sādhyebhyaś carmanam (°mnam),
953
sā naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy araṇi-
yamānaḥ, 387, 665
sā naḥ priyā supratūrtir maghonī, 749
sā naḥ śṛṇvann ūtibhiḥ sīda śāsvat,
376
sā naḥ sīte payasābhyāvavṛtsva, 849
sā naḥ supratūrtiḥ priyā naḥ suhār
naḥ priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi,
749

- sā no dohatām suvīryam (suvīram), 323
- sā prathamā saṃskṛtir viśvavārā, 374
- sā prasūr dhenukā (°gā) bhava, 48, 620, 829
- sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram, 107, 569
- sā brāhmaṇasya rājanya, 870
- sā mandasānā manasā śivena, 609
- sāmāni cakrus tasarāṇy otave (°ṇi vātave), 804
- sā me satyāśīr devān . . . paṇyāt paṇyatarā (paṇyāt panyatarā), 165
- sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya, 107, 569
- sāvitro 'si canodhāḥ (janadhāyāḥ), 54
- sā śamātāti (°tā, °ei) mayas karad apa sridhaḥ, 156, 598
- sā saṃnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam (sunuhi bhāgadheyam), 52, 617
- sinanti pākam ati (adhi) dhīra eti (emi), 98
- sindhoh śiśūmārāḥ (śiśū°), 305, 551
- simāḥ kṛṇvantu śamyantiḥ, 278, 572
- simāḥ śamyantu śamyantiḥ, 278, 572
- sīdantu manuṣo yathā, 227, 719
- sīdanto vanuṣo yathā, 227, 719
- sīrāḥ patatṛiṇi sthana, 381, 600
- sisam ca me trapu (°puś) ca me, 381
- sīsena agnim adya hotāram avṛṇīta ayam sūtāsuti yajamānaḥ pacan paktiḥ . . . , 310
- sukarīrā svopaśā, 41, 605, 731
- sukurīrā svaupaśā, 41, 605, 731
- sukeṣu te harimāṇam, 30, 278
- sukhaṃ ca me śayanam ca me, 82
- sukhaṃ meṣāya meṣyai, 82, 705
- sugam ca me śayanam ca me, 82
- sugam ca me supatham (°thyaṃ) ca me, 325
- sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan, 293, 384, 573, 609, 739, 824
- sugam tvah karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ, 293, 384, 573, 609, 739, 824
- sugandhim pativedanam, 152, 627
- sugandhim puṣṭivardhanam (rayipo-ṣaṇam), 152, 627
- sugam meṣāya meṣyai (°ye), 82, 705
- sugavyam no vāji svaśvyam (°viyam), 784
- sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (°nam) akarma (kṛṇomi, sadanāni santu), 741
- sugā vo devās sadanedam astu, 741
- sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām (akṣi°) bhūyāsam, 528
- sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu, 145, 283, 612
- sujātānām śraīṣṭhya ā dhehy enam, 612
- sutarasi tarase (sutarasiddhatarase) namaḥ, 833
- sutaḥ sudakṣa dhanva (dhaniva), 764
- sutā mayā varadā vandamānā, 419
- sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (°pitārā), 500
- suditinādityebhya . . . , 545
- suditir (sudītir) asi, 545
- sudevam indre aśvinā (indrāyāśvinā), 342
- sunāvam āruheyam, 817
- sunīti svayaśastaram (suyaś°), 741
- suparṇapakṣāya dhīmahi, 200
- suparṇo avyathir (°thi) bharat, 529a
- supāṇiḥ (°ṇi) svaṅguriḥ, 980
- supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsme (kartam asmai, asme), 704
- supippalā oṣadhīḥ (°dhīḥ) kṛdhi, 966
- suprasūr dhenukā bhava, 48, 620, 829
- subandhum pativedanam, 152, 627
- subāhuḥ svaṅguriḥ, 980
- subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka, 219, 380, 593
- subhagaṇikaraṇi (subhāgaṇikaraṇam) mama, 486, 820
- subhūtākṛta stha (°kṛtaḥ subhūtaṃ naḥ kṛṇuta), 119, 569, 977
- subhūtāya pipihī (pipihī), 545
- sumitraḥ soma no (sumano) bhava, 714, 826
- sumitrā (°triya, °tryā) na (ṇa) āpa oṣadhayaḥ santu (°yo bhavantu), 315, 787, 950
- sumnāya nūnam īmahe sakhibhyaḥ, 563
- sumnāya sumnini sumne mā dhattam, 315
- sumnāyuvah (°yavas) sumnyāya sumnam (°nyam) dhatta, 315, 604
- sumne sthaḥ sumne mā dhattam, 315

suyame me adya ghṛtāci bhūyāstaṁ
 svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau, 552, 910
 suyame me bhūyāstaṁ, 552
 sur abhivyaḥyam, 190, 739
 surayā mūtrājanayanti (°ta) retah,
 507
 surayā somaḥ suta āsuto madāya, 507
 surāyā mūtrājanayanta (°ti) retah,
 507
 surāyāḥ somaḥ suta āsuto madāya, 507
 suvaḥ . . . , suvar . . . , suvarga . . . , 779
 (and see under svaḥ etc.)
 suvarṇapakṣāya dhīmahi, 200
 suvarṇastainyam avrātyam (av-
 ratyam), 490
 suvas . . . , 779
 suvān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre 'star
 ahasta kṛśāno, 146, 405, 778, 809
 suvānā devāsa indavaḥ, 794
 suvāno arṣa pavitra ā, 794
 suvāno yāti kavikratuḥ, 794
 suvitasya manāmahe (vanā°), 227
 suvite mā dhāḥ, 775
 suvīrābhis tarati vājakarmabhiḥ
 (tirate vājabharmabhiḥ), 152, 582
 suvīraṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja, 219, 380, 593
 suśami śamiṣva (śami°, śamniṣva), 531
 suśīman somasatsaru, 180, 224, 696,
 714, 874
 suśṛtaṁ manye tad ṛtaṁ navīyaḥ, 661
 suśevam somapitsaru (sumatitsaru),
 180, 224, 696, 714, 874
 suśṛtaṁ manye tad ṛtaṁ navīyaḥ, 661
 suślokyāya svastaye, 724
 suśadam id gavām asti pra khuda, 67,
 347, 986
 suśamiddham vareṇyam, 986
 suśamiddho na ā vaha, 986
 suśamiddho vareṇyaḥ, 986
 suśumnaḥ (°mnaḥ) sāryaraśmīś cand-
 ramā gandharvaḥ, 954
 susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi,
 67, 347, 986
 susamiddham vareṇyam, 986
 susamiddho na ā vaha, 986
 susamiddho vareṇyaḥ, 986
 susaveha havāmahe, 299
 susasyāḥ (susaspāḥ) kṛṣṣ kṛdhi, 867

suhaveha havāmahe, 299
 suhutakṛtaḥ stha suhutaṁ kariṣyatha
 (°tam akārṣta), 119, 569, 977
 sūclbhiḥ śamyantu (śim°, śamayantu)
 tvā, 572
 sūpasthā asi vānaspatyaḥ, 325, 491, 737
 sūpasthā devo vānaspatiḥ, 325, 491, 737
 sūmnāya nūnam imahe sakhibhyaḥ, 563
 sūyame me 'dya staṁ svāvṛtau sūpā-
 vṛtau, 552, 910
 sūyavasiniḥ manave (manuṣe, mānuṣe)
 daśasyā (°ye, yaśasye), 161, 490
 sūrāso na darśatāsaḥ, 318
 sūro na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu, 284
 sūro na rurukvān (°vān) chatātma, 937
 sūro na svayugvabhiḥ (sayu°), 364
 sūro rathasya naptiyaḥ (naptryaḥ,
 naptryaḥ), 357, 791
 sūryatvacasa (°saḥ, °sas) stha, 977
 sūrya nāvam āruksaḥ, 715
 sūryaraśmīm samābhṛtam, 118, 639
 sūryasya cakṣur āruham (āroha), 715
 sūryasya tapas tapa (tapaḥ), 379
 sūryācandramasau vṛkyaḥbhyām (vṛk-
 kā°), 408
 sūryāñ śukraṁ samābhṛtam, 118, 639
 sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (adi°, aditer)
 upasthe, 909
 sūryāso na darśatāsaḥ, 318
 sūrye santaṁ (śukraṁ) samāhitam
 (samābhṛtam), 118, 639
 sūryo apo vi gāhate ('vagāhate), 578
 sūryo ahobhir ('hobhir) anu tvāvatu,
 907
 sūryo divo (devo) diviṣadbhyaḥ
 (°bhyo . . .), 686
 sūryo rūpaṁ kṛnute dyor (dyaur)
 upasthe, 732
 sūryo 'hobhir . . . , see sūryo aho°
 sṛkāhastā (sṛkāvant) niṣaṅgiṇaḥ, 48,
 467
 sṛgavanto niṣaṅgiṇaḥ, 48, 467
 sṛdikāya tvā, 651
 sedam priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sada
 āsīda (priyeṇa nāma priye sadasi
 sīda), 855
 sed u rājā kṣayati (kṣeti) carṣaṇinām,
 745

- semāñ devo aryamā (pūṣā, varuṇaḥ), 996
- semāñ no havyadātīm juṣāṇaḥ, 996
- so adhvarā jātavedāḥ, 907
- so adhvarān sa ṛtūn kalpayāti, 907
- so asmāñ (asmān) adhipatīn karotu, 907, 924
- so asmān pātu sarvataḥ, 909
- so 'dhvarā karati jātavedāḥ, 907
- so 'dhvarān sa ṛtūn kalpayāti, 907
- soma āyusmān sa oṣadhībhir (sauṣa°) āyusmān, 996
- soma u šuvāṇaḥ (švāṇaḥ) sotṛbhīḥ, 794
- somaḥ patī rayīṇām, 964
- somañ sa . . . ṛchatu yo maitasyai (°syā) diśo 'bhidāsati, 910
- somanetrebhyo devebhya uparisadbhyo (°sadbhyo) . . . , 986
- somañ te krīṇāmy ūrjasvantaṁ payasvantaṁ vīryāvantaṁ abhimātiṣāham (vīryāvantaṁ bahvarghaṁ śobhamānam), 123, 467
- somavikrayin somañ te krīṇāni mahāntaṁ bahvarhaṁ bahu śobhamānam, 123
- somaś caturakṣarayāśrīvīr (°srīvīr) nakṣatrāṇi, 277
- somas patī rayīṇām, 964
- somasya drapsam (bhakṣam) avṛṇīta pūṣā (śakraḥ), 153a
- somasya rājñāḥ kuluṅgaḥ, 607
- somasyaḥaṁ devayajyā suretā (viśvaṁ) reto dhiṣṭya (dhe°), 688
- somaḥ sutaḥ pūyate ajyamānaḥ (sutaṛyate pūyamānaḥ), 57, 634
- somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ (sutaḥ sa madhumān), 189, 824
- somāpauṣṇāḥ śyāmalaḥmāś tūparāḥ, 728
- somāya kuluṅgaḥ (kulaṅgaḥ), 607
- somāya janivide (jana°) svāhā, 588
- somāya rājñe kuluṅgaḥ, 607
- somāya rājñe paridhātavā (°dātavā) u, 105
- somāya vaca udyatam (ucyate), 158
- somārudrāv (°drā) iha su mṛdataṁ naḥ, 888
- somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu (vakṣatu), 184, 255
- somena tvātanacmīndrāya dadhi, 127
- somāindrā babhrulalāmāś tūparāḥ, 707, 728
- somo asmākaṁ brāhmaṇānām rājā, 910
- somo vaiṣṇavo rājā (somo vaiṣṇavas) . . . aṅgirasō (āṅg°, āṅgirasō vedo) . . . , 491
- somo 'smākaṁ brāhmaṇānām rājā, 910
- so 'smān adhipatīn kṛṇotu, 907, 924
- so 'smān pātu, 909
- so 'haṁ vājāṁ saneyam (sanāmy) agne (agneḥ), 381
- saujāmim, 28, 192
- saumāpauṣṇāḥ śyāmalaḥmāś tūparāḥ, 728
- saumendrā babhrulalāmāś tūparāḥ, 707, 728
- saumyās trayāḥ śvitiṁgāḥ (śiti°), 369
- sauyāmim, 28, 192
- sauślokyāya svastaye, 724
- stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ, 374, 381, 830, 839, 861
- stambhānas tanvaṁ svām, 287, 420, 618
- stavāno devyā kṛpā, 421, 824
- stutaḥ (°ta) śravasyann avasopa madrik, 980
- stutā (°to) mayā varadā vedamātā, 419
- stuto yāsi (yāhi) vaśān anu, 299
- stuto 'si janadhāḥ, 54, 93, 375
- stuhī sūraṁ vajriṇam apratikam (apratittam, °tittam), 138, 404
- stegān danṣṭrābhyaṁ, 374
- stokā (°kāḥ, °kās) ścotanti medasaḥ, 977
- stotā me goṣakhā (gosa°) syāt, 986
- stotāram id didhiṣeya (dadhiṣe) radāvaso, 581
- stotṛbhya dhr̥ṣṇav iyānaḥ (iyā°), 538
- stomatrayastriṇṣe bhuvanasya patnī, 525, 818
- stomapr̥ṣṭho ghṛtavān supratikāḥ, 419
- stomas trayastriṇṣe bhuvanasya patnī, 525, 818
- stomo yajñas ca (yajñasya) rādhyo haviṣmatā (°taḥ), 188, 826

- staumi devāv (devā) aśvinau nāthito
johavīmi, 888
- strīṣūyam anyān sv ā dadhat (anyāsv
ādadhat), 702
- straiṣūyam anyatra dadhat, 702
- sthīrā cin namayīṣṇavaḥ, 857
- snātāḥ prītā bhavata yūyam āpaḥ, 287,
352
- snuṣā sapatnā (°nāḥ) śvaśuro 'yam astu
(°ham asmi), 256, 980
- spardhante dhiyaḥ (divaḥ) sūrye na
(sūre na, sūryeṇa) viśaḥ, 109, 255,
318, 826
- spārḥā yasya śriyo dr̥śe, 198, 761
- spārḥo deva niyutvatā, 198, 761
- syonaṁ patye (patibhyo) vahatum
kṛṇuṣva (kṛṇu tvam), 842
- syonā māviśaterā madaḥ (°teraṁ-
madah), 818
- syonā (°nāḥ) syonena ghr̥tena mā
samukṣata, 978, 980
- syone kṛṇudhvaṁ surabhā (°bhāv) u
loke, 886
- srucā jubuta no (juhutanā) haviḥ, 827
- srucā devaṁ ghr̥taścutā (°ścyutā), 336
- svaḥ . . ., 779
- svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe, 307, 831, 968
- svaṁ yonim gacha svāhā, 505
- svaṁ yonim ihāsadaḥ, 505
- svagākārakṛto mahyam, 466
- svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma
(°nāni santu), 741
- svam̐kṛto 'si, 505
- svatavasemaṁ yajñam divi deveṣu
dhātām, 364
- svadhā pitṛbhyaḥ pṛthiviśadbhyaḥ
(pṛthivi°), 524
- svadhā pitṛbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyaḥ
(antari°, 'ntari°), 517, 910
- svadhitis te (°tiṣṭe) pitā, 958
- svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe (svapna
svapnābhikaraṇena), 172, 980
- svaṁ ma (ma idam) iṣṭam . . . svaṁ
śrāntam (śrātam) . . ., 287, 353
- svaṁ ma iṣṭam astu śunam śāntam
. . ., 353
- svayonim̐ gacha svāhā, 505
- svaṁ . . ., 779
- svaḥ abhivyaḥkhyam (°kṣam . . .), 190,
739
- svargāsi, 315
- svargeṇa lokena saṁprorṇuvāthām, 91,
797
- svarge (suvarge) loke prorṇuvāthām
(prorṇv°, °ṇuvātām, saṁprorṇv°), 91,
779, 797
- svargyāsi, 315
- svaḥ ṇa gharmaḥ svāhā, 949, 980
- svaḥ (suvar) ṇa (na) jyotiḥ (°tiḥ
svāhā), 949
- svaḥ (suvar) ṇa (na) śukraḥ svāhā, 949
- svaḥ ṇa (suvar na) sūryaḥ svāhā, 949
- svaḥ nārkaḥ (suvar nārkaḥ) svāhā, 949
- svaḥ devā (suvar devāḥ) aganma
(agāma), 304
- suvar na gharmaḥ (°ma) svāhā, 949, 980
- suvar na . . ., see svaḥ ṇa . . .
- svarpatim̐ yad īm vṛdhe, 307, 831, 968
- svarmūrdhā vaiyaśano vyaśyann āntyo
'ntyo bhauvanaḥ, 725
- svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā, 725
- svaḥ yaj jyotir abhayaṁ svasti, 254, 824
- svarvaj jyotir abhayaṁ svasti, 254, 824
- svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣṇan (muṣṇan,
iṣṇan), 401, 627
- svaṣām (suvar°) apsām (apsvām)
vr̥janasya gopām, 370, 780
- svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (udā°),
60, 829
- svastidā āghṛṇih (agh°) sarvaviraḥ,
473
- svasti naḥ pathyākṛteṣu (putrakṛ-
theṣu) yoniṣu, 93, 618, 802
- svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (°tu
naḥ), 825
- svas (suvas) te dadāmi (tvayi da-
dhāmi), 104
- svasty apsu vr̥jane svarvati (vrajane
svarvataḥ), 658
- svām yonim̐ gacha svāhā, 505
- svām yonim̐ ihāsadaḥ, 505
- svām̐kṛto 'si, 505
- svām̐ cāgne tanvaṁ (tanuvaṁ) pipra-
yasva (piprā°), 480
- svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (baladāvā
na ehi), 248

svāttaṁ sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svad-
antu, 371
svāttaṁ cit sadevaṁ havyam āpo
devīḥ svadatainam, 371
svāduṣ (°duḥ) kilāyaṁ madhumān
utāyam, 967
svādhyam (°dhiyam) janayat sūdayac
ca, 789
svādhyo (°dhiyo) manasā devayantaḥ,
742, 789
svādhyo (°dhiyo) vidathe apsu jījanan
(apsv ajijanan), 789
svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta
suhasta kṛsāno, 146, 405, 778, 809
svāna bhrāt āṅghārīr bambhāriḥ, 146,
405, 778, 809
svānā devāsa indavaḥ, 794
svānair yāti kavikratuḥ, 794
svāno arṣa pavitra ā, 794
svārṇ tanvaṁ (tanuvaṁ) varuṇo 'suṣot
(asīśret), 287, 355, 907
svān nabhrād āṅghāre bambhāre hasta
suhasta kṛsāno, 146, 405, 778, 809
svāyām tanū (tanūn) ṛtviye (ṛtvye)
nādhāmānā (nātha°, bādha°), 22,
76, 308, 784
svāruhā yasya śriyo dṛśe, 198, 761
svāruho deva niyutvatā, 198, 761
svāveśo anamīvo bhavā (bhuvā) naḥ,
602
svāha ṛṣabham (°hā ṛṣ°, °harṣ°) in-
drāya . . ., 918
svāhākṛtasya sam u trpṇuta ṛbhavaḥ
(trpṇutarbh°, trpṇutarbh°), 411, 919
svāhākṛtibhyaḥ (°tibhyaḥ) preṣya, 529
svāhā tvā vātāya . . . vṛṣṭisanaye . . .,
857
svāhā tvā subhava (°vaḥ, subho)
sūryāya, 381, 749
svāhā tvā sūryasya . . . vṛṣṭivanaye,
. . ., 857
svāhā pūṣṇe śarase, 691
svāhā yajñam manasaḥ (yajñamana-
saḥ), 819
svāhā rājasūyāḥ (°sūyāya citānāḥ,
°svaḥ), 326
svāhū sam agnis tapasā gata (gataḥ),
379

svāheṣṭibhyaḥ (°ṭebhyaḥ svāhā), 690
svite mā dhāḥ, 775
svinnaḥ snātvi (°tvā, snāto) malād iva,
598a
sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu, 587,
786, 909
sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prṇāhi (prṇīhi,
tad grṇīhi), 153
sviṣṭim no abhi (°bhi) vasiyo (vasyo)
nayantu, 587, 786, 909
hataḥ krimiṇām kṣudrakāḥ (rājā), 96,
262, 386
hataḥ te atripā krimiḥ (kr°), 668
hataḥ krimayaḥ (kr°) sāsātikāḥ sanī-
lamakṣikāḥ, 668
hatāghaśaṁsāv (°sā) ābharadvasū, 888
hatāghaśaṁsāv (°sā) ābhārṣṭām vasu
vāryāni, 888
hatā mātā hataḥ pitā, 96, 386
hato dāsāni satpatī, 91
hato viśvā apa dviṣaḥ, 91
hato vṛtrāṇy āryā (apṛati), 91
hato hatamātā krimiḥ, 96, 386
hatho dāsāni satpatī, 91
hatho viśvā apa dviṣaḥ, 91
hatho vṛtrāṇy āryā (apṛati), 91
hanubhyaṁ (hanū°) stenān bhagavaḥ,
554
hanubhyaṁ (hanū°) svāhā, 554
hayo dātra edhi vayo (mayo) mahyam
pratigrahītre (°grṇhate), 232, 657
harikṇike (°klike) kim ichasi, 273
harinasya raghuṣyadaḥ (°syataḥ), 64
harivato graham ṛdhyāsam (°vato . . .
graham rādhyāsam), 659
harīśmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim,
573, 596, 835
harī indra pratadvasū abhi svāra, 95
harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (dhṛṣatā) marut-
vaḥ, 122, 596
harṣamāṇā hrṣitāso marutvan, 122
havanaśrun no rudreha bodhi, 488,
554
havis haviṣṣu (haviḥṣu) vandyāḥ,
618, 971
haviṣ (haviḥ) kṛṇvantāḥ parivatsari-
nam (°nām, °riyam), 967
haviṣmān (°mān) astu sūryaḥ, 925

havyāyāsmāi voḍhave (°vai) jāta-
vedaḥ, 705
hastagrābhāsyā didhiṣoḥ (da°) tave-
dam (tvam etat), 581
hāvanaśrūr no rudreha bodhi, 488, 554
himkāṛāya svāhā, 386, 544
himkṛtāya svāhā, 386, 544
hitvā na ūrjam pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ
(°padāt pathi°), 60, 96
hitvā (hitvi) śiro jihvayā rārapac
(vāvadac) carat, 267, 598a
hinva (hinvā) me gātrā (°trāṇi) hari-
vaḥ, 436, 440
hinvāno mānuṣā yugā (yujā), 132
hinvāno hetṛbhir yataḥ (hitaḥ), 256,
579
hiraṇyanābhah kausalyaḥ, 699
hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ (°parṇa śak-
une), 198, 380, 588, 691
hiraṇyapāvāḥ paśum āsu (apsu) gr̥bh-
nate (gr̥h°), 116
hiraṇyam asṛtaṁ (asrutam) bhava,
682
hiraṇyayāt pari yoner niṣadyā (°ya),
457
hiraṇyayāḥ (°yā) śucayo dhārapūtāḥ,
381
hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi (annam
adhyehi, annamad dhehi) mahyam,
239, 347, 840
hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ, 198, 380, 588
hiraṇyavāśīr īṣiraah svarṣāḥ (suvar°),
780
hiraṇye 'smin samāhitāḥ (°bhṛtāḥ,
°hṛtāḥ), 118, 639
hriśmaśrūm nārvāṇam dhanarcam, 573,
596, 835
hutaṁ havir madhu havir indratame
'gnau (madhuhavir asindra° 'gnau
svāhā), 910
hutaḥ (hutas, huta) stokaḥ, 977
huve nu śakraṁ puruhūtam indram,
849
hr̥tsu kratum varuṇam (°no) vikṣv
(apṣv, dikṣv) agnim, 153a, 360, 579,
869
hr̥dam na hi tvā nyṛsanty ūrmayaḥ, 658

hr̥disprk kratuspṛg varcodāḥ (°dhā
asi), 103
hr̥do astv antaram taj jujoṣat (tad
yuyota), 193
hetayas tava bāhvoḥ, 792
hemantaśīśīrāv (°rā) ṛtū (ṛtūnām), 888
hemantāya kakarān (kakārān), 489
hemantena ṛtunā (°nartunā) devāḥ,
919
he 'lavo he 'lavo, 712
haimahāḥ haimahāḥ, 124
haimahāḥ (°hā) idam . . ., 124
hairaṇyanābhah kausalyaḥ, 699
hailo-hailo, 712
hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram aciṣṭum (°tam)
. . ., 618
hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya (yak-
ṣad indram ṛṣabhasya, yakṣad br̥has-
patīm chāgasya) . . . śronitah (śon-
itaḥ) . . ., 353
hotā yakṣad uṣāśānaktā . . . nṛñṣ
(nṛñḥ) patibhyo . . ., 965
hotā yakṣan narāśānsam nṛśastam
nṛñṣprapetram (nṛñḥ°), 965
hotāram agnim antarā vicṛttāḥ, 866
hotārāv (°rā) indram aśvinā, 888
hotārāv (°rā) indram prathamā suvā-
cā, 888
hotā viṣṭimena (viṣṭvi me) jaritar,
367, 835
hotā vediṣad atithir duroṇasat (dū°),
568
hotṛśadanam haritam hiraṇyayam, 200
hotṛśadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ, 200
hotrakāṇām (hotṛkāṇām) camasādhva-
ryavaḥ . . ., 663
hotṛāvidah (°vida, °vṛdha) stomat-
aṣṭāso arkaiḥ, 108, 640, 972, 977
hradam na hi tvā nyṛsanty ūrmayaḥ,
658
hrādunibhyaḥ (°nibhyaḥ) svāhā, 528
hrādunir dūṣikābhīḥ, 488, 528, 543
hriyai śalpakaḥ (śalyakaḥ), 867
hlāḍike hlāḍikāvati (hlāduke hlādu°),
622
hvayāmi śakraṁ puruhūtam indram,
849

